# INVESTIGATING FAMILY LANGUAGE POLICY STRATEGIES WITHIN MULTILINGUAL FAMILIES IN CYPRUS

**by**

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# Abstract

This mixed-methods research project investigates the language interventions and accompanying language ideologies incorporated by 20 linguistically intermarried families who have or are currently raising bilingual children whilst residing in the Republic of Cyprus, based on the theoretical underpinning of Family Language Policy (FLP). These language interventions are defined as Family Language Strategies (FLS) in this thesis.

The study begins with a quantitative methodology of a Family Language Activities pack, consisting of a family profile, a language timeline and a Family Language Strategies section, aimed at contextualising family background data and their reported language practices to raise their children bilingually, and their opinionated beliefs of these practices' feasibility and effectiveness to incorporate. The activities pack findings reported an overwhelming favouritism towards use of monolingual nursery rhymes and storybooks, explicit choice between monolingual/international schooling and using monolingual grandparents as childminders, whilst strategies relating to the One Parent, One Language (OPOL) scored significantly lower than expected.

The qualitative part of the methodology saw these results expanded on by the participating parents taking part in semi-structured interviews to discern their justifications for choosing certain strategies, and report on their language ideologies towards child bilingualism. Drawing on a combination on both stages of this mixed methodology through an analysis of General Inductive Theory and Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis, the results demonstrated that there is an overwhelming feeling of parental pride for raising bilingual children in the family environment and a will for their children to experience the wider world for further study and work opportunities with the extra languages they possess, and a strong correlation between the mother tongues one possesses, and their association of identity with both their domestic and heritage nation.

The results of the study discovered language practices centred around the incorporation of the inner family language network taking precedence in these families' FLP, followed by use of leisure-based practices, whilst methods of explicit instruction using members external to the family language network were the least popular to use. These were linked to ideologies focused on preserving authentic ethnic, heritage and cultural identity of the bilingual child, whilst highlighting the importance of parental involvement and input for bilingual child-rearing. Additional ideologies centred around elite bilingualism, and broadening the prospects the child could successfully achieve with bilingualism were frequently discovered throughout the data analysis process. The notion of impact beliefs was discovered to play a role in determining how invested a bilingual parent was to incorporate certain FLS, including the level of involvement they felt they should take in attempting to manage their children's language development. Challenges found in bilingual child-rearing were also cited by the families involved, including accessibility of TL material, lack of minority language support, and the difficulty of adhering to an FLP in a busy daily routine.

This study pushes for further research into innovative and previously undiscovered language strategies used by intermarried parents within the field of FLP, and how these strategies are set to evolve and be implemented through constant global mobility with future generations of multilingual families settling in minority language communities such as that of Cyprus, where English is not the official language.

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# Acknowledgements and Thanks

Back in 2021, I remember sitting in the garden, socially distancing with my grandmother, Litsa, spending what precious time I could with her before I had to leave due to pandemic visitation restrictions. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the decrees set out in Cyprus officially set out that we were only allowed a limited duration of time to leave the house and for certain purposes, including supporting vulnerable relatives. I brought up the topic of my desire to finally pursue my PhD but was extremely apprehensive to leave my comfort zone behind in teaching French in a secondary school and pursue further study and enter the world of academia, which had always been a lingering thought of mine for a number of years. Only after that specific conversation with my grandmother, after she instilled the confidence in me to do so, did I finally take the decision and submit my application to the University of Central Lancashire, knowing that its Cyprus campus would prove invaluable in terms of location and resources for the project I wished to pursue, whilst having the support and expertise from both British and Cypriot academics in the field of sociolinguistics. For this reason, alongside one other individual, this PhD is dedicated to her, for her kindness in aiding me accomplish this goal, providing me a space to complete my thesis during those hot, summer months, and believing that I could achieve such a feat.

I would like to express my gratitude to both Dr Antri Kanikli and Dr Pauline Harries, my supervisors, who have lent their invaluable time and patience with me every step of the way during my journey over the past three years. I made it a priority to take every piece of advice possible from our mentor meetings, and am in disbelief that three years, and over 30 formal meetings together have come to an end so quickly. I have learnt so much from them on the intricacies of constructing a research project and achieving the highest quality of data possible, whilst presenting it to the highest standard of writing for a range of audiences. This has thoroughly contributed to my professional as well as academic practice. I am extremely grateful to both esteemed academics for their support and hope to continue my academic career with gusto in both of their footsteps. I wish to thank the ongoing support from UCLan Preston and UCLan Cyprus for their postgraduate students and making such a research degree possible to accomplish seamlessly in both the UK and Cyprus.

Dr Kanikli, my lead supervisor, has been an extremely supportive figure from the very beginning, even when I was just initially displaying my interest to the university to apply for the PhD program. She invited me to observe seminars, aided me on the selection of topic choice, and provided that feeling of trust I was looking for in a lead supervisor for an undertaking as strenuous as a PhD program. She further helped me find my feet in the university environment as a lecturer in the BA (Hons) English Language program, and in taking my first steps into the foray of academic research in Cyprus. I also wish to extend thanks to Dr Andria Michael and Ms Maria Georgiou, who I have come to strike an amicable professional relationship with as fellow colleagues in the English Department. They have been constantly lending their support and warm wishes throughout the duration of my PhD, even through strenuous times over the semesters of teaching.

This research project would have not been possible without those twenty participating families involved in the study, who lent their time to complete the materials provided, committed to the interviews and opened their doors into how they raised their children bilingually. I have been extremely touched by their generosity as they shared their thoughts, feelings, and lifetime experiences with me. Some even welcomed me into their homes and introduced me to their children, shedding a taste of the warmth of Cypriot hospitality and family values.

The list is exhaustive, but thanks must be given to those loved ones who have provided encouragement throughout the duration of this PhD. My parents, sister, both grandmothers and few, genuine friends all deserve mention for their good intentions to stand by me in achieving such a goal. Special thanks must be given outside the field of academia and family to Mr Andreas Fourouclas, who would go out of his way to check in on me daily to ensure my health was in order and that I would accomplish my daily thesis writing goals, and to Mr Mehmed H. Fikretov, whose own guidance and mantra has carried over the discipline and mental fortitude to make completing this PhD possible, especially during an extremely difficult time in my personal life that occurred through the duration of my studies.

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# List of Tables & Figures

# List of Abbreviations

CLA – Child Language Acquisition

CG – Cypriot Greek (The Greek Cypriot Dialect)

FLP – Family Language Policy

FLS – Family Language Strategy/Strategies

GC – Greek Cypriot (Nationality)

GIT – General Inductive Theory

IPA – Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

OEOL – One Environment, One Language

OPOL – One Parent, One Language

SMG – Standard Modern Greek

SPE – Social/Political/Economical

TL – Target Language

# Chapter 1: Introduction

## 1.1 Motivations for the Study

Family Language Policy (FLP) is a new area of study that has started to receive considerable attention in recent years (Fogle & King, 2013; Hornberger, 1988; W. Liu & Lin, 2019; Luykx, 2003; Ojha, 2020; Schmidt-Mackey, 1971). There is still a call from scholars (King et al., 2008) to further investigate the practices that linguistically intermarried families (Jackson, 2009) use to better understand their underlying ideologies towards bilingual child-rearing. The Republic of Cyprus is a country which has received very little attention in research towards language strategies used by such parents and could prove fruitful in answering such calls to contributing to the current sociolinguistic research of bilingual parenting.

This study sets out to investigate the strategies and practices used by intermarried parents through an inductive approach to discover which feasible language practices they have used themselves to raise their children bilingually, in such a community where English is not the national language, yet is commonly used as a bridging language between foreign cultures in Cypriot society.

## 1.2 Study Overview: Research Objectives

Following recent studies calling for academics to further investigate practices other than the One Parent, One Language (OPOL) method of bilingual child rearing (King & Fogle, 2013) that can be used in one's Family Language Policy (FLP), this study aims to report on a range of Family Language Strategies (FLS) reportedly used by 20 intermarried families residing within the Republic of Cyprus. These families reported on which FLS they had and hadn't used to foster promotion, transmission and maintenance of the household languages to their children, alongside how they believed these FLS fared in terms of efficiency, practicality, and feasibility of usage. The families further justified their reasons for choosing such FLS through semi-structured interviews, expressing their attitudes towards multilingualism and its social/political/economic (SPE) benefits at home and abroad, and revealing the ideologies behind their FLS choices. This led to a conclusion whether they believed language and identity were closely linked, and how they believed their bilingual, bi-cultural children would self-identify in the world.

A methodology incorporating a Family Languages Activities pack (Appendix A) was created to answer the first primary research aim regarding which language management practices were used by multilingual families in Cyprus:

Primary Research Aim 1: *To discover which language management and practice methods are used at home by multilingual parents to raise their children multilingually in the Republic of Cyprus.*

In accordance with Primary Research Aim 1, the secondary research objectives aim to uncover which discourse strategies and practices are used by the parents to facilitate bilingualism when raising their children in Cyprus and whether parents have a pre-determined planned plan of action to influence their children's linguistic behaviour or not.

The second primary research aim is listed the following:

Primary Research Aim 2: *To discover the language ideologies underpinning such a choice of family language policy from such bilingual families in the target area.*

In accordance with Primary Research Aim 2, the secondary research objectives aim to uncover why the parents have chosen/used such a strategy to facilitate their children being bilingual (consciously or unconsciously), what their ideological impact beliefs were when transmitting their chosen languages to their children, and whether ideology and identity have an impact on choice of FLP.

## 1.3 Thesis Outline and Structure

This study is presented as follows:

Chapter 1 presents the initial motivations for carrying out the study, in addition to an overview of the study in its entirety and its research aims, a research context, and a brief contextualisation on multilingualism as the societal norm and linguistic intermarriage. The Republic of Cyprus is then explored through its multilingual landscape, language policy, and context of linguistic intermarriage.

Chapter 2 presents the contextualisation on existing literature with regards to family bilingualism, the theoretical underpinnings of Family Language Policy (FLP), with a focus on language management strategies, and an explanation about language ideology. It continues with a literature review on existing studies related to language management strategies in the case of family bilingualism, alongside a rationale for this study being carried out.

Chapter 3 presents the design of the mixed methodology, the rationale for its development and usage, and the steps implemented through its pilot run to get it to the point where it was used for the final study. It also details the analysis methods of the raw data obtained through the mixed methodology. References to the tools created, participant recruitment, and ethical considerations are also included.

Chapter 4 is dedicated to the family profiles section of the methodology and presents its findings on the contextualisation of participant family data, followed by an inductive analysis of its results and any particularly outstanding profiles.

Chapter 5 is dedicated to the language timeline portion of the methodology and presents the statistics of language input exposure between the parents and their children, generated through its results. These results are cross-referenced with the family profiles section.

Chapter 6 is dedicated to the Family Language Strategies portion of the methodology, and presents the results given by all participating families with regards to which strategies are currently used in Cyprus alongside their implemented usage scores based upon their personal experiences raising their children multilingually.

Chapter 7 is dedicated to discussing outstanding FLS linked to the inner family social network and natural expression. This is followed by a discussion of the relevant language ideologies linked to identity and heritage authenticity.

Chapter 8 is dedicated to discussing the strategies centred around education choice, interlinked with the attitudes and beliefs of future success and opportunity linked with bilingualism. Implications of the current literature regarding the value of select international and societally dominant languages are also discussed.

Chapter 9 is dedicated to examining potential factors that could impact the intended successfulness of an FLP. The study's results towards the usage of the OPOL strategy is critically examined. Furthermore, the reported real-world challenges impeding FLP implementation are examined. The significance of pre-planning in a family language plan, alongside the role of impact beliefs are also discussed as a potential focal point of measuring FLP success. Discussions of the implications of these results are included.

This thesis concludes with Chapter 10, which summarises the main findings of the thesis and its main contributions to the field of sociolinguistics. It then affirms whether the study's findings have indeed been successful in achieving its research aims, details the researcher's positionality towards the study, and discusses methodological implications of the project. Suggestions for improving the study are included, alongside reflections for further research on language practice strategies within FLP.

## 1.4 Research Context

### 1.4.1 Multilingualism Should be Considered the Norm in Sociolinguistics

It would sound farfetched not to declare that monolingualism should be considered the global norm of societal language use. Shouldn't one hypothesise that each country contains its own official language, be considered monolingual, and have certain lingua franca such as English to bridge the communication gaps of international relations between nations?

In a society such as that of this study's research cite, Cyprus, the researcher of this doctorate declares that monolingualism as the norm justifiably cannot be the case. If anything, having multilingualism or plurilingualism as the societal, and daresay global standard merits further research as being considered the norm (Cruz-Ferreira, 2010). Romaine (1995) points out it would seem odd to observe publications with "*monolingualism*" in their titles, rather than the all-too-common publications regarding bilingualism or multilingualism (Wiese, 2023). Linguistic diversity has always been a norm in larger, international cities, and continues to extend dynamically through increased international networking and migration (Wiese, 2023). By accepting multilingualism as the norm in contemporary sociolinguistics in the context of this thesis, one may further view it as a process of societal behaviour and development, rather than just a product of cross-cultural communication. When further considered, multilingual behaviour is exhibited in a multitude of social contexts. Tourism, outsourcing of businesses, expatriates, and social networking are all examples where people would incorporate some levels of multilingual behaviour, and not solely in the case of intermarried families such as those researched in this thesis. Naturally, approaching multilingualism through a monolingual mindset may lead one to point out unique differences and traits of its usage as anomalies to the norm, when in fact a multilingual speaker uses the languages in their repertoire to complete the functions required in their daily lives. One may view monolingual and multilingual behaviour as similar in terms of communication fulfilment. Multilingual environments further aid in the understanding of possible implications of monolingual grammars (Singh, 2010). In the context of additive bilingualism, this case

remains the same for both mono and multilingual learners, as both are learning secondary languages independent from their mother tongues.

A multilingual speaker is characterized as multilingual regardless of which languages they possess, but it is how they use the language in practice which warrants further attention from researchers. It should be considered appropriate to research the norms of multilingual language usage in such a research context which has two official ones (Greek and Turkish in Cyprus), and English as a prominent dominant language, rather than singular Cypriot Greek usage. This is especially true in this research project's aims to research on language practices within multilingual families living in a multilingual society potentially different to their own. By finding out how these families' children are facilitated in becoming multilingual speakers by the norms and practices put in place by their parents, one not only pays homage to the gift of bilingualism, but also dwells further into language ideology and practice through a multilingual parent's perspective; not as an exception to the rule of monolingualism, but aiding in our understanding of modern family sociodynamics in child-rearing, especially that of their communicative skills. A multilingual norm in such a context as this thesis' may be viewed as this researcher's interpretation of a Family Language Strategy, being a practice of fostering child multilingualism, fuelled by parental ideology.

The terminology of multilingualism cannot be focussed on any particular language, as the phenomenon of language isn't multi, nor plurilingual. The manners in which multilingual people manipulate multiple languages in their repertoire differs them from monolingual speakers. With multilingualism being viewed as a collective proficiency of multiple, monolingual proficiencies, one may argue that it is just as much of a global norm as monolingualism is. With Cruz-Ferreira (2010) arguing that recent research on multilingualism be referred to as "multi-monolingualism", rather than researching multilingual speakers as separate entities to that of monolingual speakers, comparing these single language uses under a range of combinations (speakers and linguistic intermarriages) gives further insight into unexplored language acquisition methods, across an open inclusion criteria of multilingual families in Cyprus.

### 1.4.2 Linguistic Intermarriage

There has been a steady increase in couples of different nationalities, cultures and/or mother tongues coming together to marry with the prospect of global mobility and settling into other European countries made easier for pre-existing European citizens (Wilson, 2019). This could be the case for families wishing to relocate abroad, or two individuals committing to exogamy and one of the two spouses committing to the life change to emigrate to their partner's home nation to raise a family. Naturally, this exogamy creates interlinguistic families (Guardado, 2017), and numerous multilingual possibilities arise when the intermarried couple settle down to have children.

In the context of this thesis, the term '*intermarried parents*' is used to describe the couples who are of a separate nationality and linguistic background to one another who have come together to marry. This terminology has also been seen in previous literature as "*linguistically intermarried"* (Jackson, 2009) or "*linguistically exogamous"* (Guardado, 2017). These couples may use one of each other's mother tongues to communicate with each other (e.g. An Italian/French husband/wife using exclusively French to communicate with each other due to the wife's lack of knowledge of Italian) or use a common lingua-franca to speak to each other, independent of their native languages (e.g. English being used as the main communicative language between a Polish/Swedish husband/wife).

Intermarried couples may be categorised into three types for ease of understanding: 1. exogamous couples, in which the one spouse has migrated to their spouse's country, and is now classified as the minority national; 2. exogamous couples from two separate cultural backgrounds who have emigrated to a country separate to that of each other's home nation (causing potential communicative challenges as both parents' mother tongues are classified as minority language whilst having their lives enveloped by the host country's national language); 3. second-generation immigrants of two separate cultural backgrounds who have been raised with the heritage language of their migrant parents as their mother tongue but have both been raised in the host nation. Jackson (2009) defines intermarried couples as sharing none of the following, thus making them linguistically intermarried: "*a) nationality b) Country of origin (birthplace) c) primary cultural socialization (including schooling, developmental experiences) d) first language*".

#### *1.4.2.1 Potential Intermarriage Challenges*

Naturally, all three categories of intermarriage pose challenges in how the balance of family language usage will vary in context (Okita, 2002). At least one of the family languages in all categories will most likely be classified as a minority language and this fact poses a risk of imbalance in family language dominance, with one language being more present than the other. This thesis includes all combinations of intermarried parents, irrespective of whether both are migrants, or one spouse is domestic to Cyprus.

Parents who are considered the minority language speaker in their spouse's country face the risk of linguistic dominance enveloping their bilingual child, due to the predisposed dominance of their spouse's language and culture being the dominant language (Wilson, 2019) of where they live, and the majority of the extended family likely being more physically present in their children's social life, possibly putting the minority national parent in a less-favourable position (Guardado, 2017) linguistically and socially. Mothers are often studied as the minority national parent and may have to make sacrifices to their professional life (Okita, 2002) to act as childminders for their children to aid transmission of their mother tongue and spend more time with their children.

Intermarried parents may face greater challenges than parents from monocultural, monolingual families. Such minority national spouses and their children could face prejudice and ostracization from the dominant society and extended family, with the connotation that they are not seemingly '*normal*' compared to everyone else, or that the children themselves are 'foreign'. Intermarried couples themselves could face bullying (Jackson, 2009) from members of society in the wider community due to their exogamous marriage being seen as unconventional to societal norms.

Another presupposition is that the biracial child of an intermarried couple would never truly find their holistic identity (Jackson, 2009), not knowing whether to fit with one culture or the other (Park,1928; Stonequist,1937), causing an identity crisis and an uncertainty of their place of belonging in the world. These children are most likely living within the two separate cultures of their exogamous, bi-cultural parents, and have been raised as such, different from the monocultural norms of the society that they are growing up in. Such differing norms may include the way they are disciplined, praised or have affection displayed to them by their parents. This could cause internal conflict for the child and the parents themselves, who may be victims of criticism in norms of social convention from the majority members of society or extended family living in the same area.

As the number of intermarried parents continues to grow globally, there is a greater call for research and advice (Okita, 2002)on how these parents can facilitate their household environment to raise

their bilingual children in a cohesive manner, whilst also being able to positively foster the fact that multiple cultures and language co-exist in the same space and are able to thrive, both in terms of bilingual language rearing and bicultural values (De Houwer, 1999; Lanza, 1997; Okita, 2002).

### 1.4.3 Intermarriage in Cyprus

Since 1974, Cyprus has been divided into two areas: the Greek Cypriot part, which is recognised as an EU member state and controlled by the government of the Republic of Cyprus, and those areas under the control of Turkish Cypriot administration which are not globally recognised by the international community. This thesis refers to '*Cyprus*' as those areas controlled by the Republic of Cyprus.

The population in the area controlled by the Republic of Cyprus is mostly Greek Cypriot, although in recent decades a significant number of foreign nationals have moved there for long-term or permanent settlement (CYSTAT, 2010, as cited in Hadjioannou et al., 2011). The most recent population from CYSTAT (2019) of the reported population in the government-controlled area of the Republic of Cyprus is set at 888.000, although this is set to have increased approximately by over 5% at the time of writing, with 18.1% being of foreign citizenship.

Hughes (1999) reports that as a partial result of increased tourism, alongside increased global mobility for long-term employment prospect (Fulias-Souroulla, 2010) and a pre-disposed more relaxed quality of life, there has been an increase in national Cypriot males marrying foreign women, with 13% of the married population in 1999 at the time having done so, having increased in civil marriages (ecclesiastical are recorded separately) to 17,4% with the groom being Cypriot and the bride of foreign nationality, and 7,6% of the cases the bride being Cypriot and the groom of foreign nationality (CYSTAT, 2019), meaning a quarter of the country in 2019 had become intermarried by exogamous means. In turn, this leads to the high probability of such couples having multilingual children, resulting in an exciting prospect to study as to how the parents have been raising their children bilingually and for what reasons.

### 1.4.4 Cyprus' Language Context

Although Cyprus has a collection of small, foreign communities dotted around the island, it cannot officially be classified as an international country (Papapavlou, 1999). Officially, Cyprus is a bi-dialectal community (Karyolemou, 2001), with Standard Modern Greek (SMG) and Turkish being the official languages of the country (Fotiou, 2019) (see Figure 1. below). Cypriot Greek (CG) is the dialectal form of SMG (Karyolemou, 2001; Papapavlou, 2001b) which is much more preferably used by citizens of the country for all activities, with citizens seemingly viewing SMG as a higher prestige variant of the dialect, tending to use it preferably in formal situations, such as job interviews (Papapavlou, 2001b). The distinction of use between CG and SMG has been heavily researched in recent years (Papapavlou & Satraki, 2014). The preference to use the CG register is heavily incorporated in discourse from environments as close as the family, to educational institutes such as schools, seen as "*sites of overt metadiscursive activity to which students are exposed for prolonged periods of time*" (Agha, 2003, p. 261), where it is common knowledge that CG dominates discourse over the standard variant between students and teachers alike (Fotiou & Ayiomamitou, 2021).


FIGURE 1. FOTIOU'S (2022) INTERPRETATION OF THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGES OF CYPRUS

It is important to note that the English language has had an official presence in Cyprus from 1878-1960 when Cyprus was under British rule (Fotiou, 2022), and English was seen as a lingua franca between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities, and a prestige language in society (Karyolemou, 2001). Even after 1960, English has remained on the national curriculum as a compulsory secondary language to be taught in schools, with it being introduced as early as primary school (Fotiou, 2022). Social English language use, or the concept of '*Anglomania*' (Papapavlou & Pavlou, 1998) has increased drastically in recent years in Cyprus, with such headlines dominating local Cypriot tabloids over the years: as "T*he excessive use of foreign words leads to our national degeneration", "The excessive use of English threatens the Greek* language", and *"Language and identity*, *Language and confusion"* (Papapavlou, 2001a). At least 500 loan words are reported to have been incorporated into the Greek Cypriot dialect (Papapavlou, 1997).Although less attention has been given over the concerns of the increasing incorporation of the English language into the Greek Cypriot dialect (Goutsos, 2001), since there is no official form of written CG (Papapavlou & Satraki, 2014), citizens take it upon themselves to incorporate code-mixing and code-switching (Fotiou, 2019) and use the English phonetic alphabet to write in CG, known as '*Gringlish*'. The debate still remains over whether CG will continue to be victim of infiltration (Fotiou, 2019; Goutsos, 2001) of the English Language. With increasing numbers of immigrant families settling in Cyprus for long-term stay, believing that it will be sufficient to just use English to get by on the island, the option to not need to learn any form of Greek, be it SMG or CG, is a stark reality nowadays.

Pavlou et al. (2000) report that parents repatriating or emigrating to Cyprus and wishing to place their children in state education should be aware of the limitations of the public school system in terms of bilingual teaching that these schools may offer, as English has been taught as a secondary language in state education. Some parents commented on a lack of bilingual support from these schools, with there being a state-level lack of economic support to hire extra teaching staff to support students with little to no knowledge of the Greek language. These parents reported that their children were placed in mainstream lessons which were taught fully in Greek, causing the foreign students to fall behind, and even reject learning of the Greek language due to their inability to cope with the language their lessons were taught in. Some children felt ashamed to use Greek in social situations

due to their limited proficiency. Pavlou et al. (2000) advocate that parental involvement is key to the educational progress of children whose parents are unable or unwilling to place their children in an international school. They further report that parental involvement is key for their children to progress adequately in public education, but they also acknowledge that the state also needs to take the measures to support repatriated students with a curriculum more suited to their ability levels and language proficiency in Greek.

Research findings do not necessarily support the idea that bilingual Cypriot children struggle to progress in a monolingual public education. Papapavlou (1999) carried out a study of 39 multilingual and 210 monolingual Cypriot children (aged 9-13), to discern whether being a family bilingual had impacted their identity or proficiency with the Greek language. In their study, they determined that the bilingual students did not fare any worse in terms of Greek proficiency or academic achievement than their monolingual counterparts, despite having less total input exposure to the Greek language than their counterparts would, but discernibly did differentiate themselves as different in terms of cultural identity, acknowledging the fact that they possessed another mother tongue and cultural background. This stemmed from the fact that they were able to accept ideas more openly, express these ideas more efficiently and to a wider audience, and adapt easier to new environments.

### 1.4.5 The Multilingual Landscape of Cyprus as an Example in Sociolinguistics

Cyprus in its modern state and lead up to its independence never has truly been monolingual, but in a flux of multilingualism in terms of present languages, yet a despairing lack of reciprocal bilingualism from the dominating Greek and Turkish Cypriot cultures still exists. Questioning whether the linguistic landscape of Cyprus is multilingual poses some debate. For four hundred years, the primary languages have been Greek and Turkish (Øzerk, 2001). Whilst this may appear on paper that the island is officially bilingual, since official documents, multiple street signs and some shops operate in Turkish and Greek, this is rarely the case for real-world language practice. Reciprocal-bilingualism, in which the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots take measures to learn each other's language is not commonplace on either side of the island, nor implemented in public education unless taken up in secondary language classes, or privately. After independence in 1960 and before its coup in 1974, English was used as the official common language (as it was an ex-colonial language), and state affairs were conducted bilingually in Greek and Turkish.

After the 1974 Turkish coup d'etat and diaspora of both Greek and Turkish Cypriots as refugees (approximately 210,00 total - Øzerk, 2001), the lack of Greek-Turkish bilingualism remains. It is not uncommon to have elder, modern day GC citizens reminiscing on having Turkish Cypriot neighbours and being able to converse and understand one another. In modern day Cyprus from a sociolinguistic perspective, it is more appropriate to see Cyprus as a linguistic environment with two, dominating language gardens in the same location, functioning separate to one another. Whilst living next to each other and giving greater access to both communities to cross from and to the occupied territories, the two language groups continue to grow further apart in a sociolinguistic setting (Atun, 1994, in Øzerk, 2001). It is not uncommon to see Turkish Cypriots in the Republic of Cyprus conversing solely in English for social, economic and administrative tasks with Greek Cypriot natives. In Cyprus' context, we may see a potential danger of two monolinguistic ideologies drifting further apart from each other

rather than a bi-communal multilingual co-existence unless a common solution is met from both political sides, a wishful thought from many Greek and Turkish Cypriots alike.

With this mindset in consideration, one may regard the research site of Cyprus with a different critical lens. With '*reciprocal multilingual awareness*' defined by Windle (2023) as "*a core value of multiple societies that balance pluralities of episteme, language, and communality*", one would look and the multilinguistic landscape of Cyprus with the potential of having its native Cypriot citizens and immigrant communities transknowledge, and be able to co-exist and converse in English, Turkish and CG. Karpava's (2022) study to examine the trilingual landscape of the Pyla community in Cyprus was proof that the island shows some examples of communities acknowledging its plurilingual history and outreach to one another, despite its political schism. Karpava's study demonstrated trilingual public street signs across the community and reported positive attitudes from GC natives towards Greek-Turkish multilingualism in the local, bizonal community of Pyla.

With this knowledge in mind and in the lens of FLP, intermarried families may positively favour Cyprus as a site for bilingual child rearing, since Cyprus is officially a multilingual landscape, and yields potential for multicultural inclusivity for a range of nationalities and language combinations.

## Concluding Remarks to Chapter 1

This chapter has outlined the details of the present study, including a contextualisation of the research site and its multilingual landscape. Using Cyprus as a location which has been previously unexplored in terms of investigating language practices within the field of Family Language Policy, this study wishes to discover which language practices and strategies are incorporated by bilingual families to achieve their linguistic goals in a modern Cypriot society which is rapidly changing multiculturally (Schwartz & Verschik, 2013). Chapter 2 follows with a literature review of FLP, FLS and language ideology.

# Chapter 2: Literature Review

## Introduction

Via means of a literature review of relevant studies related to such a topic, this chapter justifies this research project within the field of FLP, focussing on FLS. This chapter will firstly review the literature centred on child language acquisition in bilingual child language acquisition alongside relevant multilingual terminology. It will then follow via examination of the existing literature of FLP as the basis of theoretical framework for FLS, followed by a standalone examination of the existing FLS contextualised through the current literature. Language ideology through the lens of FLP will then be discussed, alongside contributing factors that could affect a parent's language ideology in relation to child bilingualism. This chapter concludes with the theoretical implications with research in FLS, leading to motivations for this present study. These motivations explain how this current research project contributes to the field of sociolinguistics.

## 2.1 Family Bilingualism

The phenomenon of raising simultaneously bilingual children with the parents being one of (if not the only) primary sources of said mother tongues is known as '*family bilingualism*' (Lanza, 1997, 2007; Paradis, 2007). Lanza (1997) stresses that to examine language output from bilingual children, one must investigate language input as a primary starting point. A heritage-language bilingual is a child exposed to a family language separate from the majority societal language, yet that child is educated in that mainstream societal language, and is hence bilingual (Rothman, 2009).

When each parent is of a different cultural and linguistic background to one another, therein lies a crucial element different to how a monolingual family would naturally communicate. Bilingual children develop and begin to learn two first languages simultaneously (De Houwer, 1998) from birth, before the crucial period of language acquisition (Keenan et al., 2016) ends. This raises the question of whether these children distinguish between the two-family languages in tandem to one another, or use a single, unique language system encompassing both family languages (Jayasundara, 2015; Keenan et al., 2016).

What is important to note is that there is insufficient empirical evidence to prove that bilingual children experience language delay (Piller & Gerber, 2021) when exposed to two governed language systems (Jayasundara, 2015) The child may exhibit linguistic silence in one language, yet if sufficiently exposed, will be able to understand both domestic languages fluently. It is reported that bilingual first language acquisition operates through largely the same principles as that of monolingual children in terms of language learning, stages of babbling and speech formation, and comprehension (Slobin, 1973; De Houwer, 1990) with the key difference being that they will be able to be understood in two first languages rather than one (Gass et al., 2020).

What can be a reality in bilingual child language rearing there is some sort of heterogeneity between the exposure levels of both mother tongues, due to it being a challenge for both parents to be equally present to expose their child in their first language. This potential issue extends to possible

dominance of one home language over another, essentially forming an asymmetrical dominance between the two domestic linguistic systems (Gass et al., 2020). The child could consequently prefer to communicate in one language system, and even regress in the other due to developing favouritism of monolingual communication, or there being insufficient support available to support a certain family language. Additionally in the case that both domestic family languages are minority societal languages, sufficient community support may not be provided to support the family languages adequately and the parents must make certain efforts to ensure successful language transmission of not just their own mother tongues (classified as '*individual bilingualism*' (Lanza, 2007) ), but also acquisition of the majority societal language as a tertiary language for successful societal integration.

Another key difference in bilingual first language acquisition is the possible exhibition of unconscious code-mixing and switching, with the child not possibly realising they are mixing both languages into a single communication system, causing language confusion (Piller & Gerber, 2021). These examples of code-switching may also occur due to the parents exhibiting code-switching amongst one another, with the child imitating what they see and hear. This code-switching could involve the family languages, the majority societal language, or a completely different lingua franca between the parents, such as English, which is separate to their own mother tongues. As the child grows older, it is shown that they can distinguish between both their family languages (Keenan et al., 2016, p. 161).

### 2.1.1 Terminology in Multilingualism

As the reader may denote, the terminology used in this thesis to describe relevant languages are mother tongues, family languages, majority/minority languages, heritage languages, additional languages and prestige languages. Usage of terminology known as '*L1, L2 and L3*' (Initially introduced by Catford, 1959, in languagelearning.com) prove potentially problematic (Cruz-Ferreira, 2010) in the clarity of this thesis, as they may be interpreted differently to how the researcher intended. Hammarberg (2014) aids in clarifying this, explaining how L2 in are commonly referenced for foreign language acquisition in an educational setting, and may usually refer to monolingual speakers acquiring a non-native language to their own, and how L3 may (but not always) refer to the language acquired by simultaneous bilingual speakers in the same manner than L2 is to monolinguals. Naturally, one can see the array of possible implications in trying to define how each participant's family languages are to be defined in this manner, especially with an open selection criteria of all global languages and families who may possess secondary languages of their own as parents but the children acquire as native tongues. Additionally, when dealing with bilingual children, how does one differentiate the difference between L1 and L2 if both are acquired from birth? Hammarberg's model (2014) of acquisitional hierarchy further develops the complexity of L1,L2 and L3 definition, depending on monolingual or bilingual setting and criterion, and stresses that these definitions point towards chronological acquisition, but not fluency or personal attribution to those languages. The researcher decided to abort usage of this terminology and replace with different terms, to help better define how each family would view their languages, and avoid any culture clash and conflict amongst these interlinguistic families. As shall be seen in Chapter 4, families were given the freedom to note which languages they depicted as their majority, minority, and additional/prestigious to their FLP. There was no need to ever clarify to these families as to what these terms meant, and they instinctively seemed to know which family languages were more dominant in their household than others, some even putting CG as a minority family language in place of the other, despite residing in Cyprus. Furthermore, the language timeline percentage analysis as shall be seen in Chapter 5 point

towards those family languages with a higher presence of daily usage, and can be seen as more dominant in the family sphere, irrespective of when exactly they were exposed to the child at any point in infancy:

Mother tongues: The languages viewed as native to each parent from their upbringing, and thus considered native to the child transmitted, irrespective if the child is born in the country that this language is considered dominant or not.

Family languages: Even if not mother tongues, these are selected languages that the family consider integral to their and their children's daily communicative needs in their daily routine.

Additional family language: This is a non-native language spoken in the family sphere (usually English) which is considered integral to their family language sphere. Some languages, such as English and Russian are already considered international due to their accessibility worldwide (Cruz-Ferreira, 2010), yet this definition aids in these families allocating importance to such languages in their repertoire, irrespective if they were natively acquired or not.

Majority family language: The language reported to be more present in a family's household. In terms of CG, this may be seen as the societal majority language.

Minority family language: This is the family language less spoken in the family sphere. This is not to be confused with the term, *minority language*.

Majority language: In the context of Cyprus, this is Cypriot Greek, the (dialectal) language spoken most by its inhabitants.

Minority language: This is any language which is not an official national language of Cyprus.

Additional language: This is how the researcher interprets the term *secondary language*, which is a non-native language learnt and used in non-native contexts.

Heritage language: A family language, which may be considered like a minority language, which has familial ties to that speaker's ethnic background.

Prestige language: A language linked to elite bilingualism, with the prospect of opening social, political and economic (SPE) opportunities for its speaker/learner.

Whilst more exhaustive than listing each family's language as L1, L2 and L3, the researcher believes this terminology to give greater clarification and definition to the importance of each language in the contexts they are maintained and used. They would aid the interpretation of the findings in a more holistic manner and defined the unique importance of each particular language applied in both planning and practice for each participant. Furthermore, this would aid in contextualising the attribution of certain FLS used to support certain, less societally used languages, alongside more international and societally dominant ones.

## 2.2 FLP as Theoretical Framework

### 2.2.1 Defining FLP via Spolsky's Theory of Language Policy

This research examines bilingual child management strategies with FLP as a preliminary basis as its theoretical framework, albeit with a focus on the methods of language management and practice reported in this study. The field of FLP, whilst still relatively new, has seen a rise in popularity in recent research, (Cantas, 2024; Curdt-Christiansen & Gao, 2021; Karpava et al., 2021; King & Fogle, 2013; Liu & Lin, 2019; Piller & Gerber, 2021; Purkarthofer, 2019; Ringblom & Karpava, 2019; Süverdem, 2022) with more studies being carried out to determine the FLP of individual families, societal groups, and efforts deployed on a larger, national scale to support minority nationality FLP in countries. The term FLP can be defined as the *'explicit'* (Shohamy 2006) and *'overt'* (Schiffman 1996) *'planning in relation to language use within the home among family members'* (King & Fogle, 2006). This terminology was coined as a fusion of two fields of child language acquisition and language policy and has seen an adaptation from Spolsky's (2004) initial model of the three key components of language policy of a speech community.

These three core components of language policy refer to language practice, language management and language ideology. Language practice refers to the aural, verbal and non-verbal cues of the building blocks of a language, with these sounds forming meaning-bearing units that are interpretable and understandable by speakers of the same target language (TL). Language management (Spolsky, 2004, p. 10) refers to the "*formulation and proclamation of an explicit plan*" regarding language practice. Language ideology (Spolsky, 2004, p. 14) can be seen as a basis for justification of conforming to a certain language management, as a set of beliefs about why appropriate language practice and management should be carried out. It is important to note that Spolsky also favours the use of the terms '*language intervention', 'language treatment'*, or even '*language engineering'* as a substitute for language planning. He insists that when explicit methods are put in place, they are to support and constrain certain factors of language aligned with the planner's ideology. These factors are also suitable to implement into FLP.

Through this, Spolsky (2019) has revised his three components of language policy and added two extra sub-components: Under language management, he has highlighted to note the distinction between the advocates of power within a language group. These can be the language managers and other individuals who wish to intervene in how a language policy should be adapted. One can implement these factors in FLP for power relationships between parents, educators of the child, and extended family who may all have contradicting ideologies about how language management should occur. The second extra component highlights the importance of self-management, which is a conscious effort by the language planners and speakers involved to modify their language repertoire according to their linguistic environment. In the case of FLP, the self-awareness factor can apply to a parent who wishes to transmit a language which may not be their original mother tongue and must consciously consider how they may support transmission of this language. In the case of the child's self-management, it is natural that the child's language development will depend on the exposure they receive. Therefore, an extra factor of self-management originates from the parents realising that their children's first language proficiency largely depends on the interventions put in place by the parents themselves.

The field of FLP has received a considerable amount of attention (Curdt-Christiansen & Lanza, 2018), with studies carried out by Child Language Acquisition (CLA) researchers on communities and individual families to discern individual FLP (De Houwer, 1999; Lanza, 1997; Okita, 2002; Romaine, 1989).To create a manner in which one can further understand the field and apply it to their own research more clearly, FLP has been significantly researched and brought to our attention through the efforts of King et al. (2008, 2013), who sketched an initial framework (2008) for how it could be understood in its entirety. They brought across the notions of language attitudes and beliefs with regards to child language development (De Houwer, 1999) and how language policies on an institutional level had not been given enough attention to the context of the family home with regards to the parent's desired intention for their and their children's language learning goals (although King mentions that caretaker-child interactions had been studied on this level by researchers of CLA). They further elaborate that attention needed to be given to bilingual households in this field of CLA. King et al. (2008) attempted to combine the notions of language policy (Spolsky, 2004) and CLA (De Houwer, 1999, 2007a; Lanza, 1992, 1997; Romaine, 1989; Ronjat, 1913) to fill in the gaps in the research to give a satisfactory explanation as to why bilingual households experience varying levels of heritage language proficiency despite being raised in similar conditions. They call our attention to the importance of realising language ideology plays an important role in informing the "*application, realisation and negotiation*" of an FLP and its preferred and eventual outcomes.

FLP has been further defined by King et al. (2008) into a preliminary framework to be better understood in research when one investigates three key areas of focus where actions and decisions are carried out by a bilingual family: *status planning* (interventions as to whether or when to use the available family languages), *corpus planning* (how to implement the TLs and for which literacy-based activities), and *acquisition planning* (how and when the language should be explicitly and formally instructed (King & Fogle, 2006)).

Complimentary to this preliminary framework, King et al.'s (2009) research to better understand an FLP aligns itself when one examines an FLP through the lens of the key three pillars of Spolsky's (2004) language policy, but on a family, micro, or community scale. King & Fogle. (2006) propose another way of answering an FLP by understanding "*which caretakers attempt to influence what behaviours of which family members for what ends under what conditions by what means through what decision-making process with what effect*", by modifying Cooper's research question of language policy: "*What actors attempt to influence what behaviors of which people for what ends under what conditions by what means through what decision-making process with what effect*?" (1998, in King et al., 2008). This can be interpreted via FLP as the caretakers (the parents or legal guardians of the child) intending (language management) to transmit their desired languages, by which means (language practice), and for what purposes (language ideology).

Through the lens of FLP, the three pillars of language policy see family language practice as the explicit or implicit usage of a particular language(s) in select situations (Wilson, 2019), and by which means or methods a multilingual family and the individuals/receivers of communication the immediate members of said family interact with. Family language ideology can be interpreted as parental ideology in FLP. This investigates parental belief of bilingual language acquisition and the status of parental languages through influence of macro-political decisions (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013b), and the personal parental beliefs on how and why a child should be raised bilingually (King et al., 2008; King & Fogle, 2006, 2013). Family language management in FLP, as aforementioned by Piller (2001) can also be defined as language planning. These interventions in planning are the conscious, or implicit manners in which a family sets a plan of guidance in how and when they will deliver their intended language practice in line with their ideology. What is most relevant to this study is the range

of language strategies and techniques (Lanza, 2007) which are available to influence (Wilson, 2019, 2021) bilingual children's language use and development, as shall be outlined in further detail in the following sections of this chapter.

Conclusively, we can thus give a more nuanced definition of FLP and what it seeks to investigate through the study of King & Fogle (2013), as they further define FLP through their own framework and the notion of language policy as the examination of (all, or focus on certain elements of) language use, language choice, investigations of parental ideologies, their interventions, the strategies and approaches they use in language choice and practice, and how the context of bilingual family life in a social context can play a role in eventual language outcomes.

### 2.2.2 The Significance of Family Language Planning

In a modern, cosmopolitan world, many individuals emigrate to new horizons, form intermarriages, and in turn produce multilingual families. Spolsky (2018) himself has noted the importance of the family environment as a '*critical*' source of language intervention and policy, meriting the studies (Spolsky, 2008, 2012; Tannenbaum & Howie, 2002; King & Fogle, 2006) carried out in recent years to highlight the significance of the family home as a key factor in child (and parent) language development, which have used his own theory of language policy as a major theoretical underpinning to further understand bilingual child language development in the family domain. Further studies have been published (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, 2016; Curdt-Christiansen & Lanza, 2018; W. Liu & Lin, 2019) after noting gaps in the literature to aid in further clarifying how sociocultural factors could influence bilingual parenting (King & Fogle, 2013), and new family language combinations which extend from just European languages. FLP could be one factor coupled with education and work, as largely overlooked within national policies in their effectiveness to be successfully implemented until recently.

FLP as a '*functionally specific process*' (Fishman, 2001) must be incorporated to highlight the importance and necessity for children's bilingual development (King & Fogle, 2006) in a select society from the initial critical stage of bilingual child language acquisition, to avoid language shift, uphold intergenerational language transmission, and promote bilingualism. Furthermore, it is seen as a critical domain (Curdt-Christiansen & Lanza, 2018) for multilingual development, language maintenance and cultural continuity (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013a; King & Lanza, 2019; Spolsky, 2012).

## 2.3 Language Management Strategies

### 2.3.1 The Concept of Language Management Strategies in FLP

This thesis places emphasis to further research Spolsky's (2004) FLP initial framework, that concerning bilingual language management (Wilson, 2021), aligned with language ideology and the eventual language practice as the main mechanism of communication (Tannenbaum, 2012) to support ethnic language maintenance (Chatzidaki & Maligkoudi, 2013). This emphasis looks at the "*specific efforts to modify or influence practice* (namely that involving family language planning) *by any kind of intervention*"(Spolsky, 2004, p. 5). These have also been referred to by Lanza (2007) in previous studies as 'language choice patterns', as they are repeated manners in a set routine to transmit a certain choice of family language in a certain manner.

In this thesis, the actions and practices deployed by bilingual families in CLA will be referred to as *Family Language Strategies (**FLS**)* and are not to be confused with the term '*strategies*' in general language planning, as referred to in previous literature, which set out guidelines as to which languages a certain parent should use in a certain scenario, depending on language combination type, or place of residence. FLS are explicit interventions on either who uses a certain language, how to use a certain language, or in which scenarios a certain language should be used.

FLS justify the importance of parental input for language maintenance. This thesis argues a need to give greater focus on parental language strategies (Lanza, 1992) towards bilingual CLA. It aims to uncover which FLS are at a bilingual family's disposal in Cyprus when managing the parental languages and majority societal languages. These can be FLS that have been well-researched in existing literature, or new, previously unreported ones that have been favoured by the parents interviewed in this study. It allows a more quality-based inspection into family language management of what efforts have truly been carried out during the time spent by the bilingual parents (in terms of child-centredness (Döpke, 1992), as opposed to simply examining the quantity of time spent in the bilingual environment, and how these could possibly influence how successfully languages have been transmitted.

It is important to note that FLS must be categorised appropriately according to the type of language being supported, the quantity of languages being transmitted, the environment in which they are used, the purpose they are used, and whether they are simply actions of subconscious calculation (Lanza, 2007), or just a force of natural interaction which the interlocutor may not initially realise they are doing. This may include using a certain language unknowingly in a certain fit of emotion or committing to a certain activity in a particular language without realising, as it simply feels natural to the speaker, or the speaker is completely immersed in their interactions without realising which language they are doing it in. This applies to the transmitter of language (the parent) just as much as their child, as it may be initially hypothesised that every FLS has been consciously and explicitly planned out before practice. Other FLS may be deployed with the parents having not previously considered an FLP, rather a certain FLS being used as a natural process of their parenting. Lanza (2007) has even noted that their previous studies have seen participants '*surprised*' at their own language use when any recorded discourse has been played back to them. FLP therefore may not always be a consciously planned phase of language intervention (Wilson, 2019).

Further to this, there are contradicting opinions on whether "*highly organised and regular, reflective monitoring*" (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013a) of the child's linguistic development would aid in successfully transmitting a family language. These studies report that planning, monitoring of persistence, consistency and repetition of use, and physical interaction (De Houwer, 2007) highly increase the chances of successful language transmission. Without these factors, it is unlikely that a child would be able to uphold satisfactory command (Chatzidaki & Maligkoudi, 2013) of the TLs. Other studies report on families with a complete '*laissez*-faire' attitude to bilingual child upbringing, with no reflective parental adaptation to aid a bilingual child attain both mother tongues fluently yet have reported successful bilingual child language transmission. This thesis will not be reporting on how to measure bilingual fluency or testing the bilingual proficiency of a simultaneously bilingual child's first languages as a result of said-reported FLS, but will report on the methods of language transmission that have been reportedly used by bilingual parents, regardless of whether they had previously planned or not.

### 2.3.2 OPOL: Is it a Good Starting Point as a FLS?

In recent studies, a significant amount of attention has been given to the One Parent, One Language (OPOL) approach as one of the most effective, feasible and practical FLS, and has often been favoured in its usage amongst middle class intermarried families (Wilson, 2021). OPOL may be defined as each parent speaking their native language, or a language of their choice to their children (King et al., 2008) for that child to acquire that language combination as their mother tongues. When first conceived, originally, the condition for this FLS to be seen as OPOL was that one of the two family languages had to be the dominant societal language of the community where the family live (Grammont, 1902; Ronjat, 1913), yet nowadays OPOL has developed into different variants, irrespective of whether the person transmitting their language is doing so in their native language.

The term was initially coined by Maurice Grammont (1902), whose original idea of "*une personne, une langue" (*translated from French to: *one person, one language)* required no pre-planning or explicit intervention, but simply for the parents to simply speak to the child in the language they wish the child to learn, with each language being represented by that specific parent. The key factor in Grammont's thought process for this strategy was that the parents must exclusively communicate in that chosen language and never reverse roles with one another (Ronjat, 1913). Through such a method, the parents would need no further consideration as to how they should raise their children bilingually and be able to interact naturally in their mother tongue as they wished. This can ensure regular and consistent exposure to the chosen languages (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004a), especially if the languages are minority languages (Döpke, 1992) , which may not receive adequate community support in the country of residence. Furthermore, it sets clear linguistic boundaries (Giles, 1993) to the child as to which language to separately use with a certain person (or people in the case of extended family members).

As popular and simple as OPOL may be as outlined in its initial principles, it should not be considered as the only FLS to choose and could pose some drawbacks. Mirroring its popularity, OPOL has been subject to significant criticism (Wilson, 2021). It has been described as 'unrealistic language management' (Okita, 2002), since additive bilingualism requires a considerable amount of effort and attention, and simply not giving any further thought in how intermarried parents would transmit two first languages other than simply speaking, when necessary, may impact bilingual prowess. Dopke's (1992) study of six bilingual families in Australia discovered further limiting factors of OPOL which may also impact the degree of bilingualism the children would receive. If both TL(s) were minority and be

limited to very few interlocutors, or even just the one parent (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004a) the exposure levels would drastically differ between languages.

This potential issue further extends in the example of a family using OPOL with two minority languages, where one of the parents spends an extended time away from the child due to work or personal concerns. This tends to be common amongst fathers of the multilingual child (Romaine, 1989). Furthermore, it is highly unlikely that both parents would equally spend an equal 50% each of the day with their child. This may cause one of the family languages to become more dominant than the other (Giles, 1993). Another concern with OPOL is the challenge of which common language the intermarried parents would use to communicate together in, as once again it would either unbalance the exposure levels the child would receive or introduce a tertiary lingua franca for interparental discourse.

Danjo (2021) comments that such studies such as that performed by Lanza (2007) has the parent adopt a monolinguistic ideology, as they must constantly be in a scenario where they adhere themselves and their children to adopt a stance where they must correct their children (and spouse's) language use if they intend to mix or use the wrong language with the wrong person. This could lead to a very rigid monolinguistic structure when OPOL is put into practice. Danjo's own study (2021) mirrors the concerns that OPOL may restrict a flexible approach to an FLP, with their study of an English-Japanese bilingual family in the UK having the mother's bond '*linguistically reinforced*' with her child, as she is responsible for the primary input of Japanese their daughter would receive. Excerpts from Japanese translated interviews with the child revealed that the child cognitively assigned language roles to each of her parents who adhered to OPOL. The daughter would further challenge her mother's authority whenever any arguments arose, and would purposefully tell her mother she would no longer speak to her, nor study Japanese if she did not get her way in certain scenario.

This demonstrates that the bilingual child can be consciously aware that their parents are employing OPOL or an intervention in the form of an FLS, which they are able to manipulate once they have reached a certain level of proficiency in both family languages. This affirms reports from previous studies (Bain & Yu, 1980) regarding OPOL that a bilingual child, if fostered appropriately by having both family languages spoken distinctly separately by either parent, may acquire a native standard of speaking during the critical period of language acquisition. Once that period has passed, the bilingual child seems to develop their own, inherent metalinguistic system and monitor and manipulate their own language dynamics.

Further challenges in related studies report how OPOL can prove detrimental for natural flow of conversation, whether it be ad-hoc multilingual conversation or a monolinguistic ideology. Whilst some studies report the importance of the role of the majority speaking parent supporting the minority language at home (Venables et al., 2014), especially with such a strategy such as OPOL, a major flaw arises if either parent is not competent enough in the majority or minority family language. Some parents may be able to understand, let alone communicate effectively in their partner's mother tongue. Venables et al.'s (2014) study had all three bilingual families adopt a supportive, mediative environment to foster bilingualism, especially that of the minority language. However, all three majority language parents spoke the minority language to a high standard of fluency in this case.

To support this FLS, OPOL can be further supplemented with a '*boost*' in domestic monolingual usage at home by incorporating further interlocutors to exclusively communicate with the child in a chosen language. This can be via a non-related childminder/caretaker (King et al., 2008) or via family members (such as grandparents) who would regularly visit the home to look after the child. Usually, in

the case of intermarried parents, the minority-nationality grandparents would have little to no fluency in the majority language, making the only available method of communication with their grandchildren in the minority language. Especially in the case of monolingual grandparents, this FLS could be viewed as a variant of OPOL, with the child being expected to communicate exclusively in one language to certain individuals that they frequently encounter in their lives, and could be categorised as One Person, One Language.

Further attention must be given to the majority societal language, should it differ from both parent's planned family languages. While this may be the case for all FLS, Lanza (2007) noted that some intermarried parents claiming to religiously implement OPOL for their children used both family languages in daily conversation, contrary to their intended language practice. As they are slowly able to respond multilingually, the child's own personal interaction with their parents may also impact how feasible it may be for a parent to continue using OPOL. Although a viable method for fostering bilingualism (Lanza, 2007), there is a call for future research to focus on alternative existing policies other than OPOL (King et al., 2008). Taeschner (1978) recommends that OPOL has its place in being an effective FLS, when best used as a temporary method to correct initial child morphological issues by having the parents insist on speaking exclusively one language each, and then moving onto multilingual and code-switching methods of FLS.

### 2.3.3 Previous Methodological Categorisations of FLS

In this section, the categorisations of FLP strategy approaches discovered in the literature other than OPOL will be explored in further detail. Previous studies which have created their own list of FLS have been separated into different categories as basic language patterns according to native language type possessed by the parent, community and chosen FLS. Romaine (1989)'s interpretation (Crawford & Lengeling, 2019) of FLS is as follows:

*1. One Person – One Language*
Romaine's interpretation of OPOL is that at least one of the home languages is the societal dominant language. Both parents speak their unique and *original* mother tongue to the child. This hypothesises that all outside stimulus exposed to the child would be in the community language unless explicitly intervened by the parents to support the minority language via other means.

*2. Non-dominant Home Language/ One Language – One Environment*
Oly one of the parents is a native of the country of residence. However, both parents speak the minority language to the child, and allow the dominant language to be used in all aspects out of the home by all other walks of life, particularly in schooling. This is also known as the '*hot-house approach*' by other scholars (King & Fogle, 2013). Yamamoto (2001, in De Houwer, 2007) puts forth their FLS of "*principle of maximal engagement with the minority language"*. This can be defined as the minority language deserving more use and attention in the household, with both parents being expected to use it to give their child a greater chance of assimilating to it and accepting it as an additional mother tongue, although this could impact proficiency in the dominant family language. Once again, this FLS mirrors Romaine's interpretation of the strategy.

*3. Non-dominant Home Language without Community Support*
This is more so for immigrant, heteroglossic parents sharing the same nationality and mother tongue (monolingual parents, yet the prospect of a bilingual child due to exposure to the dominant societal

language). Both parents speak the same mother tongue to the child, whilst the child naturally acquires the societal language independently.

*4. Double Non-dominant Home Language without Community Support*
This FLS is for mixed-nationality parents, who both wish to transmit a separate mother tongue to the child, whilst the child is also exposed to a tertiary, societal language. The parents exclusively speak their own language to the child.

*5. Non-native Parents*
The parents and the community may all share the same mother tongue, but at least one of the parents exclusively addresses the child in all circumstances in a language which is not their native mother tongue.

*6. Mixed Languages*
The parents may be of any nationality combination, but both bilingual, alongside members of their community. The parents constantly code-switch and mix the language combinations for all interactions with their child and between themselves.

These strategy categories attempt to incorporate all scenarios and language combinations, both in and out of the home. Adding in the categories of community support for both single and double non-dominant home languages acknowledges that some minority languages have a very limited community presence, requiring their own set of unique FLS.

Lanza's (1997) strategies listed on a spectrum from a monolingual context to a bilingual context, and were primarily discourse based. In this spectrum's order, these were listed as "*Minimal Grasp, Expressed Guess, Adult Repetition, Move on and Adult Code-Switching"*:

*1. Minimal Grasp concept*
The 'minimal grasp' strategy (Auer & Li, 2007; King et al., 2008; Lanza, 2007), is where the parents pretend not to understand the child should they respond in a language which isn't the intended family language (such as the societal or national, or even English as an international language). Lanza(2007) has even gone as far to say that this FLS is the 'most effective' to promote minority language acquisition.

*2. Expressed Guess Strategy*
The parent would ask the child a question in the other family language to promote use of a desired TL.

*3. Adult Repetition Strategy*
The parent would translate the latest utterance the child has made and repeat it to them in the other family language.

*4. The Move-On Strategy*
The parent would not interrupt the conversation if the child were using a different language to their intended one at the time and allow the conversation to continue.

*5. Adult Code-switching*
Similar to Romaine's (1989) definition, the parents knowingly mix both family languages (or even also incorporating the tertiary societal language) in conversation.

Barron-Hauwert's (2004b) study with 100 bilingual families allowed her to categorise six FLS methods of family language transference. These mirror the list published by Romaine (1989):

*1. OPOL (Majority-Language strongest)*
The original interpretation of OPOL (Grammont, 1902; Ronjat, 1913).

*2. OPOL (Minority Language supported by the other parent)*
One parent speaks the minority language exclusively, whilst the other parent speaks a combination of the minority language and dominant societal language to the child, either by monolingual utterances or code-switching (Lanza, 1992).

*3. Minority Language at home*
The same as the '*Non-dominant Home Language'* strategy (Romaine, 1989).

*4. Trilingual Strategy*
The parents adopt a '*double non-dominant home language without community support*' (Romaine, 1989) approach, causing trilingual language transference with the third language being naturally obtained through the child's interaction in their society.

*5. Time and Place Strategy*
Similar to the '*One Language-One Environment'* (Romaine, 1989) (OEOL).strategy. A chosen language is exclusively used by the parents in a particular scenario. This can range from such basic activities as always choosing language 1 for car journeys, whilst only using language 2 when sitting at the dinner table at home.

*6. The 'Artificial' or 'Non-Native Strategy'*
The same as the '*Non-Native Parents'* (Romaine, 1989) strategy.

Curdt-Christiansen (2013a) categorised FLS in terms of intent, rather than language choice. These link more to the language management tangent of FLP, where organisation of planning, and reflective practice would dictate what further action the parents would choose to do:

*1. Highly organised intent and planning with regular monitoring of the child's bilingual development.*

*2. Unreflective parental adaptation depending on the child's prowess with the intended languages.*

*3. Complete 'laissez-faire' attitude to the child's mother tongue(s) development.*

### 2.3.4 FLS Synthesised in Previous Literature

A theoretical implication lies to distinguish between how one may better define FLS (Braun & Cline, 2014; Hu & Ren, 2017; Muysken, 2013; Schmidt-Mackey, 1971). Previous language strategy-orientated studies appear to give no strict classification as to whether a strategy is entirely discourse (Nakamura, 2018) or action based, as a method of language practice. For example, studies such as that of the aforementioned Lanza and Romaine (2007;1998) report language strategies as discourse-based methods to enforce an overarching language policy, such as that of a monolinguist one as OPOL, or that of a flexible, bilingual household. These also differentiate between interaction strategies, such as bedtime reading in the TL, and deliberate efforts to regulate their children's language practice, such as choice of education.

Other FLS-orientated studies (Kostoulas & Motsiou, 2022; Mueller, 2023) give mention to discourse and activity-based methods to facilitate bilingualism. Furthermore, these previous studies did not necessarily go into detail about alternative practices which incorporate TL use in the family environment to facilitate acquisition of a dominant or minority mother tongue a bilingual child possesses, nor were language ideologies or attitudes given on whether these strategies were liked or disliked for whatever reason. Instead, they are seen as instances when or where a parent should use a certain language at a certain time.

Studies (Venables et al., 2014) also affirm that not just OPOL (but OPOL can suffer dramatically if one of the primary transmitters of language, especially the minority language is largely absent) but many FLS require constant commitment. The family unit ought to engage in regular parent- child interactions, which could mean that some FLS are simply not adhered to, or are seen as a challenge if one parent is away at work, or physically tired to implement such a FLS due to personal commitments.

Liu and Lin (2019) noted how Chinese grandparents would actively play a larger role in child upbringing as compared to traditional Canadian nationals. The second-generation Canadian-Chinese family they observed had the father emigrate to China for a PhD program for three years, The father would actively call their 18-month-old child every day on the phone exclusively in English whilst the mother and child were still in Canada. When the mother and child eventually emigrated to be with the father, the family would exclusively speak Chinese out of the house. Additionally, they purposefully sent their child to a full-day daycare in China, whilst they would speak exclusively English when all at home together.

Similarly, Ojha's (2020) study of two families of Nepali descent in the US displayed intended usage of the 'insisting strategy' (Lanza, 1997) and choice of holiday destination as FLS to foster heritage language acquisition. The parent's ideologies, although positive to bilingualism, clashed with their reported language practice, and the parents found that transmitting the minority language in the US proved rather challenging, due to their '*family obligations and professional duties*', which left them lacking the time to find methods to transfer the heritage language. The study concluded with the concept of identity crisis linked to language with transnational immigrants. As much as the parents would have wanted to transmit their heritage language more to raise their children bilingually, they struggled to spend more time at home, as they were busy working.

Curdt-Christiansen (2013a, 2013b, 2016; 2018) has carried out numerous studies to discover how bilingual family practice development is shaped by language ideology, and as a method to track language shift by observations of interactions on a micro and meso scale in the community where the bilingual family reside. A large theme in these studies revolves around language and identity delivered through language policy, and that the linguistic practices deployed by the families involved in these studies shapes how identity, attitudes and relationships are created and developed.

Kendall and King's (2006) study on 24 Spanish-English speaking families in the US sheds light on how bilingual parents expressed positive attitudes on fostering FLP in their homes, from recalling their own experiences of growing up in bilingual communities, to the wealth of social, political and economic (SPE) opportunities prospectively available to their child should they follow an FLP. However, the article clearly states a need for more types of findings for what "*types of exposure are needed*" when approaching balanced bilingualism, leaving these parents to their own devices to figure out methods to foster bilingualism in the household, primarily through "*corporations with a vested interest in selling commercial language learning materials, such as videos or computer programs*", rather than feasible and accessible manners to transmit language.

It is also crucial to note that regardless of how well thought out an FLP may be, the risk of the minority language not being as successfully transmitted may always occur (De Houwer, 2007), or occur as well as expected. Supporting factors also include whether both parents speak the family languages, and the importance of parental engagement to apply input (Verhagen et al., 2022) with the TLs (Yamamoto,2001, in De Houwer, 2007), seeing how some parents of bilingual families may find it too strenuous to spend enough time with their children due to work commitments (Okita, 2002).

De Houwer's (2007) survey with 1,899 bilingual families to determine family language patterns discovered that the parental language input patterns were very important to ensure balanced child bilingualism, with parents seemingly having to cooperate to control language exposure of both the dominant and minority language to ensure language input stayed consistently high in both family languages. However, there is no specific percentage stated as to the minimum required amount of selective language input for a child to be able to be proficient in that TL. They add that bilingual families should be able to plan which languages could be spoken at certain times of the day and during certain activities to ensure a sufficient amount of language exposure is met. De Houwer (2007) further elaborates on the quantity of input, commenting on the relative frequency of physical parental input in the two household languages, reporting that active, '*balanced*' input (from both parents) needs to be further researched to determine whether one parent being more present when raising the bilingual child has any overwhelming effects on language outcomes and perceptions of linguistic identity.

### 2.3.5 Previous Studies of FLP and FLS in Cyprus and Greece

At the time of writing, few studies have been carried out in Cyprus regarding FLP and FLS. Karpava, Ringblom and Zabrodskaja (2022) identified 20 families with at least one Russian parent each residing in Cyprus. The two main FLS highlighted through the structured interview questions shed light on the positive attitudes to multilingualism from these mixed-nationality families, alongside demonstrating that OPOL was primarily used, alongside using mixed-utterances in Russian and English to help assist the bilingual children when attempting to explain a difficult piece of vocabulary in the Russian language. The parents explained how bilingualism was also fostered by the Greek-speaking grandparents looking after the children for a portion of the day, whilst other parents explaining their ideal FLP wished for a Russian nanny to look after the child out of school hours, a Greek-speaking kindergarten, and Russian-orientated '*hobbies*' to take up the remaining time during an average school week for the child.

The parents of one interview desired to send their child to a public school. This was to use the money they would save from private education, and reinvest it in immersing their child in English speaking hobbies, plus offering the ability to *'assimilate' the child* in the local culture to adapt to Cypriot large culture mentality and traditions, and possession of the majority society language would be of a huge bonus to the child should they wish to live in Cyprus permanently. There was a favourable opinion in the families' FLP on non-formal education to create a bilingual heritage language environment. This would be to show understanding to the importance of exposure to early literacy in both languages, and due to the high social status that Russian holds in Cyprus. This informal education would also extend to sending some of the children to Russian Sunday schools to increase the frequency of

Russian literacy exposure parallel to the monolingual Cypriot nursery schools the children would attend.

Ringblom and Karvapa have carried out further studies of bilingual Cypriot/Russian children growing up in Cyprus (Ringblom & Karpava, 2019) , to discover that OPOL is a favourable FLS to incorporate, whilst encouragement and support within the family group is a large factor of preserving language maintenance, yet successful bilingualism is not always achieved through the OPOL method from the findings shown.

Another study carried out in Cyprus by Zheng (2015) identified 3 FLS during their observations of an English-Turkish bilingual family in Northern Cyprus. They noted that the household would exclusively speak and support the minority language of English when the family was all at home. They had made a rule that the entire household would all switch to Turkish should they be visited by a Turkish guest.

There is a call by authors to research on how CG and non-community support languages are both facilitated by immigrant families who have emigrated to Cyprus. In, fact, no mention of any FLS were seen (Mipex, 2010 in Hagage Baikovich & Yemini, 2024), but instead touched on how migrant language support and intercultural integration in the Cypriot public-school curricula are met with 'resistance' from the state education system. Such linguistic practices mentioned in interviews carried out in Cyprus on its education system (Hagage Baikovich & Yemini, 2024) were: *"inclusion of the wider community by having children's parents at the school in order to get to know a different culture; organization of games from different countries; collaboration with other countries through EU projects; interdisciplinarity – art and music contests related to interculturalism and equality among all people (e.g. a contest held in public primary schools entitled 'Black or white, all equal'); and including foreign poets and/or painters in the curriculum who bring together the culture of other countries."* These practices were mentioned within the context of the education system, and not the household, neither focus specifically on language acquisition, but rather raising awareness of intercultural sensitivity.

Whist Bourdieusian approaches to how immigrant parents of already multilingual children seek to facilitate the adjustment (Hagage Baikovich & Yemini, 2024) of repatriation for their children by enrolling them in an international school (which seem adept in the acculturation process for multilingual children), no published studies in Cyprus interview intermarried parents on their practices and thought processes on raising a bilingual child from the very beginning. Such parents have already intended to settle in Cyprus long-term, and this doctorate's aim in understanding how and why an intermarried couple can raise a child in 2024 with at least two mother tongues only seeks to assist such studies which explore immigrant families' ideologies in repatriating to another country and supporting their minority language; in these instances, we would assume that their children have already passed the critical stage of language acquisition, and simply seek to support language maintenance, rather than initial acquisition.

However, studies reporting on FLS and FLP carried out in Greece (Andritsou & Chatzidimou, 2020; Chatzidaki & Maligkoudi, 2013; Kostoulas & Motsiou, 2022) have been carried out with bilingual, intermarried families with Greek as a dominant or majority family language and contain relevant implications relating to this doctorate's results. Kostoulas & Motsiou (2022) adopted a similar view of what an FLP could represent, as a complication of linguistic ideology, but merging language practice and management together, naming them *Language Transmission and Management* (LTM) methods. These LTM were seen as indistinguishable from practice and management, as the children involved in their study were in the early stages of linguistic development, and it was interpreted that it was not meaningful to separate the two categories. They referred to LTM as strategies and practices aiming at

linguistic development, akin to what this doctorate refers to as an FLS (although this researcher's interpretation of an FLS leaves language management as a separate component, with language practice being the focal point of its definition aimed at linguistic development of the language learner). This doctorate seeks to give a clear distinction between language practice and management, as language management could be substituted with the term, '*language planning'* (Spolsky, 2018), and could be observed qualitatively to see whether parents sought to plan out certain FLS prior to having children, and reflect if they actually committed to them or not in real-life scenarios. Their methodology, involving Grounded Theory as a means of data analysis , uncovered the following LTM, similar to Lanza (1997) and Romaine's (1989) findings:

1. *One Parent, One Language and Variants*
   This interpretation of OPOL sees the traditional monolingual variant, alongside its deviations of situational, or circumstantial language shift by the interlocutor depending on the flexibility of the parent deploying said LTM.

2. *Reinforcing of Non-Majority Languages*
   This can be interpreted as a preservation of ethnic identity by having the minority language being the exclusive household language.

3. *Situational Selection of Languages*
   This has been summarised as "*systematic accommodation to communicative exigencies*". This may also be categorised as two parents, two languages, in which both parents may code-switch between the family languages where and when appropriate depending on the situation.

4. *Ad hoc use of Multiple Languages*
   This is usage of a certain language which is most naturally befitting for a given situation.

5. *Reinforcement Strategies*
   This was referred to as "*improvisational reinforcement strategies*", such as parallel translation of an utterance, repetition of certain key words or phrases, or pretending not to understand what the child was saying if they used a language different to what the parent initially wanted them to.

What really stood out from the *Reinforcement Strategy* LTM was the advice to TL eventual input exposure. One example was given in the case of increasing German language presence in the household to gradually and exclusively make the child watch German cartoons. This was the only reference to what this doctorate considers as an FLS in terms of a practical and explicit example of language practice, as it is a set of actions which are not discourse based that can still manipulate input exposure of both a minority language environment, and improve cognitive skills, which are feasible to implement aside from the traditional OPOL variants.

Relating to the findings shown about the popularity of choice between bilingual and monolingual education, Nicolaou and Parmaxi's (2016) study was exclusively set to discover language attitudes and support for minority languages in Limassol alone given by the Education Sector of Cyprus and published three main languages being primarily used in the target area through their interviews with their selection pool (CG, Russian and English). This study focused on only one city in Cyprus, Limassol, that being the one which is the second largest and one of the multiculturally diverse in terms of

migration, rather than a holistic view of Cyprus from all districts. The study touched on migrant children and parents receiving some targeted, but limited, measures that include standardised language support from the Cypriot Ministry of Education that is also provided to migrant pupils' parents. No further explanation as to what these limited measures could be aside from additional SMG classes, and whether they correlate with any existing literature around language management and practice were mentioned. These measures mentioned neither extend into the domestic environment, but rather the domain of education.

## 2.4 Language Ideology

### 2.4.1 Language Ideology in FLP and FLS

Language, or linguistic ideology has been defined by Silverstein (1979, p.193) as "*any set of beliefs about a language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use*". This has been adapted into FLP from one of the primary pillars of language policy (Spolsky, 2004) in which a family "*imagines and collectively constructs themselves"* (King & Lanza, 2019) based around which languages they choose to use in the domestic setting, both explicitly and implicitly (Auer & Li, 2007), and for which purposes. Language ideology acts as one of the underlying forces (King et al., 2008) of language management and practice as a justification of why certain interventions, modifications and decisions are made during the management phase of an FLP, henceforth altering how language practice may ensue. When explicit changes to the linguistic behaviour in a certain household have been, or plans to be authorised (Tannenbaum, 2012) on behalf of one of the caregivers, language ideology could be the basis on how this behaviour will be altered.

It is important to define the terms that contribute to family language ideology, so that they are not misinterpreted in further reading of this thesis. *Language attitudes* reflect one's stance, emotions, and feelings towards a certain language. A language attitude may be positive or negative towards bilingualism, certain FLS or specific languages (Auer & Li, 2007, p. 52). *Language preference* dictates which language or variety is preferable for certain uses and times. *Language ideology* encompasses these notions of language attitudes in an FLP by focussing on beliefs, motivations, feelings, and conceptions towards acquisition of language, may these beliefs pertain to a certain individual or society, or positive/negative stance and then seeks to apply that language preference into language planning, and consequently, practice.

Auer & Li (2007) propose a clear link between language ideology and family language use patterns in the domestic setting: that language ideology is further seen to be a '*mediating link'* between the way in which language is used, and '*social organisation*' (King, 2000, p. 169). This interpretation from King suggests that language ideology may affect the praxis of how an FLP is delivered. Explicit interventions of linguistic behaviour can be the outcome informed by the authority (King et al., 2008) of the parent's language planning, supplemented by their ideology.

There appears to be a mediating link between language related parental beliefs and attitudes (De Houwer, 1999) and parental linguistic practices in a FLP (King et al., 2008), demonstrating that one's language ideology may influence their language management and practice.

King et al. (2008) initially reported on three types of parental ideology which would impact practice in bilingual households, and may be seen as a point of reference in when researching FLP. Firstly, they commented on the clear notion of parents knowing which languages they wished their children to know, and for what reasons (Hornberger, 1988). The second type was a parent's attitudes to their tolerance of types of speech used (whether it may be monolingual or mixed utterances. The third type was the parent's own views and beliefs towards language learning and their view on bilingualism, as this would influence their approach on language management and practice when interacting with their children.

De Houwer's (1999) research to discern why bilingual families of similar language combinations and social circumstances have various outcomes in terms of their children's language proficiency and patterns demonstrate that a parent's language ideology, shaped by their own attitudes and beliefs (both cultural and linguistic) influences their linguistic decisions and interaction strategies that they use with their bilingual children. This consequently could have impact on their children's eventual language development. The manner in which language attitude and belief can be defined can be seen as one's stance towards a certain language, the manner in which language can be used (if at all), and how one believes one should implement it into practice. This may be used in a monolingual or bilingual context, and may additionally link to one's tolerance of code-switching and mixed utterances by a bilingual speaker. For example, negative attitudes towards one's home culture or language may have a bilingual speaker actively choose not to use that language with their own children. The opposite may be said for positive attitudes towards a certain nation or language, with interlocutors having a fond relationship with a certain language, even though it may not be their own, and wish to transmit it to their children over one which may be their mother tongue.

If one were to look at language ideology under the nature vs nurture argument, De Houwer's (1999) further defines a specific tangent of language ideology under the term '*impact beliefs*', as explicit decisions to use or not use a TL when conversing with one's child to reach a desired educational goal, with that parent believing they "*may exercise some sort of control over their children's linguistic functioning*". The concept of '*impact beliefs'* (De Houwer, 1999) refers to the scale of belief that a parent may have to manipulate or exercise control over their children's language use, or how much responsibility they hold (King et al., 2008) to expose their children to certain facets of their mother tongue, with the possibility it could aid their bilingualism over time. This would be considered as the '*nurture*' faction of child language rearing and active bilingualism. Conversely, De Houwer (1999) exercises that some parents also hold no impact beliefs, with those individuals believing that they cannot, or should not exercise any intervention or control in their children's linguistic functioning, and that nature should take its course, under passive bilingualism.

King and Fogle (2008) further researched the link between parental beliefs and language attitudes, noting it would persuade family linguistic choices and interaction strategies (this researcher's interpretation of FLS), which would consequently have an impact on children's language development. This research by King and Fogle (2008) can extend to which language is preferred to be used (Pavlenko, 2004, in King et al., 2008), which category of FLS to implement (may it be a monolingual-type FLS or multilingual orientated one) (Zentella, 1997, in King et al., 2008), and possibly the eventual actions (both macro and micro processes) of language transference.

### 2.4.2 Factors Influencing Language Ideology

King et al. (2008) call for further research on how bilingual parents form their language ideology, and which factors influence these attitudes and beliefs, only distinguishing that parents would be prior informed by family members on how they should approach parenting. Their own previous lived-in experiences with languages (and only a minority using published literature) would inform their decisions ( King & Fogle, 2006). This study showed that a parent's own experiences dealing with the trials and tribulations (King & Fogle, 2006) of multilingualism in their own upbringing may impact their own family language ideology, may it be an additive, enriching, or even subtractive language policy. Kirsch's (2018) study of Luxembourgish parents in Britain showed that the parents' own, lived in experiences with multilingualism and self-study on language informed their FLP and altered the means in which they offered bilingual opportunities to their children.

Language ideologies can also be influenced from a variety of factors ranging from both external and internal (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013a; Spolsky, 2004), and macro to micro scale (Kirsch & Gogonas, 2018). National language policies, public discourse to personal preferences such as potential socio-economic and political gain, and lived in life-experiences with multiple languages, linguistic proficiency (Hornberger, 1988) and acquisition methods (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016) are all contributing factors to shape one's own language ideology. Macro factors may also include governmental support to assist in fostering community languages, such as offering Saturday school lessons free of charge in community languages. Naturally, this may all depend on the breadth of support available, the status of such languages at hand, and the sheer quantity of minority language speakers that request support in a select social network (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). King et al. (2008) stress the need for further research into how parents form their own language ideologies, and what factors have helped to influence their attitudes and beliefs for certain language choices and their FLP and consequent FLS.

Language ideology can be shaped by immigration. This strong emotional involvement (Tannenbaum, 2012) and attachment to not only the heritage nation, but the new destination country may require majority language shift as a necessity to integrate the family into society, and possibly as an explicit intention of the family to forget or distance oneself from their country of origin (e.g. due to possible political concerns). This could bring forth the need to develop an FLP to ease the transition into the majority society as an immigrant. It is documented that minority-community member immigrants may fall victim to alienation and discrimination in a new society, and often see themselves using FLP as a coping mechanism, by incorporating multiple languages in the family, including the minority and majority languages in family discourse.

Maintaining of heritage and cultural ties plays a role in many families' language ideology as a motivator for fostering bilingualism. Guardado's (2008) study of language socialisation in Canadian-Hispanic families saw the heritage language of Spanish as a must for the families to maintain as a fluent mother tongue, attributing it as their language of cultural heritage and identity. It was even more interesting to note that Spanish was seen as their language of "*meaning-making*" (Tannenbaum, 2012), whereas English was a tool of necessary communication outside of the Hispanic community. This notion of meaning-making saw the families involved in the study regard Spanish as the natural language to use for emotion, storytelling, and family history. This association of cultural heritage is seen as a must in other language ideologies (Tannenbaum, 2012) to facilitate the children's communication with extended family and promote intergenerational and transnational family cohesion. Cultural notions of good vs bad parenting vary across communities. Some parents even question the notion of '*good parenting*' (King & Fogle, 2006), as bilingual child rearing can be seen as

peculiar in some communities. In others, it is seen as criminal when a heritage language is not purposefully transmitted when available for the parents to do so, as it limits the linguistic outreach and capabilities the child could have easily received compared to that of monolingual families.

Language ideology can play its role a main driving force of a language policy with the possible associated '*value, power and utility*' (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009) of one's chosen means of communication. This has been further separated into four categories of language ideology by Curdt-Christiansen (2009, 2013a, 2014) as '*sociolinguistic context, socio-cultural context, socio-economic context* and *socio-political context*' to help differentiate these sources of motivation. This means that certain languages may be valued and incorporated into an FLP for the possible prestige that accompanies it, or the prospect of feasible communication in said language to promote SPE gain for the child should they become fluent in a language seen as prestigious by the parents. This language may not even be a native tongue of the parents, yet they plan to expose their child through FLS so that they may acquire it regardless. One example is the parents choosing an international kindergarten over a monolingual one to expose the child to English alongside the majority language should English not be the national language.

Additive bilingualism (Lambert, 1975, in King & Fogle, 2006) has been seen as a popular language ideology among multilingual families and has found that "*raising bilingual children and achieving additive bilingualism have become many parents' goals and desired objectives*" (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016). Many parents see family bilingualism as a gift (King & Fogle, 2006; Piller & Gerber, 2001), alongside the accompanying benefits of maintaining cultural ties and socio-economic prospects. Purkathofer's (2019) research with aspiring and/or new parents in Austria, Hungary and Italy displayed that all their language ideologies were in favour of additive family bilingualism, and henceforth informed their language planning into which FLS they should consider using to foster such ideologies into practice. Although parental ideologies can be very supportive in terms of fostering heritage, minority and societal languages simultaneously, there is a call for more information (King & Fogle, 2006) about the process of raising children bilingually with appropriate FLS.

The challenge of how to maintain balance of preserving minority languages extends to bilingual and interlingual families with independent minority languages, and the challenge of each parent's unique ideology coming to an agreement on the linguistic balance (Wilson, 2019) (or imbalance) the child should be exposed to. This may often place interlinguistic parents in an uncomfortable scenario (Guardado, 2017) as to how much of both minority languages and the societal language the child could realistically be exposed to in an average day to acquire a certain degree of ideal fluency without potential input exposure overload. Dynamic family-internal factors (Seo, 2021) contrasted with broader sociolinguistic factors outside of the house merit more attention from researchers on how this could affect balanced child bilingual development.

Emphasis must be made on the fact that ideal language preference and usage may not always come to fruition. What may constitute a desirable linguistic outcome (Piller & Gerber, 2021) may not necessarily convert easily into successfully intended language practice. Goodz's (1994) study is one example where parent's intended language usage, in line with their ideology, did not translate into real-world practice for which languages their children actually exhibited, or covert linguistic choices by the parent (Lanza, 1992, 1997). As aforementioned in this chapter, certain parental ideologies may clash with one another, leading to difficulty and conflict in language management (Piller & Gerber, 2021).

### 2.4.3 Elite Bilingualism

Language ideologies are prevalent with regards to family bilingualism, where options lie open for those parents who possess multiple languages in their repertoire or wish their children to become bilinguals from a young age and acquire additional languages for enhancing future SPE opportunities. This can be defined as elite bilingualism (Romaine, 2011).

Elite bilinguals (Romaine, 2011) are referred to those who acquire additional languages (Guerrero, 2010), alongside maintenance of their mother tongue (akin to additive bilingualism), but voluntarily and explicitly do so. They may also be family bilinguals who have voluntarily chosen specific languages to be used in the household, without any constraints for having done so. These justifications for doing so tend to link to this additional language embodying advantages in SPE terms or being a language of prestige in global or societal terms. This means that the TL being learnt may possess high social prestige, potential links to professional growth, alongside the benefits of being able to communicate in another language. This additional language in question may be a bilingual child's heritage language, yet the ideology behind the parents wishing the child to learn it are centred around the notion of elite bilingualism for future opportunities, rather than simply maintaining cultural and ethnic ties.

Folk bilingualism can be defined as those who are linguistic minorities with their own mother tongue who live amongst a dominant societal language (National Research Council and Institute of Medicine et al., 1997), and must acquire the official language of the larger community they are living in to be able to survive, and become bilingual by necessity. This may also encompass educational programs in state education whose parents may not be able to afford private bilingual education or tutoring, which offer streamlined classes to immigrant children to immerse them in the TL as much as possible so that they may integrate into society easier. Additionally, the minority language of a select immigrant community may not hold high SPE prestige (Guerrero, 2010) where they live, which may lead to eventual subtractive bilingualism (with the societal dominant language taking over).

This indicates the motivations for elite and folk bilingualism may be tied into such language policies as those centred around bilingual schooling, both on the macro scale and family scale of language planning. We may see examples of folk bilingualism present for schools providing minority group children with fast-track L2 classes to acquire it as quickly as possible to assimilate into mainstream L2 classes, possibly at the risk of losing their L1 (Guerrero, 2010).

Elite bilingualism-motivated ideologies can be seen for those that voluntarily choose to send their children to bilingual (usually private) educational institutions to facilitate their ideologies (Romaine, 1998, 2011). Usually, these bilingual institutions offer tuition in prestigious, global languages, alongside the societal one and may additionally offer tuition in the heritage language that a bilingual student may possess (although this may be additionally characterised as heritage language education (King, 2000)). The desired outcome for elite bilingual education is to set the student up with a clear-cut goal of acquiring TLs for future opportunities, where folk bilingual education is once again viewed as a support method for enculturating the minority child into the dominant society.

It is important to note that the ideology of a parent adopting an elite-bilingual stance into their FLP does not necessarily mean the child will accept acquiring the TL, especially if they feel forced to do so. Conflicting ideologies between parents and the bilingual child may lead to the child rejecting to commit to such measures to promote heritage, or elite bilingualism (King, 2000; King et al., 2008), causing involuntary language shift. This thesis focuses on parental language ideologies, rather than measuring success in the outcome of bilingual child language output proficiency.

### 2.4.4 Bilingual Child Self-Identification

Language in FLP is defined by Schiffrin et al. (2008, p.595) as the means in which a child may actively begin to build their own social identity and self-awareness, via the "*semantic and pragmatic resources* available" by such language transmitted by their parents or carers. Hall and Hall (2000) claim that "*communication is culture and vice-versa".* By combining the notion of the symbiotic nature between culture and communication, and bilingual child language acquisition, one starts to gain an understanding of the complexity of how a bilingual child's identity may be formed as they grow older with two mother tongues, and parent cultures. The source of acquiring language in the domestic setting primarily originates from the heritage culture of the family (Lanza, 2007, p. 46). Coleman's (1988) family capital theory details how cultural capital is passed down through socialisation within the family. In a linguistic sense, language capital should be transmitted by the parents to the child, but now on a dual scale if the parents are intermarried.

Language forms an important part of one's culture and identity, being the verbal and non-verbal (through use of body language) means in which to transmit cultural representations (Hamers & Blanc, 1989, p. 198). When multiple languages are considered as the child's mother tongues, therein lies a more complex self-identification of where one fits in, as a bilingual child through parentage of mixed-nationality and mother tongues is a product of at least two sets of values and beliefs. As the child becomes more able to communicate bilingually and fluently, they will naturally learn to 'identify and evaluate' (Hamers & Blanc, 1989, p. 207) themselves compared to others in societal groups through cultural differences and similarities. Acquisition of more than one form of cultural communication may aid the child in achieving a committed, bilingual planning. S. Hall & Gay (2011) also comment that identity only becomes an issue when it becomes an issue of crisis. This means if the bilingual child in question has no issues accepting themselves or attributing themselves as comfortably belonging somewhere, then no issue should be posed.

Identifying oneself as a bilingual (Jones Díaz, 2007; Liebkind, 1995; Ylänkö, 2017) can be categorised in multiple ways. One may self-identify as a bilingual if they have simultaneously acquired two family languages from their parents, if they have mastered two languages, can alternate between two languages to accommodate one's needs in everyday life, or are identified as bilingual by others (Liebkind, 1995). Alternatively, one may categorize one's bilingual identity as hybrid (Hall & Gay, 2011), associating with two or more nations they have resided in, or may be a child born to intermarried parents from different nations, alongside living in their own, unique nation.

Bilingual parenting and its involvement in both bilingual child acquisition and identity association is key in the overall success of the language acquisition process. The parent's individual active and passive involvement in transmission of their own language can be a contributing factor to establishing the child's individual bilingualism, but through cooperation of transmission of both parent cultures and languages can one gain insight into how language maintenance and shift (Paradis, 2007) may occur at home. When both parents hold their own (and possibly '*contradictory*' (Piller & Gerber, 2021) to one another's) cultural identity, consideration must be given as to not only promoting which languages the child will speak but allowing the child to find their place in society, producing their own unique culture whilst still making a positive contribution in adult society (Lanza, 2007, p. 47).

Hamers and Blanc (1989, p. 220) recommend that to allow bilingualism to progress in a positive state in relation to self-reflexiveness of identity, the parents of a bilingual child should encourage their household to highly value both their mother tongues and positively identify with both ethnic

communities (and the societal community), seeing these as both dynamic and relative to their everyday lives. Additionally, it is advised to avoid any aforementioned contradictions of belonging exclusively to a single cultural heritage. This can aid in positive cognitive, social, and moral development (Lightbown & Spada, 2013) in addition to linguistic prowess (Liu & Lin, 2019) for the entire family's wellbeing. Lanza (2007) points out that the decision from the parents to impart the gift (Piller & Gerber, 2021) of bilingual language acquisition already displays a positive attitude to the multilingual development of their child's social identity.

### 2.4.5 Identity Crisis, or Identity Choice?

As aforementioned in this chapter regarding bilingual child identity, an ethnolinguistic identity allows a child to identify and evaluate their persona (Hamers & Blanc, 1989, p. 207) through both the similarities and differences with other individuals in their society. This conveys the relationship between language and identity. Additionally, there is a margin of responsibility held by the parent when they are aware that their child's bilingual identity because of succinct language planning. Bucholtz & Hall (2005) characterise identity as the product of linguistic practices rather than an internal psychological phenomenon. Through this, a parent's linguistic and cultural interventions in the household may help to aid their child in how they may identify and find themselves in the world (Mills, 2001). This also suggests that implementing bilingualism from a very early stage of parenting truly helps the child's bilingual proficiency, but also the construction of their unique bilingual identity. Language ideology does not necessarily refer to sole linguistic prowess but may also refer to matters of social and personal identity (Auer & Li, 2007). Ideologies can be expressed through a person's opinion about language itself as metapragmatic discourse. This may include language choice and the manner of language usage. These may stem from a parent's personal experiences with bilingualism growing up, or for the prospect of their children being able to settle and communicate and be seen as accepted in multiple societies.

Potential challenges lie with a bilingual child holding heritage of at least two different cultures. This could lead to a choice of which aspects of each culture to accept, or reject, and how the child will view themselves as they become more self-aware. The opposite of identity choice may occur, with identity crisis taking place because of pressure or confusion of where one's place lies in society as the child of two cultures. Bateman's (2016) study of a bilingual child from an English-Romanian household revealed the child's use of both family languages allowed them to create a dual linguistic identity alongside a feeling of belonging in the community environment. Brown (2009) researched into how the Korean-American bilingual students at the university level still maintained their heritage language of Korean and how strongly it impacted their sense of belonging with their unique ethnic identity, showing a correlation that strong language proficiency with a heritage language could positively impact the four students involved in the study to feel more in touch with their Korean roots, alongside the dominant American culture. Instead, the participants commentated that the manner in which they felt perceived and expected to act in society was a contributing factor in shaping their bilingual identity, additional to cohesive, supportive environments from a young age aiding in preservation of heritage language maintenance. Brown's (2009) study shed further light that a bilingual child may see dual identity as something they may not have initially chosen to have, but something that is attributed to them automatically by the general public. The participants interviewed in the study felt like their physical appearance made them more aware that they were bi-racial, and thus could fall victim to potential societal stereotypes of their heritage race. This correlates with

previous research of identity (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Hall & Gay, 2011) that one's finding of identity is how one perceives that others may perceive us (Díaz, 2003).

"*I am an American girl who is trapped in a Korean body. It's important to*

*stay in touch with the Korean side, but I feel like I'm White. I only look Korean*."(Brown, 2009)

Tension may arise when conflicting ideologies (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016) may arise from parent's opposing views and attitudes on language acquisition. Differing views in cultural practice and perhaps language practice may in fact create unwanted language shift (Curdt-Christiansen & Gao, 2021) within an FLP, impacting its intended result. The outcome of conflicting ideologies and impacted linguistic proficiency may cause the bilingual child to feel disassociation with one of the heritage cultures, due to lack of physical contact with heritage language speakers and the inability to speak it to a native standard.

The parents themselves may also fall victim to an identity crisis over choice. Ojha's (2020) study clearly demonstrates this identity crisis with Nepali transnational immigrants who emigrated to the US in search of better financial prospects. Ultimately, the immigrant parents would feel an identity crisis themselves, as their language ideology indicated they wished to transmit their heritage language, yet they lacked the time available due to work priorities to be at home with the children. The children would instead be exposed to US English, seeing a language shift, and a possible identity shift towards an American identity rather than a dual Nepali-American association. Díaz's (2003)study of bilingual Latino-Australian parents highlighted the importance of parents' own lived in experiences of identity, self-perception and experiences with language would prove very useful in how they could support bilingual child rearing from the early stages of CLA.

There is a call for further research within FLP to discover whether families consider a causal link between their own linguistic identity and their child's and whether any consideration is given to this when formulating and delivering an FLP to either foster or give freedom to a bilingual identity.

### 2.4.6 Language Loss and Family Language Ideology

With regards to language attrition, language loss, or subtractive bilingualism, studies outside of Cyprus provide reasonings as to why this could be possible and give understanding as to why language loss does occur in bilingual families. Published studies point towards anxiety or pressure on the minority language speaker (Sevinç, 2022), leading the minority language speaker, or both parents to cease household multilingualism in the hopes that they would alleviate such anxiety from their lives. Language shift is an alternative cause of lack of a bilingual environment (which is another reported theme seen through this dissertation's findings), as the minority language parent begins to become more proficient in the majority or national language and sees an identity shift into a monocultural mindset. Sevinç (2022) gives possible reasonings for these cases of language shift, or language loss, or subtractive bilingualism, or language attrition and accompanying negative emotions displayed by the local community or other multilingual families.

Sevinç (2022) sees such reactions from minority/immigrant communities observing minority language loss as a sense of disloyalty to the heritage culture and country. They further explain how a dominant country's pressure to adopt to a monolinguistic mindset, and ethnocentricity towards those in an immigrant context (causing them anxiety to adopt to the dominant society's linguistic norms). Their

findings showed that multilingual families who ceased heritage language maintenance put it down to absence of lack of effort, planning, and a negative attitude towards bilingual language development. These were seen as a source of negative experiences and stressful occasions. Both families ultimately shifted to a monolingual Dutch-speaking household through such stresses, wishing to avoid their children's social mainstream exclusion and potential identity crisis. This doctorate's discussed findings witness both the intermarried parents viewing bilingualism in an extremely positive light, acknowledging it can be stressful to implement into a daily life, but at the same time advising that it will pay off in the long run; but more importantly with the bilingual child accepting their bilingual identity with a sense of pride in associating with multiple cultures, and expressing that through language.

Such further examples given (Mueller, 2023) point towards lack of transmission not through lack of trying, but through lack of feasibility. Such challenges other families faced was striking the balance between how financially able a parent was to find support minority language preservation (especially when that parent lacked community support or native grandparents to act as additional interlocutors of the minority language), and how realistically they could provide any heritage or minority language development by themselves. This was also combined with time and work constraints from the parent, certain activities, schooling and lessons being unavailable in the TL in the country of residence. Other justifications for not transmitting a minority language were that such parents felt overwhelmed, or felt they had lack of guidance on how to realistically facilitate bilingualism or plurilingualism in their household.

### 2.4.7 Previous Studies of Language Ideology in Cyprus and Greece

Recent studies centred around the topic of multilingualism in Cyprus (Karpava, 2024) sought to examine the perceptions of general multilingualism and multiculturalism in all professional and social capacities, such as work, social, and private environments. Nicolaou et al. (2016) examined the concept of multilingualism in Limassol identifying CG, English and Russian to be the three most used languages multilingually through their identified participants, whilst Kkese and Lokhtina (2017) focussed on the interviewing Greek Cypriot nationals' attitudes towards a multilingual society within the Larnaca district. The results of the Larnaca-based study affirmed that language attitudes may be affected by one's *"personal beliefs, stereotypes and biases, social status and group solidarity, identities, language policy and ideology as well as by their actual experience of multilingualism in their everyday life"*.

Kkese and Lokhtina's (2017) study mainly concentrated on adult participants and their views on minority-language speaking immigrants and their socio-linguistic process in Cypriot society, with these Cypriots giving responses centred around the constant growth and decline of majority and minority languages in Cyprus. The main results were that native Cypriots acknowledged the importance of a need for all additional languages (especially for the domains of education, workplace and media), but did not specify whether this should be implemented in an educational policy for future generations of Cypriots or international residents. Additionally, Kkese and Lokhtina's (2017) study employed a questionnaire as its methodology to gather insights about language ideology.

Other FLP-orientated studies set simultaneously in Greece and Cyprus warrant further discussion, as their findings correlate with those found in this doctorate's. Kostoulas & Motsiou (2022) report on family language ideologies and a similar interpretation of what a language management and practice

method (known as an LTM in their terminology) from data analysed through Grounded Theory in responses generated by multilingual families in Greek and Cypriot communities in multiple Facebook groups. 230 posts and any additional comments were analysed to answer a key research objective, on the topic language ideology: *"What is the linguistic ideology expressed by parents in mixed-language families regarding the plurilingual development of their children?"* (Kostoulas & Motsiou, 2022).

Their second research objective, that being: "*What are the preferred Language Transmission and Management practices of said parents?"* is extremely similar to this doctorate's first research objective. The author believes that by finding out preferred language practices first, language ideologies would be automatically reported as a by-product, as parents would be keen to elaborate as to why they have chosen such methods to foster the multilingual development of their children. Furthermore, this doctorate used interview data to elicit such responses to discover language ideology, as lived-in experiences and opinions on matters as personal such as language would not be able to be sufficiently expressed in a single Facebook post.

A general, recurring ideology amongst parents involved in such studies (Chatzidaki et al., 2014; De Houwer, 1999; Kostoulas & Motsiou, 2022) was the preservation and promotion of the minority language, or the non-dominant family language for protection and preservation of one's ethnic identity. This correlates with the recurring ideological theme found in this doctorate's findings that there is a direct link between the mother tongues one possesses and the ethnic identity they hold themselves to possess. Parents quoting that their children would identify equally with both their majority and minority cultures in terms of nationality and feelings of pride, despite only living in the majority country is direct proof that conscious efforts by minority language parents alongside their spouse to transmit their mother tongue aids in passing associations of cultural identity.

Other families in Kostoulas' & Motsiou's (2022) study expressed strong, positive attitudes to both bilingualism and plurilingualism. The concept of bilingualism being a '*gift*' for such children was repeatedly cited, alongside the plurilingual status these children would receive when additional global languages such as English were incorporated in the families' daily routines. Other families expressed that they had heard concerns that plurilingual input exposure may cause language delay or confusion to their children, and whether this would cause language salience, unintentional code-switching or language mixing from the bilingual child. This mirrors a common ideological theme seen in Cypriot communities, that local, stereotypical village gossip of the negative connotations of bilingual family language households, which would cause a child to be delayed or confused when confronted with multiple forms of communication. Parents in Greece also confirmed to reject such stereotypical beliefs and preferred to commit to published or researched sources to discern whether this may be true for their child or not. Current studies (Guiberson, 2013; Jones, 2009; Kroll & Bialystok, 2013; Lowry, 2016; Nicoladis et al., 2016) further give evidence on the importance of giving anecdotal evidence to bilingual and plurilingual families, that potential language confusion or language salience expressed by a bilingual child may be an outdated ideology backed with no visual proof that this would occur to a typically developing young child.

## 2.5 Theoretical Implications of Existing Studies: Motivations of Study Based on Literature Review

Whilst these studies focus on a general category of language acquisition in terms of discourse, they do not further examine or identify other types of language acquisition which one may classify as a strategy to foster bilingualism, in adequate detail. There is a need to identify case studies to examine the variety of interaction types other than the micro-level of face-to-face interaction (Auer & Li, 2007) . There are multiple methods of language exposure available to a multilingual family aside from discourse. These can range from an action as simple as acquiring monolingual storybooks, choice of leisure activities (films/television channel choice/streaming platform language choice) or educational activities, to planning a vacation abroad with the child to spend an extended amount of time of exposure to the TL. These types of FLS have yet to be examined further in the recent literature and could prove useful to aspiring interracial families wishing to find innovative, or even more feasible methods to transfer multiple tongues to their children which fit into their daily routine.

With regards to ideological impact beliefs (De Houwer, 2007), this present study proposes to find a link between FLS usage and ideological impact beliefs and language attitudes. Bilingual parents who can justify why they choose certain FLS over others in their daily routine in line with their language attitudes and impact beliefs may shed light on why certain strategies would appear more feasible than others to implement. This also includes why certain FLS are carried out in specific languages, be it the dominant, minority, or additional prestige languages. This can further aid and inform prospective multilingual families in similar social scenarios on how they can best inform their children's language practice in which languages they can help them become bilingual in and help them prepare an FLP of their own should they so wish. This may also aid in understanding how bilingual parents perceive that their child should be identified, and for which future opportunities in life they could be preparing them for.

Scholars in CLA have yet to consistently discover a reason why bilingual proficiency differs among bilingual families of the same language combination (King et al., 2008). This research could aid in bridging the gap as to the micro-level workings of bilingualism transference, in the case of which types of specific bilingual actions have been used at home, how often they have been used, how favoured they were in terms of practicality, feasibility and effort by the parent.

The previous studies in FLS concentrate on large demographics of a certain nationality or community as opposed to random combinations of mixed-marriage bilingual families on a smaller scale, which may only yield certain trends or patterns which may have been previously synthesised in previous research. Concentrating research with FLS with a smaller number of families and welcoming unlimited language combinations truly allows a better understanding of the micro level of face-to-face interaction in the bilingual family (Auer & Li, 2007), and may yield unseen patterns in terms of FLS usage and ideological beliefs in CLA.

This present study aids in affirming a need for in realising the importance of adhering to an FLP from the domestic standpoint as an additional means of minority and bilingual linguistic support (Kkese & Lokhtina, 2017; Nicolaou et al., 2016) before viewing available support options from the Cyprus Ministry of Education.

## Concluding Remarks to Chapter 2

This chapter has reviewed the literature on FLP which has taken place in recent years, and that the reflective thinking of prevalent language policy practitioners have observed such studies and taken it upon themselves to update and renew their own policies in the literature (Spolsky, 2019). Examinations of FLP from a micro scale of single families (Zheng, 2015) to a more macro, immigrant community scale (King & Fogle, 2013) have been contextualised to observe how a language ideology influences the general outcome of multilingual child upbringing. However, there is still a call in research for greater focus on the actual displayed praxis of language management in real-world scenarios for bilingual child upbringing in relation to why a parent has chosen to go down such a route. The methodology used in this study is elaborated on in further detail in the next chapter.

# Chapter 3: Methodology

## Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodological approach taken in this study. It begins with the rationale for using a mixed-method approach, followed by the research design and participant recruitment procedure, research site, data collection methods, data analysis methods and the ethical procedures undertaken. This is to answer this thesis' two primary research objectives: *To discover which language management and practice methods are used at home by multilingual parents to raise their children multilingually in the Republic of Cyprus,* and *to discover the language ideologies underpinning such a choice of family language policy from such bilingual families in the target area.*

## 3.1 Research Approach and Rationale for Using Mixed Methods

This study draws on a two-stage, mixed-method process of data collection, first implementing a quantitative means of data gathering to identify CLA strategies and any patterns of language planning and practice through the twenty participating families. This was then followed by a subsequent audio-recorded interview to not only allow these participants to discuss their answers in further detail, but to elaborate on their lived-in experiences, thus clarifying and making meaning (Alase, 2017) of their initial answers and their attitudes towards bilingual child upbringing. Once again, any patterns of language ideology could then be identified and compared amongst the research participants, leading to a triangulated, holistic presentation of findings.

For a more holistic approach of why such FLS were chosen and used, a mixed-methods approach (Creswell, 2009) was used to elicit the best possible data from the twenty participating families. Were the researcher only to have implemented one method of data collection, this would have not yielded a sufficient quality of data (Morgan, 2013) to truly discover and present viable, reported, and reviewed methods of language transmission. Therefore, this choice of methodology design was created in mind through a practical lens of research and through a willingness to answer the intended research objectives with the richest quality of data, irrespective of a heavier weighting to either qualitative or quantitative means.

After participant recruitment and ethical consideration were completed, data collection would commence. In phase one of the data collection, participants were sent a pre-interview activities pack (Appendix A) to complete and return independently. The activities pack consisted of three component parts: a family profile, a language timeline and a questionnaire about existing strategies.

Phase one of data collection would present a summative overview of the participants, whilst shedding further clarity as to perhaps why they gave such scales of effectiveness for said FLS, due to their contextual background, whilst additionally affirming any possible responses and eliminating reported bias during the second-phase of the methodology: the interviews. Whilst these three methods of data collection in phase one gave an insight into the existing strategies used in Cyprus and a scale of satisfaction used for each one, it only gave a face-value insight into why such measures were taken and could be complemented with further qualitative data collection to greatly improve the level of

detail (Labuschagne, 2003) to the answers initially given in the first-phase of quantitative data collection.

Phase two took the form of a recorded interview of approximately 1-1.5 hours long, with seven stages of questioning (Appendix B). This was carried out via semi-structured interviews of which the participants were only informed that the questions would be an extension of the prior activities they filled out, to allow them to answer as truthfully as possibly without unnecessary bias. This would aid the researcher in answering the second primary research objective: to discover which language ideologies would underpin such a choice of FLS in an intermarried family's FLP.

Quantitative data collection is only one necessary half to fully discover one's FLP, with qualitative data collection providing major clarification and a wealth of information (Miles & Huberman, 1994) into why a certain route of FLP has been taken. When interview questions have been specifically formulated to elicit data to answer research objectives, specifically on those including a participant's lived in experiences on a matter so personal as their children, it adds an extra layer of depth to the data collected in terms of attitude and ideology into FLS choice and opinion, via the participants' lived in experiences (Bridges et al., 2008). This matter of data collection is crucial to our understanding of language management strategies which dictate an FLP's intended and actual mode of practice. Furthermore, the use of mixed methods through such means helped to strengthen the validity (Johnson & Christensen, 2014) and affirm the reported answers given in either stage of data collection.

## 3.2 Research Design

### 3.2.1 Participant Inclusion Criteria

The participants involved in this study were twenty intermarried parents from any ethnic background, irrespective of being married or separated, who were raising their child or had already deployed their FLP to their children and are simply reflecting on their experiences at the time of data collection. The couple had to be permanently residing in Cyprus, and their child had to be living in Cyprus from the minimum age of two years old, due to the plasticity of the brain allowing for multiple language inputs up to the crucial stage of mother-tongue language acquisition (Foster-Cohen, 1999; William O'Grady et al., 1996) being shown to set at approximately three to five years old. The children involved in the study had to be over the age of three at the time of data collection with the parent, to be able to communicate at a coherent level with their family languages past the telephrastic stage (Ambridge & Lieven, 2011).

At least one of the two parents had to speak and write a coherent level of the English language to give their consent to the interview taking place, and to answer the materials given to them in the two stages of data collection. In turn, some of the participating families did not possess English as a mother tongue, yet could communicate effectively in it, demonstrating a need to include interview questions about their opinion of the presence of English as an additional language in Cyprus. Single parents, heterosexual, or same-sex marriage couples were all welcomed. All religious, gender and sexual orientations were also welcomed and are not discriminated against.

All combinations of family languages were welcome. This freedom to allow all language combinations rather than a specific coupling of parental mother tongues (such as only Russian and Cypriot speaking

families) would prove difficult in recruiting such families in Cyprus who would be willing to participate and was not chosen as such a method in this study. Furthermore, it would only limit the potential of language attitudes and beliefs which may be unique to certain cultures and nations of minority language speaking parents. The welcoming of all nationalities for this research further is representative of the intercultural diversity of Cyprus.

### 3.2.2 Participant Group Exclusion Criteria

Subjects that did not meet all the inclusion criteria were not eligible to take part. Additionally, if the languages the participant's child had acquired are after the crucial stage of language acquisition (e.g. modern foreign language learning at school), they would not be considered as mother-tongues, but rather as additional, second languages. Furthermore, if the participants were living in Cyprus on a temporary basis or living in another country through the critical stage of CLA, they could not take part due to this study examining FLS through daily life in Cyprus due to the influence of other dominant societies and languages potentially interfering with the FLS used, and the parent's language ideology influence.

### 3.2.3 Identification of the Proposed Participants

Due to all residents of all districts of the Republic of Cyprus being welcomed to take part, contingent on them meeting the inclusion criteria, the researcher created a flyer (Appendix C) to attract the interest of multilingual parents.

This flyer was generated and distributed through two means. The first method was via social media networks, in which various individuals would share and e-distribute the document amongst their social circles. This proved effective to gain a further outreach than simply delivering by hand.

The second method was via physical distribution. The researcher would attend secondary schools in Cyprus and deliver seminars to students on the importance of child multilingualism. The English departments of such schools were invited to attend alongside their students. Physical copies of the flyer were advertised and distributed to such teachers who met the inclusion criteria and who expressed their interest to take part, alongside the students who were over 18 years old and were simultaneous bilinguals themselves and would give the flyer to their parents to contact the researcher.

This physical distribution also extended to associated and work colleagues of various family and friends who worked in international companies. This effort was carried out to discern whether various occupations would affect any justification of FLS or language ideology.

This flyer included key relevant questions pertaining to the participant inclusion criteria (Appendix C). If an individual felt compelled to take part in the study, the researcher's contact details were available to them, and they would send the researcher an email or text message registering their general interest.

### 3.2.4 Approach of the Proposed Participants

Once the proposed participant registered their interest to participate, the first stage of data collection would commence. They were emailed PDF and protected Word Documents of the CNBC consent form (Appendix D), and the FLS Activities pack, and were requested to have completed and sent these documents back to the researcher alongside their availability to conduct an interview. The interview options were available to them as in person, or via Microsoft Teams or Zoom for ease of access, due to some of the participating families having the freedom in their work schedule to conduct an online meeting. All the instructions on how to complete the first stage of the data collection process were outlined in an email template sent to each interested participant. Due to least one of the two parents in each interview being required to communicate efficiently in English, a copy of the FLS Activities pack did not need to be made available in another languages.

Only once the Activities Pack and consent form were returned (and that data compiled into NVivo14 on the researcher's end for processing via General Inductive Theory (GIT)), the study proceed onto the second stage, with the audio-recorded interview. This allowed feasible turnover time to input the family profile, FLS data and language timeline data into NVivo 14 for pre-analysis, and to enable discussion of to discuss the participant's responses during the interview stage. Once an interview date (and location for those wishing to conduct face-to-face) was set, a calendar invite was sent.

All participants involved were given verbal confirmation, alongside a printed/electronic consent form with information about the project. This document involved the contact details of the researcher, some information about the purpose of the study and why they are being asked to take part, what taking part involves for them, any risks or benefits to taking part, information about confidentiality/ anonymity and how the data will be used, as well as details of right to withdraw, all in a jargon free accessible manner (Krippendorff 2004; Mayring 2000).

All participants were approached in a non-invasive, polite, and courteous manner. If they expressed verbal interest to participate, permission was asked to contact them via their phone number to further inform them about research project.

There was no direct communication with any minor regarding the research project, to maintain professionalism and to commit to safeguarding procedures of personal information of minors.

## 3.3 Research Site: Cyprus

When one carries out research in a specific, localized environment, one can achieve '*situated knowledge'* about spatial and language practices (England, 2008, in Purkarthofer, 2019).

Cyprus has been relatively unexplored in terms of Family Language Policy, and merits our attention, due to its ongoing globalisation and expansion on a socio-economic scale, as more foreign investors seek to reside in the country and settle there, creating further generations of multilingual speakers, and interesting combinations of mother tongues, and thus create a unique and optimal setting for purposeful sampling (Maxwell, 2012).

The participants were recruited from Larnaca, Limassol, Paphos and the Famagusta region. It happened to be coincidental that the participants happened to be from such regions in Cyprus, as

from the 100 participants who had expressed initial interest in taking part in the study (including some from the nation's capital: Nicosia), only 20 of those fit the inclusion criteria and had completed the Activity Pack materials as requested. With the researcher being primarily based in Larnaca, there was a trend of more participants who wished to conduct interviews in person, with the participants from the other regions preferring online. This had no impact on the quality of data received from participants from all the participating regions of Cyprus.

## 3.4 Data collection methods

### 3.4.1 FLS Activities Pack (Appendix A)

The first half of the data collection process would be sent across via email, or in-person via a sealed envelope alongside the CNBC Consent Form (Appendix D). Both the electronic and physical copies of this pack contained detailed instructions of how to complete the consent form and each activity, and information on how the study would be conducted.

This Activities Pack included the family profile, FLS chart and language timeline. These activities were primarily sent before the audio-recorded interview stage to firstly ensure that reported answers were given as truthfully as possible, as the participants' recorded strategies would be reflected in their follow up interview questions. This would also allow the participants ample time to complete the questions in their own time.

This methodology also helped streamline the data collection process. Rather than having to compile all 20 families' data at once for analysis, it was possible to record the strategies the parents had noted, ad hoc and immediately after they had emailed the pack back to the researcher, into a master spreadsheet. This would make it immediately available to analyse and ready to be elaborately discussed in further detail over their audio-recorded interview.

### 3.4.2 The FLS Chart (Appendix K)

The FLS Chart (Appendix K) was created to discover which language practices were being used in Cyprus, alongside their ratings of effectiveness, frequency of use and practicality. The participants were given a selection of 15 strategies which had been identified through the pilot run of this study as the most prevalent in Cyprus, alongside an extra, 16$^{th}$ space to add any further strategies of their own that had not been previously included in the list. They were requested to select whether they had carried out the strategy themselves, for which of their family languages, and regardless of whether it having done themselves, asked to give a score of between 1-5 on how effective, frequent and practical they believed it to be in real-world application. There were five optional questions asking the participant to expand on their answers and asking them about their opinion between monolingual and bilingual primary education in Cyprus, in case the participant did not expand further on this topic in the interview, at least there were five extra questions on the topic of FLS that could be answered for comparison and analysis to draw themes.

Once obtained, the results from the FLS Activities Pack were split into two categories: **Results of Intended Usage** (the results given from all 20 Activities Packs regardless of whether certain strategies had been used by the families or not) (**Appendix I**), and **Results of Implemented Usage** (The results of the study solely based upon those families who had explicitly carried out a certain strategy). This was to discern whether intended language ideology in bilingual childrearing has any noticeable difference compared to implemented language practice reported through this section of the Activity Pack. Chapter 6 will present the findings from the Results of Implemented Usage, to give a realistic image (and thus a more practical contribution to the field) of FLP in 2024 in Cyprus through the theoretical framework of language practice (Spolsky, 2004).

The FLS scores were analysed based upon the scores given to determine any patterns from the participant's answers, why such FLS received the scores they did, which and underlying FLS had not been previously synthesized in the literature. The discussion as to whether any FLS debunked any popular strategies that were heralded as being the most effective in previous studies shall be explored later in Chapter 10.

All data from every Activities Pack was recorded manually into Microsoft Excel into a master table (**Appendix E**). These answers were then separated from any additional comments made by the families in the relevant space to add notes, and transposed into a separate Excel workbook where GIT could be applied. The scores given for each strategy by all 20 families were then analysed for average scores in each component (Whether the strategy had been explicitly carried out, Frequency, Effectiveness and Practicality) as a percentage out of 100. The Excel analysis feature allowed each score to be measured alongside their counterparts to see whether they were higher or lower than the average scores from the rest of the results. Each score was a Likert Scale out of 5, with 1 being the least desired value, and 5 the highest possible value that could be given.

### 3.4.3 The Family Profiles

The participants would fill in a table (**Appendices A (Family Profile)** & **E (Sample)**) with twelve closed, contextual questions regarding nationality, languages spoken as a mother tongue and languages spoken to their children, common languages amongst spouse, profession, education level, and the district that the family resided in. It immediately notified the researcher of what the majority, heritage and possible additional languages were that were present in each household's domestic environment that were classified as their family languages. This method was used to gain initial understanding of the families' social context and the languages which may align with their ideologies and FLP, possibly affirming assumptions that certain academic, professional, ethnic, or cultural backgrounds, and even regions across Cyprus may influence the ways in which languages are transmitted through these mixed-marriages, and perhaps deeper understanding as to the justification in transmitting such languages. It allowed to show any correlation between certain professional fields alongside academic achievement contributing to whether any explicit language planning took place. Data gathered from this quantitative method was evaluated to determine whether certain family profile factors correlate with specific FLS (**Appendix F**). Family profiles are invaluable when contextualising interview data (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016) and acted as an initial verification of the participants' interview questions as further evidence of which languages are present in their household.

### 3.4.4 Language Timelines

Alongside the *family profiles and FLS chart,* each participant was asked filled in a language timeline (Appendices A (Language Timeline) & H (Sample)). These have been used in previous studies as an interesting and creative tool by researchers (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016) as a unique, non-invasive means to allow parents to express how they practice language transmission and maintenance. As carried out in the pilot study, this observational means of study was effective in verifying which languages were used and in which scenarios during an average working day, correlated with the answers given by the participants in their interview and their FLS Chart. Examining language input is invaluable when examining bilingualism (De Houwer, 2011) in the domestic setting. This method quantitively estimated the percentage of language exposure the child would receive daily, by whom or what means they would receive it from, and by which could affirm the responses given in the interviews, or eliminate any possible bias reported from the participants how much language exposure the child would receive, and by which means. It was a tertiary means in which the participants could note any undisclosed means of language transmission that they had not yet touched upon in the previous activity.

### 3.4.5 Semi Structured Audio-Recorded Interviews (Appendix B)

Being present with participants extracts more truthful '*live data*' (Denscombe, 2014; Robson & McCartan, 2016). Semi-structured interviews allowed for these responses to perhaps be unanticipated and yield new and interesting data and explore more spontaneous issues at hand, due to their more flexible structure (Ryan et al., 2009).

Once participants had submitted the activities pack back to the researcher, they would liaise to arrange an audio-recorded interview, either in person or via Microsoft Teams. The interviews would take roughly 1-1.5 hours long, depending on how elaborate the discussion became when the participants would answer the proposed questions. The interview questions used were written in clear and concise English and consisted of seven stages of questions (the first and the fourth being clarifications on the family profile and FLS chart, had the family not completed it correctly, or were there any outstanding criteria that the researcher wished to clarify. Each question had been formulated to link back to the principal research questions to identify any remaining strategies that have been used during the child's critical language period of infancy, and most importantly to elicit each family's unique ideology; in accordance with that family's explicit or implicit FLP. Since the main research objectives were to understand which languages and subsequent strategies were used at home, the focus was to elicit a response on the FLS reported by these families in accordance with their language attitudes.

After the family profile was verified alongside the one submitted in the Activities Pack, the first stage of questioning would have the researcher ask the participant about the languages present in the family's day to day life, which languages the parents wished the child to speak from the offset, and the reported fluency level of the child being reported. Immediately this would allow the researcher to gain an initial understanding of whether the languages of choice tied into the parent's own lived-in experiences into their own language learning.

The following stages followed cognitive questions inspired by Baker (1993) including elements on bilingualism (e.g. their opinion on the possible benefits of having a bilingual child), affective elements (e.g. the level of pride and satisfaction when their child speaks a certain language or the parent's emotional relationship to a certain language in the family's repertoire), and responsibility elements (e.g. whether the parents felt any extra pressure and responsibility to transmit and practise the minority languages). These questions were to gain extra understanding into whether living in Cyprus would pose any challenges to maintain and promote the heritage languages at home for these mixed-marriage families. Eliciting a positive or negative response to bilingualism in the family could help answer why certain languages were chosen to be used in the household over others, and why certain methods of education were picked.

This was followed by questions about explicit language planning to determine how many families had researched about CLA, and whether they had considered before having children on how they would carry out their actual efforts with a policy, go with the flow yet carry out language maintenance efforts, or let nature completely take its course. These were followed by any elaboration on the strategies they had recorded in the Activities Pack to eliminate any reported bias and clarify on why such scores were given for the reported strategies. The following stages were formulated to have the participant reflect on actual language practice and maintenance in the household, including questions to elicit a link between language and identity and emotion from both the parent's perspective and how they perceive their child would respond. These included questions to link language and nationality, and the languages of thoughts, feelings, and natural expression, akin to that of a language portrait (Busch, 2016; Kasap, 2021). The interview continued with questions about factors affecting successful language transmission, to determine whether language ideology conflicted with any possible scenarios, including multiple children in the family creating extra points of contact and conflicting with any FLP the family wished to carry out.

The interviews concluded with questions of reflective thinking (Mann, 2016) to elicit whether parents would have changed any practises or could currently apply any new policies in their daily life when communicating to their children. The researcher added these questions as a means of testing whether families shared a positive outlook on applying contemporary methods of language transmission that they could have possibly discovered because of this study. The participants were told they were free how to communicate how they wished, and if they wished to code-switch, that the researcher would be able to translate their words when transcribing their interview. All interviews with the 20 participating families were audio-recorded in person, or meeting-recorded via-Microsoft Teams and provided roughly 25 hours of raw data.

## 3.5 Data Analysis Methods

Both face-to-face interviews and online interviews were recorded either via an internal computer microphone or an external microphone and transcribed verbatim, including any pauses or repeated phrases through Microsoft 365 Online transcription. These transcripts were converted into text files for compatibility purposes with NVivo 14 and uploaded into said program alongside a converted .mp3 audio format of each interview.

This study's datasets were analysed via two methods: General Inductive Theory (GIT) was used alongside Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) as the basis for data analysis and was compiled into NVivo 14 for ease of access. The codes and themes discovered via GIT were carried out through the lens of IPA as the rational for such FLS and ideologies being coded, thus giving a '*multidimensional understanding*' of the cases and their datasets (Spiers & Riley, 2019).

The adapted model of Family Language Policy was used alongside IPA as a framework for identifying language ideology, practice, and maintenance examples in the collected data. The various methods of data analysis are outlined in the following sections.

### 3.5.1 NVivo 14

NVivo has been effective in past FLP-orientated doctorates (Savikj, 2017; Wilson, 2019) as a form of *CAQDAS* (Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software). In this study's case, each family was created as a separate data case (Appendix F) in which their interview data, family profiles and language timelines were saved exclusively for them as case classifications. This allowed for easy comparison between data sets and points out any anomalies in the data to which interesting cases could be further explored through attribute coding (Saldaña, 2013, p. 70), such as a parent's mother tongue in relation to choice of a different language being spoken by their child on purpose or comparing language timeline usage between families that do and do not possess a conscious FLP.

A summary of each interview (Appendix L) was noted for each case to pick out any outstanding data. The text file interview transcripts uploaded into NVivo were proofread and synchronised with the original sound file timestamp to ensure easy-access reference (Appendix M). Three parent codes were created for each research aim, to match each of the sub-research aims of the latter. Child codes were created as each interview was proofread and analysed to allocate the strategies and ideology child-codes to its appropriate strategy sub-category. All the FLS charts completed prior by the participants through the activities pack were imported as a single table into NVivo and linked to the families in reference number order.

Once all collated, NVivo allowed the researcher to automatically create matrix coding queries of all the collaborated attributes of each case, and the codes created, and automatically detect any outstanding themes if need be. The researcher preferred to analyse the collated family profile data manually once it had been exported into Excel Pivotable and detect how many language combinations were present, alongside the percentages of daily majority/minority language usage in conjunction as to whether the families had an explicit FLP or not.

### 3.5.2 General Inductive Theory

The first method of data analysis was carried out via General Inductive Theory (GIT). GIT is defined by Thomas (2006) as "*approaches that primarily use detailed readings of raw data to derive concepts, themes, or a model through interpretations made from the raw data by an evaluator or researcher*". It allows for recurring themes to be discovered from qualitative data which are directly relevant to a

researcher's research objectives, without such implications or restrictions that are seen via exclusively following other qualitative methods, such as Grounded Theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), which similarly focusses on initial and axial coding, yet differs due to the further usage of the "*perspective and rhetorical devices evident in a set of text*" to generate assumptions for hypotheses (Saldaña, 2013, p. 223). Being that the topic of FLP requires further research in Cyprus, and that this research project wanted to limit its findings to the project itself rather than build a theory (L. Liu, 2016), an inductive approach was best seen as the best mode of analysis as this was an initial research project of its kind in this research site. Thomas (2006) defines analysis in GIT as the identification of "*core meanings in the interview transcripts that determines the themes most relevant to the identified research objectives and describes the most important of those themes*." These themes are linked to both the identification of FLS in Cyprus and the families' corresponding language ideologies.

Taking inspiration from Thematic Analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006), GIT allows the researcher to create new themes and generate assumptions through multiple readings of the data (Frielink & Embregts, 2013). This is expanded in GIT through multiple stages of coding, and through various mixed methods of data collection, rather than a single source, such as simply through interviews. In addition, the parent and child themes are discovered through multiple readings of the data, rather than through pre-assigned themes and concepts.

Hood (2012) and Thomas (2006, p. 241) have synthesised the core features of GIT as the *Research Process*, which involves constant referral to the research questions; *Data Analysis*, which involves contrast and comparison to the research cases involved (in this instance, the participating families and their responses); *Memos of Analysis*, in which small notes are made regarding each case; *Design*, where the interpretation of the data has a form factor once enough information has been yielded worthy of answering the research objectives; *Presentation of Findings*, where the key themes are given; *Generalisability*, where a final conclusion can be given about the study regarding FLP. GIT requires multiple analysis and readings of the raw data found to reach a conclusion in addition to the researcher's evaluation. Using a mixed variety of data extraction with a similar goal of answering this study's research questions requires such a methodology as GIT to analyse each finding to best discover and justify the FLS present in Cyprus. The top-level categories of data analysed and presented are often used as primary and secondary headings in an evaluation chapter of a thesis. These resemble primary and secondary objectives of research questions. These are often coupled with suitable quotes and diagrams found from the raw data to further back-up the researcher's presented findings.

In NVivo 14 for this present study, three parent codes were allocated for each folder, those being '*Overarching Strategy Type*', '*Strategy Category*' and '*Which Language Supported*?' for "*FLS*". Like Grounded Theory, the process of initial coding and axial coding were completed in vivo (Saldaña, 2013, p. 213) to categorise the data, and determine which prevalent FLS from the interviews made the most analytic sense. Additionally, the complete data sets from each family's interview were summarised into brief, summary formats. This was then followed by determining clear and transparent links between the research objectives, the core meanings of the study (Day, 2015) and cross-analysing with each family's unique case to determine any recurring themes amongst strategy use aligned with language ideology.

Dealing with research questions which specifically require to uncover language management methods requires a methodology to condense extensive raw interview data into parent and child coded themes (Saldaña, 2013) which draw a direct link between the research objectives and the findings (uncovered themes from the Activities Pack and interviews). In addition, GIT justifies the data

presented given the primary and secondary research questions. Data would be extracted from the mixed methods with relevance to a language management strategy, the slowly filtered down in relevance until the most prevalent strategies remain, alongside the scales of effectiveness.

### 3.5.3 Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) is a method of analysis to discover the "*situation-attitude relationships*" (Geiger, 1952) of the perspective in which individuals make sense of their personal surroundings and lifestyle (Smith & Osborne, 2008). Creswell (2013, p. 76) defines phenomenological study as "*common meaning for several individuals of their lived experiences of a concept or a phenomenon",* and why such experiences are so important to them (Smith & Nizza, 2022). This common concept for this study is the role of being a parent raising a child multilingually in Cyprus through various methods available to them and justifying the reasons for doing so. IPA aids in uncovering these justifications through the lens of phenomenology (Smith, 1996) in tandem with language ideology and coupled with GIT as a method of data analysis, seeks to uncover common themes and ideas because of the data obtained primarily through the audio-recorded interviews.

By using an interpretative means of analysis (Sabucedo, 2017) for discovering reported language ideology, the researcher can attempt to make qualitative meaning and most importantly understand the responses given to said questions regarding FLS and language ideology. By incorporating the '*understanding*' factor into answering the second primary research objective regarding multilingual family language ideology in Cyprus, the researcher can identify a range of language attitudes, whilst at the same time making sense of them, as reported through the perspective of these mixed-nationality families.

A language ideology is defined as "*a general set of beliefs about appropriate language practices, sometimes forming a consensual ideology, assigning values and prestige to various aspects of the language varieties used in it*" (Spolsky, 2004, p. 14). These beliefs generally form a backbone of a language policy, and in turn the strategies used to govern them. A parent's language ideology is unique to their choices, beliefs, and experiences (Moustakas, 1994), linking back to their own childhood experiences of language acquisition, and the experience of settling down and having a family with another individual from a cultural and language background different to their own. With the researcher attempting to understand why the parent has chosen to go down such a path of language transmission, IPA aids in understanding the participant's point of view (Smith & Osborne, 2008; Van Manen, 1990) with regards to their decisions.

Using this analysis method requires careful reading of a participant's, '*lived-in experiences'* (Alase, 2017; Creswell, 2013; Moustakas, 1994; Smith & Osborne, 2008; Smith & Nizza, 2022), selected and read over one at a time to produce detailed notes on the participant's unique experiences, delivered via their interview responses (Andersson & Öhlén, 2006). This selected data in question relates to their language ideology as to why they have decided to impart certain languages(or not) for their children as a mother tongue, and why they chose to transmit in such a way(or not) . In this instance, having so many participants justify language transmission and their methods as a byproduct of their own lived-in experiences required such a means of analysis. This aspect of experience common to all the participants in the fitting criteria of the study is raising multilingual children through their domestic setting in Cyprus.

IPA was carried out alongside GIT to "*explore how participants made sense of their experiences and their existential concerns*" (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009 in Spiers & Riley, 2019). Using an IPA approach for the interview data, the emergent themes and codes relating to the choice of FLS, and the motivations behind participant choices, will aid the researcher in identifying key facets of the participants' underlying ideology.

The researcher's role through this method is to link these views to the FLS which have been discovered through GIT and the FLS Activities pack. Additionally, the rationale for acquisition of certain languages for future socio/economic/political/bi-cultural goals merited discussion from the participants, and these discussions were also analysed using GIT to develop the common codes through the various cases, but through the perspective of IPA.

This approach truly aided in exploring the participants' justifications of an FLP with a set of open-ended interview questions, so that they could narrate their experiences with multilingual child upbringing, without any tampering or distortion as they are interviewed (Alase, 2017). IPA also acted as a method of triangulation, with the participants affirming the data they have given through the Activities Pack through their interview as they narrate their experiences through the selected interview questions.

#### *3.5.3.1 Coding via IPA*

Saldaña (2013, p. 14) prefers to distinguish themes as a by-product of coding methods, and reports that these themes will only appear once data has been categorised to its appropriate code and category. Only once live coding had finished would theming the data take place under the lens of IPA. This has been proven effective in further exploring "*a participant's psychological world of beliefs, constructs, identity development, and emotional experiences*" (Saldaña, 2013, p. 176).

Via NVivo 14, two primary folders of codes were created, one allocated for each research question as '*FLS*' and '*Language Ideology*', respectively. Three parent codes were created for '*Language Ideology*': '*SR Aim#1,#2* and *#3*' in accordance with that aim's sub-categories. These codes were centred around IPA. Data that was found in the audio recorded interviews to fit these parent codes were codified to "*consolidate meaning and explanation"* (Grbich, 2007, p. 21). IPA was used to build the initial parent codes for '*Language Ideology*', and any responses fitting the description of a parent's personal experiences influencing language ideology or transmission would be coded for further analysis to draw themes. This can also be attributed as '*Emotion and Value Coding*' (Saldaña, 2013, pp. 105–111).

Responses that overlapped in multiple codes were simultaneously coded (Miles & Huberman, 1994), such as responses that linked back to a participant's own language acquisition to justify transmission of a minority language to their child to support their education would be placed in four separate child codes.

#### *3.5.3.2 GIT First Phase Coding: Reference Codebook Manually Coded through NVivo 14 (**Appendix N**)*

As per GIT, an initial phase of coding was carried out with each family's submitted interview data to gain an initial insight into both FLS justification usage and respective language ideology. Each interview, once uploaded into NVivo14 and assigned to the relevant family case and classification, had its transcript manually coded to discover initial recurring themes, and most importantly answer the

two primary research aims. The researcher created a codebook through NVivo 14 in alignment with this study's primary research aims, and these were assigned as master codes:

- *FLS STRATEGY*
  These were excerpts of interview data relating to answers to questions regarding FLS planning, category implementation, and language type.
- *LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY*
  These were excerpts of interview data relating to justifications and reflections on FLS usage, language attitudes and influences, and a possible link between language, culture and identity.

From these master codes, parent codes were created, which corresponded with a certain secondary research aim as outlined in Chapter 1.2. When an excerpt was discovered in the interview that corresponded with one of these categories, a child-code would be created. Should a certain child code possess multiple, related topics, further, '*grand-child codes*' were produced. This process continued with all submitted interviews until manual coding had been completed for all. Should an interview excerpt be referenced to a certain code, it was classified as a Reference (Appendix N).

## 3.6 Pilot Study 2022

A helpful practice which was carried out in preparation for this study was a pilot study in the summer of 2022 with five participating families.

The pilot study incorporated a family profile, a language timeline, and a selection of interview questions. There was no FLS Section in the pilot study. Only strategies identified in the interview process, whether implicit or explicit, were coded as an FLS and added to a table in Microsoft Word. The entire process of completing a family profile, language timeline and the interviews were carried out in one interview. Some of the participants in this pilot study expressed interest in adding onto their initial answers, after having remembered additional strategies they used.

As a direct result of the pilot study, the research methodology transformed into a two-stage process. The consent forms, family profiles, language timelines, and new FLS Activity Pack would be given to the participant prior to their arranged interview date. In this way, the participants for the final study would be able to discuss and reconsider any FLS they had used, at their own leisure, and could discuss these in the interview process. Any possible bias would still be avoided in the interview process regarding language ideology, as these questions were not revealed to the participant at any point prior, allowing elicitation of unbiased answers, whilst still allowing the participant to be somewhat prior informed of the topic of the study they were involved in.

A tally was made of the number of times each FLS was mentioned by one of the participating families (see Figure 2. below). The figures are not an accurate representation of whether that family was in

favour of using said FLS, nor how many times they had implemented it, nor whether they would recommend it to someone else.

| Strategy | Number of families wl | Family 1 | Family 2 | Family 3 | Family 4 | Family 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Repetition | 0 | | | | | |
| Codemixing | 1 | | ✓ | | | |
| Flashcards | 1 | | ✓ | | | |
| Numbers in the target la | 1 | ✓ | | | | |
| Insisting strategies | 1 | | | | | ✓ |
| Key vocabulary | 1 | | ✓ | | | |
| Toys and Games | 1 | | ✓ | | | |
| OEOL | 2 | | | | ✓ | ✓ |
| Phonemes | 2 | ✓ | | | | ✓ |
| OSOL | 2 | | | | ✓ | ✓ |
| Code switching | 3 | ✓ | ✓ | | | ✓ |
| Reading stories | 3 | | ✓ | | ✓ | ✓ |
| Songs/Nursery rhymes | 3 | ✓ | ✓ | | ✓ | |
| Television/Films | 3 | | ✓ | | ✓ | ✓ |
| Nursery school/choice c | 4 | ✓ | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Family members | 4 | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | | ✓ |
| OPOL | 4 | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | |
| International Friends | 4 | ✓ | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Total strategies used | | 8 | 10 | 4 | 8 | 10 |

FIGURE 2. PILOT STUDY FLS TABLE OF RESULTS

The strategies were thematically coded multiple times, categorised as to whether they were monolingual, multilingual, based on natural interaction, leisure, or explicit instruction. As per GIT, these were then coded into whether an FLP was intentionally used for a said strategy, as is seen with monolingually orientated FLS (see Figure 3. below).

| With FLP | Without FLP |
|---|---|
| Single Language Use Overarching policy | Single Language Use Overarching policy |
| OPOL | OPOL |
| Strategies seen for this policy type | Strategies seen for this policy type2 |
| Car rides with monolingual parent | Dinner table talk |
| Dinner table talk | Family members |
| Family members | Numbers in the TL |
| Flashcards | Phonemes |
| Homework choice | Reading stories |
| iPad/media choice | Songs/Nursery rhymes |
| Key vocabulary training | Television/Films |
| Reading stories | |
| Reading stories/books | |
| Songs/Nursery rhymes | |
| Television/Films | |
| Toys and games only available in TL | |

FIGURE 3. PILOT STUDY - PRE-PLANNING USED OR NOT

This methodology was then applied individually for each of the five families, and a manual summary of their language practice methods noted (see Figure 4. below):

Profile: Family #3

| Participant | Reference code | Mother's Nationality | Father's Nationality | Mother's preferred language of communication | Father's preferred language of communication | Main language spoken between parents | Mother tongues of child(ren) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 DV | #3 | Cypriot | British | Greek, English | Greek | English | Greek, English |

| **Strategies for supporting Prestige/National Language (Greek)** | | | | | | **Strategies for supporting Heritage/Minority Language (English)** | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Natural Interactions** | | **Leisure activities** | | **Education/Explicit Instruction** | | **Natural Interactions** | | **Leisure activities** | | **Education/Explicit Instruction** | |
| In-home | Out-of-home | In-home | Out-of-home | In-home | Out-of-home | In-home | Out-of-home | In-home | Out-of-home | In-home | Out-of-home |
| Code switching between siblings | Code switching between siblings | Code switching (video games) | After school clubs (leisure) | | Choice of schooling (Greek school) | Code switching between siblings | communicating with car share school friend (School run)- International friends | Television | International friends | | After school clubs (swimming) |
| Family Chats | Interactions with classmates | | Radio | | After school clubs (homework club) | Family Chats | Playground talk with non-Greek speakers | | After school clubs (swimming) | | |
| | Playground talk | | | | | Dinner table talk between parents | | | | | |

FIGURE 4. SAMPLE PROFILE OF LANGUAGE SUMMARIES FOR PARTICIPATING FAMILY (#3) IN PILOT STUDY

This was changed for the final methodology as it proved cumbersome and pointless in reaching a satisfactory, holistic conclusion on which FLS would be the most used and recommended in Cyprus in a broader, general sense, especially since 20 families would be used for the final study. The researcher felt that this method of analysis was too quantitative in using any further potential for the interview data, other than adding certain quotes which correlated to certain interview questions. For this reason, the coding process of GIT was simplified into simply determining whether the FLS had been intentionally used or not, and how high the scores of effectiveness, practicality and frequency had been.

Regarding the research questions of language ideology, the researcher originally categorised a family's language ideology as either positive, *neutral,* or negative, based upon the scores of positivity automatically coded via NVivo 14 based on certain interview quotations linked to the interview questions. This did not prove satisfactory in discovering unique and explicit ideological themes which could be contextualised with previous literature. Furthermore, it failed to incorporate the potential in IPA in linking a participant's own childhood experiences in justifying why an FLS was potentially used or avoided, nor could it prove successful in linking together a family's language ideology which was reported in their interview, and any reported FLS. For this reason, it was deemed that for the final study, the participant would fill out the FLS Activity Pack prior to their interview, and allow the researcher time to analyse their initial responses, and follow up these responses in the interview process for further discussion, with these families able to justify such language choices, thus reporting a range of language ideologies.

The interviews left participants wanting to give further answers once they had finished. The fact that they were asked to reflect on their past experiences of child upbringing and to choose from a handful of memories perhaps impeded their judgement to accurately report previously undetermined FLS; a matter rectified as they now had a chance to follow up during the interview with any lingering answers they had not initially given in phase one of data collection.

## 3.7 Ethical Considerations (Appendix D)

With regards to consent and ethics, full ethical procedures were carried out with respect to the laws of Cyprus and UCLan university, where the data would be collected from adults. Ethical approval had been awarded by the Cypriot National Bioethics Committee (CNBC) and the UCLan Ethics Board for the research project to proceed. (Appendix D)

## Concluding Remarks to Chapter 3

The inductive nature of this study is reflected by its methodology to not only discover the general FLP of each family but focalising on the language management practices used by bilingual mixed-marriage families in Cyprus, but the reasonings as to why they may have been used. Through a FLS activity pack, contextual information is gathered about each of the 20 bilingual participating families, their opinions on the FLS that have been synthesized in previous literature, this research's pilot study and any additional FLS of their own. A language timeline is also included to gain insight into the weighted usage of each incorporated family language. The second stage of the methodology are conducted to gain insight into these families' language ideologies in terms of bilingualism through their lived in experiences from their home countries and nowadays in Cyprus, their justifications of implicitly or explicitly deploying certain FLS, and their reflective experiences on bilingual child rearing.

The following chapters detail the findings obtained through the family profiles and their subsequent analysis.

# Chapter 4: The Family Profiles

## Introduction

This chapter is dedicated to the findings of the family profiles. In this chapter, the respondent's socio-demographic and linguistic profile is described. The family profiles aided in contextualising participant data, affirming family language combinations. This would discover whether parents transmit their mother tongue or a different language of choice to their children and communicate in a common language with their spouse. Finally, this would also determine whether there may be a causal link between educational and professional background and those individuals committing to further research in CLA.

## 4.1 Family Profile Results

As per Figure 5. (see Figure 5. below), the initial contextual data from all 20 participating sets of parents is included. This includes their district of residence, parent nationality, and time spent living in Cyprus. Families ranged from a variety of districts around Cyprus and consisted of both first-time and parents already with children. Two couples at the time of writing had separated from their partners. In these instances, solely the mothers participated in the study and gave all the necessary information for the Activities Pack. As can be seen, a range of nationality combinations can be found, with Greek Cypriot fathers being the most prominent in the study.

| Family Reference Code | Family City or Village of Residence in Cyprus | Father Nationality | Mother Nationality | Father Years Lived in Cyprus | Mother Years Lived in Cyprus |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Limassol | Greek Cypriot | Russian | Whole Life | 25 |
| 2 | Limassol | Greek Cypriot | German | Whole Life | 25 |
| 3 | Larnaca | Greek Cypriot | British | 45 | 27 |
| 4 | Larnaca | Greek Cypriot | American | 27 | 9 |
| 5 | Limassol | Greek Cypriot | Lithuanian | Whole Life | 17 |
| 6 | Sotira | British | Greek Cypriot | 23 | Whole Life |
| 7 | Larnaca | Serbian | Greek Cypriot | 22 | Whole Life |
| 8 | Larnaca | Greek Cypriot | British | Whole Life | 20+ |
| 9 | Larnaca | Greek Cypriot | British | 20 | 1 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10 | Larnaca | Greek Cypriot | British | Whole Life | 40 |
| 11 | Sotira | Greek Cypriot | British | Whole Life | 9 |
| 12 | Larnaca | Greek Cypriot | British | Whole Life | 22 |
| 13 | Sotira | Greek Cypriot | Belarussian | Whole Life | 20+ |
| 14 | Larnaca | Greek | Hungarian | 21 | 20 |
| 15 | Limassol | Greek Cypriot | Russian | Whole Life | 20 |
| 16 | Larnaca | Greek Cypriot | Hungarian | Whole Life | 30 |
| 17 | Paphos | British | Hungarian | 12 | 9+ |
| 18 | Paralimni | Greek Cypriot | American | 40 | 20+ |
| 19 | Protaras | Russian | Ukrainian | 25 | 25+ |
| 20 | Larnaca | Greek Cypriot | Russian | Whole Life | 13+ |

FIGURE 5. DISTRICT OF RESIDENCE, NATIONALITY COMBINATIONS AND YEARS LIVED IN CYPRUS

### 4.1.1 District of Residence

This section of the family profile (see Figure 6. below) listed all families, interviewed in chronological order, and included their current district of residence in Cyprus. 10/20 Families were residing in Larnaca, 4/20 families were residing in Limassol, 3/20 in Sotira, and the remaining families were residing in Paphos, Paralimni and Protaras, respectively. It is important to note that Paralimni, Protaras and Sotira all make up parts of the district of Famagusta as a whole. The families from Famagusta all explicitly wrote the separate towns/villages in their family profile, indicating a more localised, village-based identity, compared to the remaining families who solely listed the main district of Cyprus they resided in. No families from the capital city, Nicosia, took part in this study, yet this did not appear to have any impact on the quality of data, although would propose interesting for further study to determine whether regional variety of multilingual families impacts FLS selection.

Parents residing in Sotira, Protaras and Paralimni were predominantly immersed in the tourism industry and realised the importance of bilingual interaction for interaction purposes with tourists (also each one of these parent couples seems to have the benefit of having one parent being a stay-at-home parent which greatly facilitates one of the family languages). Parents in Larnaca tended to have one parent working in education and realised the importance of English for educative purposes, alongside language transmission via educational means as a facilitator to their FLP. Parents residing in Limassol were more invested in e-commerce and included in their interview data about the benefits of bilingualism for professional purposes. One can observe a trend of different SPE ideologies for the benefits of multilingual transmission based upon location of where the family is residing in Cyprus.

With the Larnaca branch of one of Cyprus' oldest international private schools, The American Academy (Emilianides & Hajisoteriou, 2020), being so well established, there was a trend for those families living in Larnaca to have sent, or were planning to enrol their children in the school for higher

education. Additionally, as per the example of GC father #3, he attended the school as a child himself and had reached a proficient standard of English, and had gone to work in the UK where he met his British wife (and both returned to Cyprus to settle down to raise a family), and wished to give his children the same opportunities as he did in acquiring a bilingual education in Cyprus. It is also worth noting that those families residing in the Famagusta area had enrolled their children at a private, international school, *Xenion Education*, being the most well-known private school in that area. This may have had an impact of them choosing where to settle down and raise a family, due to the convenience of having bilingual, private education being so accessible to parents residing in the Larnaca and Famagusta area. Those living in the Limassol and Paphos areas had all, except one family enrolled in state education (nursery and primary education). Family #5 had also sent their children to a private school in Limassol, stating that she wished to give her children an education which offered as many languages (as taught subjects) as possible.

| Family | Family City or Village of Residence in Cyprus |
|---|---|
| 3 AV | Larnaca |
| 4 RM | Larnaca |
| 7 ZP | Larnaca |
| 8 ED | Larnaca |
| 9 SH | Larnaca |
| 10 CM | Larnaca |
| 12 CM | Larnaca |
| 14 EM | Larnaca |
| 16 JH | Larnaca |
| 20 IL | Larnaca |
| 1 CN & MR | Limassol |
| 2 AI | Limassol |
| 5 IT | Limassol |
| 15 SE | Limassol |
| 6 GT + AT | Sotira |
| 11 KS | Sotira |
| 13 VK | Sotira |
| 17 RBP | Paphos |
| 18 KL | Paralimni |
| 19 EP | Protaras |

| Family City or Village of Residence in Cyprus | Total | Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|
| Larnaca | 10 | 50 |
| Limassol | 4 | 20 |
| Sotira | 3 | 15 |
| Paphos | 1 | 5 |
| Paralimni | 1 | 5 |
| Protaras | 1 | 5 |

FIGURE 6. DISTRICT/VILLAGE OF RESIDENCE IN CYPRUS

### 4.1.2 Parent Nationality

Following this, the nationalities of each family's father and mother were included, alongside the nationality combinations found in the study (**see Figure 7. below**). German, Lithuanian, Belarussian and Ukrainian were the unique nationalities of the participating mothers, whilst Serbian, Greek and Russian were the unique nationalities of the participating fathers. All other mothers were of either Russian, British, American, GC or Hungarian nationality, whilst all other participating fathers were of GC or British nationality. We may observe that there is a heavier weighting on GC fathers with a foreign spouse (75% of all participating families), leading to CG being not only the dominant societal language, but potentially also the average dominant family language, requiring further consideration for families to manipulate parental language input (De Houwer, 2007; Verhagen et al., 2022) and FLS choice to ensure successful transmission of the intended family languages. Furthermore, 6/20 couples were GC fathers with British mothers, indicating that there is an initial possibility that English may be easier to facilitate in Cyprus alongside CG due to its global presence as an international language, but due to its popularity of usage in Cyprus as means of code-mixing and a bridging language (Fotiou, 2022; Panayiotou, 2004; Papapavlou, 1997).

| **Father Nationality** | **Sum of Total** |
|---|---|
| Greek Cypriot | 15 |
| British | 2 |
| Greek | 1 |
| Serbian | 1 |
| Russian | 1 |
| **Mother Nationality** | **Sum of Total** |
| British | 6 |
| Hungarian | 3 |
| Russian | 3 |
| Greek Cypriot | 2 |
| American | 2 |
| German | 1 |
| Lithuanian | 1 |
| Ukrainian | 1 |
| Belarussian | 1 |
| **Grand Total** | **40** |

| Father Nationality | Mother Nationality | Total | Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Greek Cypriot | British | 6 | 30 |
| Greek Cypriot | Russian | 3 | 15 |
| Greek Cypriot | American | 2 | 10 |
| Greek Cypriot | Hungarian | 1 | 5 |
| Greek Cypriot | Belarussian | 1 | 5 |
| Greek Cypriot | German | 1 | 5 |
| Greek Cypriot | Lithuanian | 1 | 5 |
| British | Hungarian | 1 | 5 |
| British | Greek Cypriot | 1 | 5 |
| Russian | Ukrainian | 1 | 5 |
| Greek | Hungarian | 1 | 5 |
| Serbian | Greek Cypriot | 1 | 5 |

FIGURE 7. PARENT NATIONALITY & NATIONALITY COMBINATIONS

### 4.1.3 Years living in Cyprus

As noted through the family profile data (see Figure 8. below), 11/15 native GC fathers had lived abroad for a certain period of their lives, which may have influenced their ideology with child bilingualism and had these families consider adopting a '*hybrid identity*' (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Hall & Gay, 2011) with regards to language use. Father #7 stated in his interview that he felt more Cypriot than Serbian at the present time, due to having lived in Cyprus for so long and being ingrained into the culture. This indicates that one may experience an identity shift (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Cho & Wang, 2020; Goutsos, 2006) when one's heritage language receives so little community support, and this may impact explicit decisions that one makes when applying language interventions for one's bilingual child.

Years living in cyprus for the minority nationality does not seem to have an impact on that parent's ideological impact beliefs on whether certain languages should be transmitted or not, but rather the experience of an individual having lived abroad in any other country other than their own has influenced their global views on world languages . It is evident however that those who have not spent their whole life in Cyprus are more in line with the prospect of sending their children abroad for further study and work opportunities showing that they can get out of their comfort zone a little more, indicating positive views on bilingualism, and social interaction offshore (Bateman, 2016; Zhao et al., 2019).

| Family | Father Years Lived in Cyprus | Mother Years Lived in Cyprus |
|---|---|---|
| 1 CN & MR | Whole Life | 25 |
| 2 AI | Whole Life | 25 |
| 3 AV | 45 | 27 |
| 4 RM | 27 | 9 |
| 5 IT | Whole Life | 17 |
| 6 GT + AT | 23 | Whole Life |
| 7 ZP | 22 | Whole Life |
| 8 ED | Whole Life | 20+ |
| 9 SH | 20 | 1 |
| 10 CM | Whole Life | 40 |
| 11 KS | Whole Life | 9 |
| 12 CM | Whole Life | 22 |
| 13 VK | Whole Life | 20+ |
| 14 EM | 21 | 20 |
| 15 SE | Whole Life | 20 |
| 16 JH | Whole Life | 30 |
| 17 RBP | 12 | 9+ |
| 18 KL | 40 | 20+ |
| 19 EP | 25 | 25+ |
| 20 IL | Whole Life | 13+ |

FIGURE 8. NUMBER OF YEARS LIVING IN CYPRUS

### 4.1.4 Family Occupation

This section of the family profiles required participants to list their occupations (see Figure 9. below). The most common profession noted was working in some form of education (9/40 parents). 2/20 fathers were secondary school teachers as one of their professions (#7 and #18, whilst they were both strength and conditioning instructors for their chosen sports). 7/20 mothers were working in education, with 6/20 of those working in international secondary schools in Famagusta and Larnaca. What can be seen as influential to a parent's corpus and acquisition planning as per King et al.'s (2008) initial FLP framework is that those working in international schools all transfer some level of English to their children as their household languages and their selection of status planning, indicating a level of additive, elite bilingualism (Mejía, 2002; Mejía, 2012) towards the English language for their own children, realising the benefits it could impart for future career opportunities in Cyprus and abroad.

Parents working in secondary schools/higher education institutes generally placed heavy emphasis on the importance of literacy in the English language from a young stage in the form of leisurely reading and American/UK popular culture (Papapavlou, 1997), noting from their jobs how lack of language transmission makes students' performance and achievement suffer in assignments, and how they believe Greek language acquisition would occur naturally via social immersion. This is not a complete representation of all parents who work in education, but there tends to be a weighting on parents who place an emphasis on certain literary FLS in their status planning (King et al., 2008), as these

parents are immersed in working at international schools. Despite this, it does not seem to have an impact on whether parents working in education explicitly plan an FLP beforehand.

The second most common profession was held by 5/20 fathers working in the sports industry in some form. Only 3/40 parents (all male GC Nationals) worked in the public sector, with all other participants in current employment working for private companies. This seemed to have no correlation nor influence on whether an FLP was explicitly planned or not.

The data also suggested that parents with high-demand careers/self-employed have had less contact with the children in their mother tongue, due to having longer working hours, especially if this is the case with minority language speakers. There has seemed to be greater efforts to support the minority language from explicit intervention/education strategies to supplement this. This shows that physical parental contact with a child impacts the quality of language transmitted from an early age, even if external material is used to try and promote the language. Venables et al. (2014) study proved that absence of a parent for extended periods of time could prove detrimental in the success of one's FLP being viewed as successful for one of the TLs, due to the upset in balance of parental input (De Houwer, 2007).

| Family | Father Occupation | Mother Occupation | Father Education Level | Mother Education Level | Explicit and Planned FLP or Not |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 CN & MR | Public Servant | Private Sector Employee | Masters | Masters | FLP Pre-Planned |
| 2 AI | Personal Trainer | Office Assistant | Bachelors | Bachelors | No Pre-Planned FLP involved |
| 3 AV | General Manager | Area Manager | Bachelors | Secondary School Diploma (or equivalent) | No Pre-Planned FLP involved |
| 4 RM | Business | English Teacher | Secondary School Diploma (or equivalent) | Bachelors | FLP Pre-Planned |
| 5 IT | Physiotherapist | Managing Director | Masters | Masters | FLP Pre-Planned |
| 6 GT + AT | Mechanical Engineer | Housewife | Bachelors | Secondary School Diploma (or equivalent) | FLP Pre-Planned |
| 7 ZP | Strength and Conditioning Instructor | Accountant | PhD | Bachelors | No Pre-Planned FLP involved |
| 8 ED | Electrical Engineer | English Teacher | Bachelors | Masters | No Pre-Planned FLP involved |
| 9 SH | Property Manager | Maternity Leave | Bachelors | Masters | No Pre-Planned FLP involved |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10 CM | Retired | English Teacher | Secondary School Diploma (or equivalent) | Bachelors | FLP Pre-Planned |
| 11 KS | Restaurant Owner | Housewife | Secondary School Diploma (or equivalent) | Secondary School Diploma (or equivalent) | No Pre-Planned FLP involved |
| 12 CM | Firefighter | Teacher | Secondary School Diploma (or equivalent) | Masters | No Pre-Planned FLP involved |
| 13 VK | Businessman | Businesswoman | Secondary School Diploma (or equivalent) | Bachelors | No Pre-Planned FLP involved |
| 14 EM | Gym Owner | Teacher | Masters | Masters | FLP Pre-Planned |
| 15 SE | Nurse | Office Assistant | Bachelors | Bachelors | No Pre-Planned FLP involved |
| 16 JH | Hospitality Industry | Kiosk owner | Secondary School Diploma (or equivalent) | Secondary School Diploma (or equivalent) | No Pre-Planned FLP involved |
| 17 RBP | Football Coach | Administration Officer | Secondary School Diploma (or equivalent) | Bachelors | No Pre-Planned FLP involved |
| 18 KL | High School Teacher/Volleyball Coach | English Teacher | PhD | Masters | FLP Pre-Planned |
| 19 EP | Businessman | Musician | Bachelors | PhD | FLP Pre-Planned |
| 20 IL | Financial Analyst | University Lecturer | Masters | PhD | FLP Pre-Planned |

FIGURE 9. FAMILY OCCUPATION/EDUCATION LEVEL/EXPLICITNESS IN PLANNING THEIR FLP

### 4.1.5 Parent Education Level

72.5% of all parents possessed some form of further education. The 11 parents who only possessed a secondary school diploma or equivalent were a mixture of both majority and minority language speakers, with a heavier weighting to those being GC parents. When one correlates these results with time spent in Cyprus and professions, we may see that those GC parents who were only high school graduates had spent their entire, or most of their life in Cyprus. Their main language of communication to their spouse and children is CG, which may shed light on the social expectations for GC culture which may pose largely monolinguistic on the family spectrum compared to that of the professional scale (Karpava, 2024; Papapavlou, 2005).

Regarding minority nationalities, 19/20 families see the minority language spouse graduate with a university degree or higher, and 15/20 of those minority nationalities possess a higher education than that of their partner. The GC fathers who possessed diplomas in higher education had lived and studied abroad, and had mentioned in their interviews that they were keen for their children to follow

in their footsteps and broaden their SPE horizons. One may notice a clear link between a parent's further education level, their positive attitudes towards child bilingualism and their desire for their children to acquire additional mother tongues, linking with the theme of elite bilingualism (Guerrero, 2010; Mejía, 2002), as these parents give their children the option of moving abroad to study as they have done (Smith & Nizza, 2022), by cementing their language proficiency through their status and acquisition planning (King et al., 2008) in their language management and practice (Spolsky, 2004).

| Level of Education | Count | Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|
| Secondary School Diploma (or equivalent) | 11 | 27.5 |
| Higher Education | 29 | 72.5 |

| Level of Education | Sum of Count |
|---|---|
| Bachelors | 14 |
| Secondary School Diploma (or equivalent) | 11 |
| Masters | 11 |
| PhD | 4 |
| **Grand Total** | **40** |

FIGURE 10. PARENT EDUCATION LEVEL

## 4.1.6 Parental Education Level vs Family Language Planning

This finding (**see Figure 11. below**) remarks that whilst further education may inform a parent's ideology towards the benefits of bilingualism and the benefits of a bilingual mindset over that of a monolingual one (Piller & Gerber, 2021), it may not directly correlate into explicit language planning.

There is an affirmation that a parent's education level, and their own experiences having studied/worked/lived abroad and attained perceptual linguistic and SPE reinforces a positive attitude towards their own children's language development. We may notice from this Figure below that 5 fathers and 8 mothers with an education level above that of a secondary school diploma (or equivalent) explicitly planned an FLP prior to their child being born. Furthermore, 80% of all fathers involved with a master's degree or above had committed to planning an FLP, whilst 66% of all mothers in the same category had done the same. What must be remarked is that 3/4 PhD holders had planned an FLP. The final PhD holder (father #7) was reflective on his position as a minority language holder and had expressed reflective thinking to adopt an FLP for if he ever had children again. Were we to observe this intent via the research of Curdt-Christiansen (2013a), we may categorise this planning (and intent to plan) under *"highly organised intent and planning with regular monitoring of the child's bilingual development."*

The multilingual parents who committed to explicit language planning fall under the category defined by De Houwer (1999) as holding an '*impact belief*', indicating they believe that the language interventions they use may positively influence their children's linguistic development and that as a parent, they hold such a responsibility to ensure that this development is fostered adequately.

| Count of Explicit and Planned FLP or Not | Father Education Level | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Explicit and Planned FLP or Not | Secondary School Diploma (or equivalent) | Bachelors | Masters | PhD | Total |
| No Pre-Planned FLP involved | 5 | 5 | 0 | 1 | 11 |
| FLP Pre-Planned | 2 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 9 |
| **Grand Total** | **7** | **7** | **4** | **2** | **20** |

| Count of Explicit and Planned FLP or Not | Mother Education Level | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Explicit and Planned FLP or Not | Secondary School Diploma (or equivalent) | Bachelors | Masters | PhD | Total |
| No Pre-Planned FLP involved | 3 | 5 | 3 | 0 | 11 |
| FLP Pre-Planned | 1 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 9 |
| **Grand Total** | **4** | **7** | **7** | **2** | **20** |

FIGURE 11. PATERNAL AND MATERNAL EDUCATION LEVEL VS PRE-PLANNING AN FLP

### 4.1.7 Family Languages

Figure 12. (**see Figure 12. below**) shows all the reported family majority/dominant and minority languages, indicative of the languages most used in an entire family's daily life. Those parents who were native English speakers (British/American nationality) would have English as either their majority or minority family language, therefore could not apply English as an additional family language.

CG is the most common majority family language seen in the study. When reviewing this dominant, societal language with its minority language counterparts, we may observe that those minority languages with heavy community support (English and Russian) are the most common minority languages, with Serbian, Lithuanian, Hungarian and German appearing the fewest. This may indicate that these parents may require additional support measures (De Houwer, 1999) to foster a bilingual environment for their child, especially if they were to implement OPOL with no community support (Romaine, 1989).

As indicated prior, 15/20 fathers were of GC nationality, with only 2/20 mothers possessing the same nationality. This indicates that 17/40 total parents possessed GC nationality and citizenship. We may observe that some individuals go through a possible identity shift after spending an extended period residing in a new country, or a country where they were not necessarily born in, but have cultural roots in. It is further observable that parents who reported themselves as GC in the Family Profile saw a tendency to have CG successfully transmitted as the majority family language, regardless of gender. All GC mothers and 10/15 GC fathers had CG as the majority family language. The only language to dominate over CG as a majority family language in the same scenarios was English, and this was in cases where there was a British or American parent as part of the family.

Families who wished their children to acquire Greek made it specific that they wanted their children to acquire Standard Formal Modern Greek over CG, seeing it as a more educated and polite form of

communication. This was indicated in their family profiles that Greek, not Cypriot was desired as one of the family languages. When asked to confirm in the interview which variant of Greek they meant, they specified that they wanted their children to learn formal, SMG, despite acknowledging the fact that they live in Cyprus and the CG variant is more commonly used in social conversation.

Family #20 notably had SMG as the majority family language over CG. There was a clear discerning in the interview data and family profiles between SMG and CG Greek from Greek Cypriot and mainland Greek parents (Papapavlou, 2005), although American English and British English was viewed as no different in importance by American/British parents. This was seen in the instance where parents wanted their children to acquire formal, SMG over CG in literacy and oral competence. This could demonstrate a possible negative attitude to the CG dialect, being associated with lack of formality and the appearance of being uneducated, due to its dialectal status, correlating with the literature on Cyprus' attitudes to language as seen in Chapter 1.4.4. The notion of Cypriot-national extended families attempting to influence ideology about child language acquisition, particularly language confusion if a child is bilingual, shall be further explored in Chapter 9. This element of extended-family and professional intervention extends to CG speech therapists for involved families whose children who are autistic. These families reported that they were informed by speech therapists and extended family alike that autistic children must only be exposed to one mother tongue even if the family is bilingual, despite the child being naturally gifted and probably being able to absorb both languages successfully if exposed thereof.

What is additionally noted is that if one parent is GC, the grandparents are largely phsyically present as an additional strategy where the child spends a substantial amount of time being immersed slowly in CG. This is countered by the minority language speaking parent trying to make up for this by spending a substantial amount of holiday time in the heritage language country with their child. However, native Cypriot grandparents will always have more physical contact than the minority ones would, and do affect the level of Greek the child is exposed to, particularly CG, due to the usual tendency for the GC grandparents to physically live closer to their grandchildren than the minority nationality set of grandparents. This results are similarly seen in the study of Karpava et al. (2022), where language acquisition of CG was facilitated by parents bringing their children to monolingual grandparents for a large portion of the day for daycare. This shall be further explored in Chapter 7.

There were 11 different family majority/minority language combinations. Five families implemented CG as a majority language with English as a minority language. Those with this combination saw the children's English needing to be facilitated more over CG. Four families with the same nationality combination inverted the majority and minority language status, with English as the majority language and CG as the minority family language. Those families with this combination saw the children speak a weaker level of Greek, which required them to gain support to maintain it alongside English. We may see an example of a combination of elite and folk bilingualism, where parents supplement the heritage language FLS in the domestic setting and seek to improve their children's societal language through choice of education. These children had a tendency to go to international schooling over public Cypriot schools in this instance, indicating a possible preference from the parents to immerse their children in an English-speaking educational environment for the added benefit of acquiring a global language alongside the societally dominant one for the prospect of their children studying abroad in the future, yet also acquiring the necessary skills to grow and develop socially and linguistically in Cyprus with adequate GC communication skills. This has been mirrored in other international communities in previous studies of elite bilingualism choice over folk bilingualism (Guerrero, 2010; Mejía, 2002; Romaine, 2011), who choose schooling predominantly in English for SPE gain over societal integration.

Additionally, there were three families with majority CG, minority Russian, and additional English as their reported family languages; three families with different language combinations of Hungarian (+CG/+SMG/+English as an additional language) – This had no impact on the children's reported fluency in their family languages as Hungarian was reported to be the minority family language in all instances.

Notably, 19/20 families transmitted English in their daily life as one of the family languages, whether it be a majority, minority, or non-native additional family language. Two families (#9 and #11), with English as their native majority family language, incorporated French as an additional family language. The emphasis on French correlated with the mother's own phenomenological (Smith & Nizza, 2022) experiences of having studied French at university and wishing to transmit the language to their children to mirror their experiences of their study years abroad. Family #17 wished to incorporate SMG as a tertiary family language rather than a secondary language acquired after the critical stage of language acquisition. Family #17's father is of Cypriot descent, but is of British nationality, and wanted to maintain cultural ties with his heritage, alongside the fact that he and his wife are currently raising their child in Cyprus and wished to facilitate social communicative interaction for their child, even though Greek is neither his nor his wife's mother tongue.

Only one family involved in the study does not implement CG into the repertoire of family languages. Family #19 incorporate Russian, Ukrainian and English as their household family languages. As part of additive bilingualism, the family sent their children to the sole international private school in Famagusta, *Xenion Education*, believing this would suffice for their children to acquire a satisfactory amount of the societal language, whilst also adhering to the mother's strong positive language ideology to transmit English as a family language in acquisition and corpus planning (King et al., 2008). This indicates a parental '*impact belief*' (De Houwer, 1999) of wishing their children to reap the benefits of additive bilingualism of maintaining their heritage language, acquiring the societal language for social interaction, and acquiring global languages of prestige in line with the parent's view on global languages, pointing towards a language ideology of elite bilingualism proving beneficial for such children.

Each family incorporating English as a family language into their family profiles, regardless of native status demonstrates and confirms the status of the English language in terms of its prestige, global status, and worldwide SPE prospects, and once again correlates with a prominent language ideology that elite bilingualism is a feasible and profitable option for a bilingual child, and can be facilitated in Cyprus.

| Majority Family Language | Count of Majority Family Language |
|---|---|
| Greek Cypriot Dialect | 12 |
| English | 5 |
| Standard Modern Greek | 2 |
| Russian | 1 |
| **Grand Total** | **20** |

| Minority Family Language | Count of Minority Family Language |
|---|---|
| English | 5 |
| Russian | 4 |
| Greek Cypriot Dialect | 4 |
| Hungarian | 3 |
| German | 1 |
| Lithuanian | 1 |
| Serbian | 1 |
| Ukrainian | 1 |
| **Grand Total** | **20** |

| Where Majority Family Language is: | |
|---|---|
| Greek Cypriot Dialect | |
| **Minority Family Language is:** | **Count of Family Reference Code** |
| English | 5 |
| Russian | 3 |
| Serbian | 1 |
| Lithuanian | 1 |
| Hungarian | 1 |
| German | 1 |
| Grand Total | **12** |

FIGURE 12. FAMILY LANGUAGES

## 4.1.8 Parental Communicative Preferences vs Mother Tongues

Figure 13. (**see Figure 13 below**) demonstrates that 8 parents prefer to use a different daily language of communication to that of their mother language. It must be noted that this finding the language that a parent uses the most often in their daily routine but may be subject to change to reflect on what they may explicitly speak with their children to transmit additional family bilingualism.

32/40 participating parents indicated no shift from their mother tongue of birth to the daily language of preferred use in their adult life. The mother of family #1, who was simultaneously bilingual in CG and Russian according to her IPA indicating she moved from Russia to Cyprus at a young age, indicated that she preferred to use Russian over CG, owing to her attachment to her heritage

language and nation, recalling having visited it as frequently as she could, despite having to have spent the majority of her life in Cyprus.

In this section of the Family Profile, one may observe additional languages added into the participants' daily preferences. This could be the addition of either Greek or English alongside their mother tongue, as is the case with fathers of families #6 and #18, who have both added that they prefer to use a balance of English and Greek in their daily lives. When observing this factor through IPA, both of these fathers have studied in the UK and the USA, respectively, justifying not only their daily language choice as frequent and important part of their academic careers, but these families were very open to the idea of their children following in their linguistic footsteps.

This Family Profile section interestingly indicated language shift in several parents, notably those with minority languages in Cyprus. The fathers of family #7 and #9 both indicated complete language shift from their original mother tongues (Serbian & German bilingual and CG, respectively, to CG and English). This demonstrates that parents may shift language to accommodate feasibility of communication with their spouse and daily routine, regardless of feelings of identity or maintaining cultural heritage, and could subsequently translate this ideology to their children (Altman et al., 2024; Bateman, 2016; Guardado, 2008) . Father #9 wishing to communicate in English on a more regular basis not only justified this choice due to being able to speak with his spouse with no language barrier but referred to being so used to using it for work purposes, that living in Cyprus alongside his reported FLS would be able to facilitate the country's national language.

Additionally, there were three minority nationality mothers (#17,#19 and #20 – Hungarian, Ukrainian and Russian) who had all chosen a different daily language of communication in their daily life, being English, English and CG respectively. This is justified through IPA and the earlier sections of the family profile, with mothers #17 and #20 reporting to be using English and CG extremely frequently through their professional lives and when interacting with their professional and social circle indicating that folk bilingualism is present for those wishing to expand their careers in Cyprus (Guerrero, 2010; Romaine, 2011). Further inspection to determine whether these language preferences have any impact on these families' FLP shall be explored in the later chapters.

| Family | Father Mother tongue(s) | Mother Mother tongue(s) | Father Preferred language(s) of communication (if different from mother tongue) | Mother Preferred language(s) of communication (if different from mother tongue) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6 GT + AT | English | Greek Cypriot | English + Greek | Not Applicable |
| 7 ZP | Serbian + German | Greek Cypriot Dialect | Greek Cypriot Dialect | Not Applicable |
| 8 ED | Greek Cypriot Dialect | English + Greek | Greek Cypriot Dialect | Not Applicable |
| 9 SH | Greek Cypriot Dialect | English | English | Not Applicable |
| 17 RB P | English | Hungarian | Not Applicable | English |
| 18 KL | Greek Cypriot | English | English + Standard Modern Greek | Not Applicable |
| 19 EP | Russian | Ukrainian | Not Applicable | English |
| 20 IL | Greek Cypriot Dialect | Russian | Not Applicable | Greek Cypriot Dialect |

FIGURE 13. PARENTAL MOTHER TONGUES VERSUS THEIR DAILY PREFERRED LANGUAGE OF USE

### 4.1.9 Parental Lingua Franca

As seen in Figure 14. (see Figure 14. below), all couples, except for that of family #13, communicated to each other in the same language, and did not mix languages. According to the figure, even if a parent had reported to use exclusively OPOL in the presence of their child/children, nearly all parents used only one of their family languages as a common language to communicate to one another. Only two individuals out of the 40 participating parents speak in a different language to their spouse when communicating. The mother of family #12 (British) speaks to her husband in English, whilst he speaks to her in CG. Mother #12 speaks fluent Greek yet wishes to maintain her British identity with every member of her family. This language combination is slightly mirrored by family #13, in which the mother (Belarussian) code-switches in Greek and English to her husband, due to not possessing fluent Greek as of yet, and compensating to English, when necessary, as husband #13 does not speak Russian.

CG is used by 12/20 intermarried families as their common parental language, despite some parents of these families being native English speakers, or some families admitting in the interview process

that they initially started with a different common language when the parents initially begun a relationship, yet later transferred to CG after spending an extended period of time living in Cyprus from their original country of residence or cohabitation. This is seen in the case of family #2, who admitted they exclusively spoke German as their lingua franca when they were living as a childless couple in Germany, yet shifted to CG once they relocated to Cyprus, as the mother's proficiency with the CG started to improve due to it playing such a vital role in her day-to-day life.

These findings demonstrate that the parents do not tend to use the family minority language to communicate among each other, nor implement the '*hot house approach'*(King & Fogle, 2013), if implementing OPOL. This ends up reducing the amount of output of that minority language being heard in the family home. This could pose contradictory to the success of such FLS as OPOL being implemented, akin to the findings of Venables et al. (2014), that a mediative, supportive environment to facilitate bilingualism could be greatly enhanced if both parents used or spoke the minority language as a lingua franca amongst each other. The findings also demonstrate the parent's use a '*shared language space'* amongst each other (De Houwer, 1999) in societally and globally more available languages, such as CG, English and Russian, rather than attempting to use the minority language as a form of communication with their spouse.

| Family | Father Main language of communication with partner | Mother Main language of communication with partner |
|---|---|---|
| 1 CN & MR | Greek Cypriot Dialect | Greek Cypriot Dialect |
| 2 AI | Greek Cypriot Dialect | Greek Cypriot Dialect |
| 3 AV | Greek Cypriot Dialect | Greek Cypriot Dialect |
| 4 RM | English | English |
| 5 IT | Greek Cypriot Dialect | Greek Cypriot Dialect |
| 6 GT + AT | Greek Cypriot Dialect | Greek Cypriot Dialect |
| 7 ZP | Greek Cypriot Dialect | Greek Cypriot Dialect |
| 8 ED | Greek Cypriot Dialect | Greek Cypriot Dialect |
| 9 SH | English | English |
| 10 CM | Greek Cypriot Dialect | Greek Cypriot Dialect |
| 11 KS | English | English |
| 12 CM | Greek Cypriot Dialect | English |
| 13 VK | Greek Cypriot Dialect | Greek/English |
| 14 EM | English | English |
| 15 SE | Greek Cypriot Dialect | Greek Cypriot Dialect |
| 16 JH | English | English |
| 17 RBP | English | English |
| 18 KL | English | English |
| 19 EP | Russian | Russian |
| 20 IL | Greek Cypriot Dialect | Greek Cypriot Dialect |

FIGURE 14. COMMON LANGUAGE USED BETWEEN MULTILINGUAL PARENTS

### 4.1.10 Languages Spoken with Children

Figure 15. (see Figure 15. below) demonstrates that 19/20 families involved in this study primarily transmitted a different mother tongue to their children to that of their spouse, fostering a bilingual family environment exclusively by natural discourse alone, indicating some level of Romaine's (1998) models of OPOL is evidently followed by the large majority of intermarried bilingual families in Cyprus, even if it has not been explicitly indicated to be as popular in application, discovered through the other parts of the methodology in this study. It is worth noting that parents may use other family languages with their children but have reported this/these language combinations as their primary language(s) of parent/child discourse. This display of OPOL mirrors the results obtained in previous studies in Cyprus with regards to intermarried family bilingualism (Karpava et al., 2021; Ringblom & Karpava, 2019) that not just Russian-speaking parents, but 38/40 intermarried parents incorporate their mother tongue when communicating to their children.

Only one family (#4) had both parents speaking English to their children. The families indicated through their interview data that they would be open to the idea of moving back to America and did not wish to place their children at an academic disadvantage to their peers in the American education system, hence why they wanted to facilitate the importance of English as much as possible should the situation arise. Being that the father of family #4 is GC, who indicated in his interview that he did not prefer to shift from CG to English in his daily preferred language of communication, we may observe a clear, explicit intervention to transmit a better quality of English to his children by him supporting the minority family language of English, by using it himself when exclusively speaking to his children (and spouse), Father #4 was the only GC native parent involved in the study to use a language other than any variant of Greek.

Two mothers reported to willingly transmit English to their children instead of their mother tongues, these being mother #19 (Ukrainian) and #20 (Russian). Mother #19 explicitly cited her reasons for using English as a primary language of transmission to her children over her mother tongue of Ukrainian due to her SPE benefits that the English language bestowed upon her during her university studies, as seen further in Chapter 8.

Mother #20 switches between English and SMG due to her ideology reporting that Greek is necessary for her child to efficiently integrate into Cypriot society whilst her child is being raised in Cyprus. She cited that she also uses English due to realising its worldwide importance, witnessing it first hand through her career in university academia.

Mother #13 reported that she code-switches constantly between Russian, English and SMG with her children. This is affirmed by her dual code-switching of Greek and English when conversing with her husband, leading us to believe she wishes to not leave out any members of family in conversation, yet still transmits her native tongue of Russian to her children as a natural means of communication to not allow for any emotive compromises when expressing herself to her children.

There is a clear discerning between CG and SMG between parents, who facilitated the ideology to transmit a higher register of Greek to their children rather than the other diglossic alternative. This is seen by family #20, who explicitly indicated SMG was their chosen language of transmission, for educative purposes, whereas father #14 is a native of Greece and reported his mother tongue was transmitted, and living in Cyprus had no adverse effects on the accent, vocabulary, nor morphology of his Greek.

| Family | Father Main language spoken with children | Mother Main language spoken with children |
|---|---|---|
| 1 CN & MR | Greek Cypriot Dialect | Russian |
| 2 AI | Greek Cypriot Dialect | German |
| 3 AV | Greek Cypriot Dialect | English |
| 4 RM | English | English |
| 5 IT | Greek Cypriot Dialect | Lithuanian |
| 6 GT + AT | English | Greek Cypriot Dialect |
| 7 ZP | Greek Cypriot Dialect | Greek Cypriot Dialect |
| 8 ED | Greek Cypriot Dialect/English | English |
| 9 SH | Greek Cypriot Dialect/English | English |
| 10 CM | Greek Cypriot Dialect | English |
| 11 KS | Greek Cypriot Dialect | English |
| 12 CM | Greek Cypriot Dialect | English |
| 13 VK | Greek Cypriot Dialect/English | Russian/Greek/English |
| 14 EM | Standard Modern Greek | Hungarian |
| 15 SE | Greek Cypriot Dialect | Russian |
| 16 JH | Greek Cypriot Dialect | Hungarian |
| 17 RBP | English | Hungarian |
| 18 KL | Standard Modern Greek | English |
| 19 EP | Russian | English |
| 20 IL | Standard Modern Greek | English/Standard Modern Greek/Russian |

FIGURE 15. LANGUAGES SPOKEN WITH CHILDREN

## 4.2 Discussion of Findings: Chapter 4

The family profiles give an initial contextualisation as to which majority/minority languages would be present in a bilingual household in Cyprus, and as to how influential factors such as education/employment/time spent living in Cyprus may affect these families' FLP. These findings demonstrate that that there already is a chance for OPOL to be employed, as per Romaine's (1998) definition, with there being one, largely societally dominant language being present in the household and some households possessing one dominant societal language and a minority language without community support (those being Hungarian/Ukrainian/German/Serbian) with 75% of fathers in this present study possessing the dominant societal language and a possible higher ratio of CG transference (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004; Okita, 2002). Chapter 6 further examines the families' FLS choices and determine whether families have used OPOL and whether they scored it highly or not in terms of usage, efficiency and satisfaction.

The data also suggests an initial lack of spousal support for the minority family language in terms of overall discourse. In order for the family minority language to be supported further, studies (Yamamoto,2001, in De Houwer, 2007) suggest that these majority language speakers should to work alongside their minority language speaking spouses to further support equal bilingualism (Venables et al., 2014). This lack of minority language support is further noted through the interparental lingua franca being one exclusive language of communication rather than both family languages (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004; Lanza, 1992), (aside from only one family (#13) employing multiple parental lingue

franche), and generally the dominant family language, further suggesting an imbalance in equal family bilingualism. Further examination of these results to determine whether parental gender plays any impact on family language planning alongside parental input shall be later explored in this thesis.

### 4.2.1 Significant Family Profiles

Whilst a number of families above the proposed limit registered their interest, the 20 that were selected were chosen for a number of reasons, beside fitting the inclusion criteria. The researcher wished to choose families that were especially enthusiastic about sharing their child-rearing experiences, believing that they would have better quality data to answer the research objectives. It was pure coincidence that many of the families contained GC fathers and British mothers, but ultimately it proved fruitful, especially in the interview portion of data collection which yielded a deeper discussion into these families' experiences with multilingualism. Additionally, seeing trending patterns in language usage (but not necessarily ideology) affirmed the hypothesis that families commit to similar FLS, but perhaps for different reasons. Naturally, the researcher would have desired even more nationality and language combinations, especially minority languages that have little to no prestige in Cypriot society (the researcher would like to repeat the study with Asian-orientated family languages to discover potential new FLS and how radical ideologies would differ in comparison to European ones).

A certain number of families stood out during the process of data collection, and remained memorable to the researcher post-interview. This was irrespective of the researcher's own positionality as an ethnic GC of British upbringing. Interviewing GC fathers in the study (namely those of families #1, #15 and #20) gave an insight into how accepting they are of their children's Russian heritage, and the level of cooperation and support they offer their wives when supporting their Russian identities. This differed in stark contrast to the GC father of family #2, who viewed language simply as a commodity for natural communication based upon function, and deemed his children's German identity and language prowess irrelevant in Cyprus.

These encounters with similar language combinations of families, yet unique and differing experiences in terms of FLS incorporated and unique language attitudes reaffirm the importance of qualitative data collection in FLP. If overlapping trends are seen in interview data with a micro-scale language plan, it warrants further attention in research. Having Hungarian, Lithuanian, British, Russian, Serbian and American spouses all cite the importance of frequent visits to their home countries with their children demonstrates their connections to their home nations and their desire for their children to acknowledge the possibility that they may feel comfortable there at the same level of living in Cyprus.

The final three family profiles that were of significant importance to this study were namely #14, #17 and #19. The reason for this is that these were families of which both spouses were not of GC origin nor nationality, categorising then both as immigrant parents in Cyprus. This would present potential issues which the other families may not have encountered, namely that of potential lack of grandparental childcare, and potential unique ideologies to that of British, Russian or GC parents, and how to balance contact with both extended families abroad for their children. These issues were not cited by these families, but rather overlapping with the more common nationality problems, such as time constraints to incorporate certain FLS with selective parental input. With father #14 being from Greece, the facility of speaking SMG to his children and in his daily life was a larger commodity than

that of other immigrant parents, yet the cultural differences between GC natives and mainland Greeks would present themselves, alongside the fact that the extended family was in Greece. In terms of language combinations, these three families all had at least one family language which was widely spoken in Cyprus' international communities (SMG, English and Russian respectively), may not have faced as many difficulties in language maintenance as those families with Lithuanian Hungarian, Serbian or German in their language repertoires.

## Concluding Remarks to Chapter 4

Conclusively, the family profiles reaffirm the dominant view that OPOL remains prominent within intermarried multilingual families, even if it is not explicitly stated to be used as a language intervention (Spolsky, 2019). In this instance, the family profiles alone demonstrated that intermarried parents communicate (often implicitly) in a unique language to their children when multiple family languages are at the parents' disposal, as is seen by 95% of participating families having reported to use OPOL with their children when asked to list which languages they primarily use with their children in oral communication (Bain & Yu, 1980; Barron-Hauwaert, 2004; Venables et al., 2014). This shall be further analysed when compared to the results of the FLS Section in Chapter 6, where participants were explicitly asked whether they use OPOL in their lives.

With regards to language support, minority family languages tended to impact the children's fluency level (minority languages require more support, even if the minority family language is the country's national and dominant language). Majority family nationality tended to have a more dominating ideology over the minority family language and causes clear results in subtractive, simultaneous bilingual fluency.

The data also suggests that working in certain occupations orientated around foreign clientele subconsciously inform the parent about the benefits of bilingualism (and disadvantages that failure of language acquisition/literacy confers in schools/tourism for the long run) and could promote them to transfer bilingualism more actively in the family home.

IPA in tandem with the family profiles demonstrates that there is a correlation between further study assisting one's language ideology to better understand the benefits of literacy and language promotion, as proved by the parent's own experiences with further study, either domestic or abroad. Those that have obtained further study qualifications have seen the benefits in their own professional and social development (meeting foreign spouses, better international job prospects), and include English as an additional family language, despite it not being a native mother tongue to many families. This is also reaffirmed when observing that English has been transmitted by all native English parents, regardless of gender.

The following chapter shall examine the prominent findings from the language timelines.

# Chapter 5: The Language Timelines

## Introduction

This chapter displays the percentage use of language exposure that one child from each participating family would receive in an average day, through the language timelines (Appendices A & H). This activity would entail what the action was, which other parties were present, and which language that activity was conducted in, concluding in which languages the child would exhibit, in terms of language practice.

## 5.1 Language Timeline Initial Data

Figure 16. (see Figure 16. below) highlights the percentage of language use a chosen bilingual child in each family would receive on an average day. In conjunction with the family profiles, the researcher was able to distinguish whether the reported dominant and minority languages were truly representative in praxis as recorded in a typical day's activities for the children in the study.

A high percentage of single language exposure was displayed from 7 families. 4 of these families with an observably high use of a single language only possessed two family languages, with English being a heritage language from one of the two parents. 2 of these 7 families (#7 and #19) incorporated English as a prestige language, hinting at a positive attitude to elite bilingualism (Romaine, 2011), and one family did not intentionally incorporate English into their child's daily activities whatsoever (#2).

Interestingly, the one family who reported to have unsuccessful minority language transmission (Participant #7) in their interview showed a 20% daily presence towards the child's minority family language through the activities carried out with the child daily, thus affirming that implicit activities can actually expose a child to a certain language without a parent even realising. This demonstrates that all families involved in this study have transmitted their mother tongues to their children and continue to do so daily to a minimum degree of fluency, yet the level of success they deem to have reported in terms of language fluency is largely dependent on the parent's ideology and own perception of '*success*' or their notion of '*good parenting*' (King & Fogle, 2006) due to additive family bilingualism taking place.

19/20 families had their children intentionally exposed English to some degree in their daily lives in Cyprus, regardless of whether it was a heritage language or not. Family #2's language timeline demonstrated that no English is used in the household, nor during the child's pre and after post schooling activities. The interview process revealed that the child does tend to have an interest in watching English/American videos on social media, demonstrating a child may independently favour certain interests in content via an international lingua franca.

The findings showed that despite balanced bilingualism tending to be a desirable factor for many intermarried couples, there may be a dominant language shift (Romaine, 1989) (subconsciously or not) towards one of the two parental mother tongues (Giles, 1993). This increasingly becomes the case when one of the parental languages is the societally dominant language.

It is important to note that these language timelines represented the languages exposed to the child, and what they would experience in an average day in terms of social contact and daily linguistic activity, and did not represent the explicit percentage of language transmitted by each parent to their child. Notably, these percentages could differ in relation to the amount of parental contact each child has (notably unbalancing the transmission of certain languages), and the other individuals the child would meet, especially should the child be immersed some form of public or private schooling. Consequently, this would require extra consideration with regards to FLP acquisition planning (King et al., 2008), particularly to when the child would be exposed to certain languages. These percentages may also reflect the measures put in place by a parent's FLP to ensure the desire amount of language transmission takes place.

All activities where the child would be in contact with other language speakers (who were not explicitly aware or involved in the parents' FLP) would naturally (and involuntarily) imbalance potential language exposure input. This can be seen in all cases where the children attend nursery, primary or secondary school, where the children would socialise with a range of language speakers. Additionally, the children's own voluntary desire to speak certain languages has all been recorded, which may be contrary to the parents' desired language ideologies. This affirms the hypothesis that intended language management may not necessarily translate into intended (or deemed to be successful) language practice.

| Family | Explicit and Planned FLP or Not | Language Timeline Majority Language Percentage Usage | Language Timeline Heritage and or Minority Percentage Usage | Language Timeline EAP Percentage Usage |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 CN & MR | FLP Pre-Planned | 55 | 35 | 10 |
| 2 AI | No Pre-Planned FLP involved | 80 | 20 | 0 |
| 3 AV | No Pre-Planned FLP involved | 50 | 50 | Not Applicable as Eng is a Heritage Language |
| 4 RM | FLP Pre-Planned | 60 | 40 | Not Applicable as Eng is a Heritage Language |
| 5 IT | FLP Pre-Planned | 45 | 50 | 5 |
| 6 GT + AT | FLP Pre-Planned | 50 | 50 | Not Applicable as Eng is a Heritage Language |
| 7 ZP | No Pre-Planned FLP involved | 70 | 20 | 10 |
| 8 ED | No Pre-Planned FLP involved | 70 | 30 | Not Applicable as Eng is a Heritage Language |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 9 SH | No Pre-Planned FLP involved | 70 | 30 | Not Applicable as Eng is a Heritage Language |
| 10 CM | FLP Pre-Planned | 65 | 35 | Not Applicable as Eng is a Heritage Language |
| 11 KS | No Pre-Planned FLP involved | 70 | 30 | Not Applicable as Eng is a Heritage Language |
| 12 CM | No Pre-Planned FLP involved | 55 | 45 | Not Applicable as Eng is a Heritage Language |
| 13 VK | No Pre-Planned FLP involved | 45 | 40 | 15 |
| 14 EM | FLP Pre-Planned | 40 | 55 | 5 |
| 15 SE | No Pre-Planned FLP involved | 45 | 45 | 10 |
| 16 JH | No Pre-Planned FLP involved | 33 | 33 | 33 |
| 17 RBP | No Pre-Planned FLP involved | 35 | 60 | 5 |
| 18 KL | FLP Pre-Planned | 50 | 50 | Not Applicable as Eng is a Heritage Language |
| 19 EP | FLP Pre-Planned | 65 | 25 | 10 |
| 20 IL | FLP Pre-Planned | 40 | 40 | 20 |

FIGURE 16. DISCOVERED RATIOS OF REPORTED FAMILY LANGUAGES AS RECORDED IN EACH FAMILY'S LANGUAGE TIMELINE

## 5.2 Minority Family Language Status and Parental Language Input

Figure 17. (see Figure 17. below) lists the language timeline data from families with minority languages which were not societally nor globally dominant. This would aid in also determining whether there was a causal effect on global language status and parental gender having any further influence in how much family language is truly exposed to their children in an average day's usage.

Interestingly, the lowest values of language exposure from all 20 language timelines came from certain minority languages (German, Serbian and Ukrainian). These values all demonstrated that the bilingual children from those families receive 25% or lower minority language input exposure on an average day, compared to their dominant family languages, or more globally present, prestigious

languages such as English or Russian. The interview data affirmed why such a low quantity of minority exposure happens for these three families:

Family #2 preferred to use German only in instances of physically being in Germany itself, and vice versa for Cyprus, thus have their daughter follow a predominantly Cypriot schedule and only have the mother intervene in German if need be. Through the language timeline data alone, this an indication of the *Time and Place Strategy* (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004), where one language is specifically used for a certain environment (Romaine, 1989) (that being the country itself in this case). This could have negative implications for the child's fluency levels in German if one were to follow the '*principle of maximum engagement'* (Yamamoto 2001, in De Houwer, 2007), where it is advised to spend as much time as possible with both family languages to give the child a better chance of acquiring the minority language through discourse-based methods.

Family #19's mother mentioned in her interview about her desire for her children to acquire the English language more than Ukrainian, justifying her decisions to speak to them exclusively in English. Family #19's children exhibited more Ukrainian exposure over reported English transmission (25% Ukrainian versus 10% English) in an average day's linguistic activity. Attending an international school had the child socialize more with Ukrainian and Russian children rather than speak English as the mother intended to transmit. Family #19 reported English being the language of success, whilst Russian as the language of emotion, and Ukrainian is the language of identity, despite not explicitly being used and replaced by a prestige language by the mother. This display of elite bilingualism for SPE gain in the hopes of setting up one's child for future (Mejía, 2002; Romaine, 2011) is intended in this family's planning, yet when noticing the language timeline, their child would primarily use Russian, and only 10% in English. Despite the child being educated in an international school, the language shift to their family languages indicated a possible rejection of the English language, and only using it when necessary. When viewing these results through De Houwer's (1999)term '*impact beliefs*', we notice that although parent's ideological views and their belief that their language interventions may facilitate the acquisition of certain languages, the child's own willingness to accept or reject bilingualism may upset the balance of input exposure.

Family #7's father attributed an identity shift from Serbian to Cypriot. Being warmly accepted into his wife's GC family made him feel more comfortable conversing in CG, plus his work schedule did not let him be as present around his child as he would have liked during the early stages of infancy. He acknowledged that this could have proven detrimental to his son's fluency levels in Serbian, and if could repeat things over, he would have spent much more time engaging in Serbian-orientated activities with his child. This acknowledgement that pre-planning could aid in balancing language input in the household (De Houwer, 1999) and reflective adaptation (Spolsky, 2019) of the parent to modify their children's language practice links to the importance of parent's desiring further information on corpus language planning and (King et al., 2008; Spolsky, 2019), and how there is a need for parents to be made aware of feasible FLS to aid them as such.

These results correlate with Hornberger's considered (1988) importance of TL input and can be also seen through Venables et al. (2014) study, indicating that if minority parental language input is limited, especially if only one parent speaks the minority language (Portes & Hao, 1998, in De Houwer, 2007), the likelihood of successful language transmission taking place is lowered by at least 10%. This affirms the importance asked for by researchers to determine whether relative frequency, or balance of parental input (De Houwer, 2007) affects the amount of vocabulary acquired by a bilingual child.

It must be noted that those children with a higher weighting towards either balanced bilingualism, or a higher degree of minority language exposure (of heritage languages which were not as globally

dominant) had their parents report that the child felt they could identify equal to, or even more to their heritage culture. When parents were asked how the children would identify themselves in terms of nationality, some parents had already asked their children this question (prior to the interview during childrearing) and knew the answer immediately. Those families with minority language exposure scores of 50% and over (Hungarian and Lithuanian) had expressed they felt a heavier weighting to their heritage culture over being Cypriot. Inversely, family #19 (with a minority language exposure score of 25%) reported their child would respond that they would always answer with '*Russian*' rather than Russian and Ukrainian. The same answers were also given for families #2 and #7 (German and Serbian minority languages), that their child identified as GC, and would answer as such, and would only identify with their heritage nation for sporting events. Parents of children who were of GC and globally dominant languages, such as English and Russian, but only those that possessed a more balanced weighting of language exposure in their language timelines answered that their children felt an equal attribution to both cultures and a desire to connect with both of their cultures. Those who had a greater exposure to CG did answer in the interview process that they believed that their children would identify more as GC, with English or Russian roots.

This display of pride from a bilingual child to acknowledge their minority parent's heritage culture alongside a societally dominant one, yet not always label oneself as 50/50 due to language fluency links to a pattern of authenticity and identity of a heritage nation correlating with the degree of fluency one has with one's heritage language (Bateman, 2016; Kensaku, 1999; Mills, 2001; Thuy Dam, 2023). For young children already to be expressing to their parents how they feel and find themselves in the world gives us an indication of how a bilingual child finds their place in society through the medium of the mother tongues they possess (Bayley & Schecter, 2003; Cho, 2016; Purkarthofer, 2019). This also links with Hall's & Hall's (2000) findings that one's linguistic identity forms one's cultural identity. Brown's (2009) study had Korean-American heritage speakers question how they would identify based on how well they spoke their heritage language , but also acknowledged the fact that their bi-racial physical appearance made them feel they possessed attributes from each of their parent's mother cultures. The reality shown by these present language timelines affirms to bilingual parents that if a certain amount of input is not adhered to a certain degree, there is a likelihood that the bilingual child would exhibit less minority language usage (Pearson et al., in De Houwer, 2007). There is also a likelihood that they would associate themselves less with their heritage culture, although this could be subject to change when such children visit their heritage nations for extended holidays, an FLS that has been reportedly popular (which shall be explored in Chapter 6) in its application in this study.

| Family | Father Nationality | Mother Nationality | Explicit and Planned FLP or Not | Language Timeline Majority Language Percentage Usage | Language Timeline Heritage and/or Minority Percentage Usage | Language Timeline EAP Percentage Usage |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2 AI | Cypriot | German | No Pre-Planned FLP involved | 80 | 20 | 0 |
| 5 IT | Cypriot | Lithuanian | FLP Pre-Planned | 45 | 50 | 5 |
| 7 ZP | Serbian | Cypriot | No Pre-Planned FLP involved | 70 | 20 | 10 |
| 14 EM | Greek | Hungarian | FLP Pre-Planned | 40 | 55 | 5 |
| 16 JH | Cypriot | Hungarian | No Pre-Planned FLP involved | 33 | 33 | 33 |
| 17 RBP | British | Hungarian | No Pre-Planned FLP involved | 35 | 60 | 5 |
| 19 EP | Russian | Ukrainian | FLP Pre-Planned | 65 | 25 | 10 |

FIGURE 17. LANGUAGE TIMELINE RATIO RESULTS OF MINORITY LANGUAGES WHICH ARE LESS GLOBALLY DOMINANT

## 5.3 National vs Majority vs Minority Languages

This section from the language timeline results (see Figure 18. below) demonstrates that majority of language speakers of Cyprus speaking CG, irrespective of gender, generally expose their child more to their societally dominant, native language than their minority language spouse does with theirs. Only seven cases have the roles reversed (families: 4, 5, 7, 11, 14, 16, 17 and 19), with 4 of these families having less internationally dominant languages (Lithuanian and Hungarian) yet having very strong ideologies on preserving their heritage languages. These findings also affirm that the parental lingua franca, as seen in Chapter 4.1.9 tends to be the same language belonging to the parent who is more linguistically influential in terms of input exposure.

This leads to one conclusion that minority nationalities in Cyprus, may experience identity shift and communication language choice when changing their country of residence and raising a family in Cyprus to assimilate to the dominant societal culture (Goutsos, 2006; Guardado, 2008) and do not wish their children to fall victim to the same confusions in identity association. This is an example of parents exhibiting folk bilingualism (Guerrero, 2010) to acculturate to Cyprus, yet adopt an elite bilingual-orientated ideology for their children's language development to set them up for linguistic success in their adult life. These parents may also face challenges and ethnocentrism towards raising their children with their minority language mother tongue from their spouse's extended family, who tend to act as childminders for their grandchildren (akin to the study of Liu & Lin (2019) )and add on a third language ideology, as family ties are seen as very strong and close knit in Cyprus. Therefore,

when children with a Cypriot parent have native-like fluency of the language as a near-automatic gift, even if the ideology of the minority parent is competitive in terms of family power levels (Spolsky, 2019) (such as that of mother #5) and tries to have the child attain balanced bilingualism, it leads to parents needing to find interventions to support the minority language from the offset in Cyprus to avoid any second maternal language delay.

With regards to parental gender roles, the initial hypothesis assumed by the researcher, due to previous literature (De Houwer, 2007; Liu & Lin, 2019; Romaine, 1989) highlighting a dominance in such, would be that bilingual children would acquire and use the mother's minority language more successfully than the father if they were the minority nationality parent, due to more frequent mother-child contact during critical period of CLA. There were no fathers holding a minority status/heritage language that appeared to have their children exert a higher minority language weighting than their spouse's majority household or national language. The results of the study proved this hypothesis to be correct by the minority language Hungarian mothers and the Lithuanian mother with reported successful transmission, proved further correct by the minority language father of family #7 reportedly failing to successfully transmit his mother tongue of Serbian to his child, whilst also claiming and have a shift of identity in Cyprus. Family #7 see Serbian as the language of heritage and identity yet share the same ideology as family #2.

The instances where this trend was not upheld by minority language mothers was seen by Families #2 and #19, who reported using use more CG and English than their mother tongues, respectively, as prior outlined where CG is the language of communicative convenience for family #2, and English was seen as more prestigious worldwide by family #19. Family #2 language shift mirrored family #7's identity shift after living in Cyprus for an extended period, whilst mother #19 defected from domestic overuse of her own mother tongue due to the greater SPE opportunities English had given her. She also claimed Ukrainians are a very cold race, plus the children would succeed more in their professional capacity with Russian over Ukrainian. Family #2 had the parents using German as a common language when they were living abroad in Germany, but shifted to CG due to everyday life being in the means of the national language, then had children, leading us to believe that this family's ideology is practicality of day-to-day communication in the majority society being their ideology, over identity and language.

Conclusively, these findings affirm previous studies (Siren, 1991, in De Houwer, 2007; De Houwer, 2007) that ultimately, the role of gender in language transmission in bilingual families does not play a determining role in how effectively a language is transmitted to a child. Instead, the amount of input exposure that each gender transmits in their physical presence is crucial in increasing the likelihood of additive bilingualism taking place, especially in the case of a family minority language which is at the greatest risk of not being spoken as fluently as the dominant one.

| Family | Majority Family Language | Minority Family Language | English as an Additional Language Add Y or N | Who has more influence in terms of language weighting? |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 CN & MR | Greek Cypriot Dialect | Russian | Y | Majority Father |
| 2 AI | Greek Cypriot Dialect | German | Y | Majority Father |
| 3 AV | Greek Cypriot Dialect | English | Not Applicable | Equal |
| 4 RM | English | Greek Cypriot Dialect | Not Applicable | Minority Mother |
| 5 IT | Greek Cypriot Dialect | Lithuanian | Y | Minority Mother |
| 6 GT + AT | Greek Cypriot Dialect | English | Not Applicable | Equal |
| 7 ZP | Greek Cypriot Dialect | Serbian | Y | Majority Mother |
| 8 ED | Greek Cypriot Dialect | English | Not Applicable | Majority Father |
| 9 SH | English | Greek Cypriot Dialect | French as Additional Language | Majority Father |
| 10 CM | Greek Cypriot Dialect | English | Not Applicable | Majority Father |
| 11 KS | English | Greek Cypriot Dialect | French as Additional Language | Minority Mother |
| 12 CM | English | Greek Cypriot Dialect | Not Applicable | Equal |
| 13 VK | Greek Cypriot Dialect | Russian | Y | Equal |
| 14 EM | Standard Modern Greek | Hungarian | Y | Minority Mother |
| 15 SE | Greek Cypriot Dialect | Russian | Y | Equal |
| 16 JH | Greek Cypriot Dialect | Hungarian | Y | Minority Mother |
| 17 RBP | English | Hungarian | Greek as an Additional Language | Minority Mother |
| 18 KL | Greek Cypriot Dialect | English | Not Applicable | Equal |
| 19 EP | Russian | Ukrainian | Y | Majority Father |
| 20 IL | Standard Modern Greek | Russian | Y | Equal |

FIGURE 18. DETERMINING TABLE OF WHICH PARENT HAS MORE LINGUISTIC INFLUENCE

## Concluding Remarks to Chapter 5

The language timelines have reported each family's reported usage that their child would receive in an average day. It contributed to this study by reporting on actual language input rather than intended language planning, despite the results themselves from the timelines being reported by the parents. These were carried out alongside the family profiles and the FLS Section to give a more holistic view of determining whether intended language management strategies reported by the parents in the Strategies section (Chapter 6) were in accordance with what was recorded in an actual day's usage. Furthermore, the hierarchical input of language dominance of reported family languages recorded through the family profiles were verified or debunked through calculations of ratios of language exposure noted through these timelines.

The following chapter examines the families' responses to which FLS they used, and the accompanying scores of frequency, effectiveness and practicality.

# Chapter 6: The FLS Results

## Introduction

This following chapter displays the results obtained by the participants' responses to the 16 FLS as found in the corresponding section of the Activities Pack. Analysed through GIT and IPA, each participating family would list whether they had knowingly committed to the strategy and regardless of having done it or not, would give a score on a scale of 1-5 for the frequency it would have been carried out, how effective it would be for their children's multilingual development, and how practical it would be to accommodate into their lifestyle, alongside an optional section where they could input any additional comments.

This chapter is composed of a legend of the FLS included in the Activities Pack, the implemented results from selected participants, a comparison of both types of scores, followed by an overall analysis of some of the most popular additional strategies reported, supported alongside interview excerpts given by the participating families to substantiate these popular strategies.

## 6.1 Strategies Legend

The Strategies were numbered from 1-16, and presented to the participants in the following order (see Figure 19. below):

1. *Allowing the use of an iPad/tablet/media device with apps/games in the language of your choice*
2. *Allowing YouTube videos exclusively in the language of your choice*
3. *At the dinner table, each parent would exclusively speak their language to their child and expect a response in that chosen language.*
4. *Buy toys and games only available in TL for the child to play with*
5. *Choosing a babysitter based upon which languages that person would speak.*
6. *Ensure your child only watches television shows/films in the language of your choice.*
7. *Ensuring your child's social circle from a young age is with same speakers of the language you choose.*
8. *Instructing family members to only use one language at a time when communicating with your child.*
9. *OPOL ( Having one parent speak their chosen language to their child and the other in theirs in all scenarios)*
10. *Playing educational games, such as flashcards and number training exclusively in your chosen language.*
11. *Playing music and singing nursery rhymes/songs in the language of your choice*
12. *Reading stories/books to your child in the language of your choice*
13. *Sending your child to a specific nursery school/primary school/secondary school whether it be a monolingual/international environment.*

14. *Sending your child to extracurricular activities (sports/clubs etc) tailored to the language of your choice.*
15. *Having the child's grandparents look after the child for a portion of the day.*
16. *Other Strategies that you have used that are not on this list?*

FIGURE 19. FLS LEGEND

## 6.2 Implemented Participant Count of Actual Usage

Figure 20. (see Figure 20. below) demonstrates the hierarchical count percentage of parents that have explicitly carried out each FLS, irrespective of the score they have awarded it. These results inform us of which practices are the most popular to carry out in Cyprus, despite not being a bilingual parent's preferred method of language transmission for their children.

Strategies #11 and #12, *singing monolingual songs and nursery rhymes*, alongside *reading monolingual storybooks and fairytales* were carried out by every single participating family. FLS #10 and #13 were carried out intentionally by 90% of families. This indicates an attempt to incorporate educational activities to facilitate bilingualism from the parent's side alongside entrusting a school system to carry out the same action. What is interesting to note is the reported success rate of both FLS differ by over 10% (#13 being much higher), due to the possibility that flashcard training may been seen as a time consuming or chore for parents to constantly apply with a reasonable level of success.

Aside from explicit schooling choice, which appears to correlate with a recurring ideological theme linked to elite, additive bilingualism (Mejía, 2002; Mejía, 2012),the top FLS with an 85% commitment rate or higher all involve direct parent-child direct interaction, or close family members (such as grandparents).

*Choosing a monolingual paid babysitter/caregiver* as a FLS (#5) was carried out by the least number of participants (30%). This is probably due to the popularity of strategy #15, *use of grandparents as monolingual babysitters*, which 85% of participants admitted to incorporating. With grandparents being a cost effective, and trustworthy source to entrust childcare to, it was a much more popular option to use.

Those FLS used by 70% of participants were all explicit interventions of language control. This would range in the form of choosing material from electronic devices for the children to watch, and controlled, monolingual parental discourse (OPOL) and applying OPOL through dinner table talk.

Strategies #3,# 8 and #9, which are all derivatives of OPOL (#9 being seen as the original form of OPOL (Grammont, 1902; Ronjat, 1913)), contrary to popular belief, were not the most used FLS, despite OPOL being seen as the most widely researched FLS in further reading. This indicates that lesser known FLS require further attention from researchers, as they are seemingly more popularly used in everyday life by modern, bilingual families. Furthermore, these findings concur with previous studies (Bain & Yu, 1980; De Houwer, 2007) that OPOL may be outdated in terms of popularity.

| Strategy Number | Average percentage count of parents that have explicitly carried out strategy |
|---|---|
| 11 | 100 |
| 12 | 100 |
| 10 | 90 |
| 13 | 90 |
| 6 | 85 |
| 15 | 85 |
| 4 | 75 |
| 16 | 75 |
| 1 | 70 |
| 2 | 70 |
| 3 | 70 |
| 9 | 70 |
| 14 | 65 |
| 8 | 60 |
| 7 | 55 |
| 5 | 30 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. iPad (Media Device) | 5. External paid childminder | **9. OPOL from parents** | 13. Schooling Choice |
| 2. YouTube (Streaming) | 6. TV/Films | 10. Flashcards and Numbers | 14. Clubs and Activities |
| 3. Dinner Table Talk | 7. Social Circle | 11. Nursery Rhymes/Songs | 15. Grandparents as babysitters |
| 4. Toys and Games | 8. External family uses OPOL | 12. Fairytales/Books | **16. Other?** |

FIGURE 20. AVERAGE COUNT PERCENTAGE OF PARENTS THAT HAVE EXPLICITLY CARRIED OUT FLS

## 6.3 Average Implemented Scores

In descending order, the top 3 FLS used the most frequently used were **13 (91.8%) -** *Sending your child to a specific nursery school/primary school/secondary school whether it be a monolingual/international environment* ,**11 (89.5%)** - *Playing music and singing nursery rhymes/songs in the language of your choice* and **15 (88.4%)-** *Having the child's grandparents look after the child for a portion of the day*. There is no major discernible difference between the intended scores versus the implemented scores of frequency (**see Figure 21. below**).

In descending order, the top 3 FLS which were the most effective were **13 (98.9%)** - *Sending your child to a specific nursery school/primary school/secondary school whether it be a monolingual/international environment.* **16 (98.3%)** - *Other Strategies that you have used that are not on this list?, a*nd **15 (93.6%)** *Having the child's grandparents look after the child for a portion of the day.*

Strategy **#16** is worthy to count in the top 3 implemented reported strategies rather than intended, as it received such a high effectiveness score from the **75%** of participants that carried it out, which

leads one to inspect these unique FLS in further detail to bring to light any undiscovered or unreported strategies not previously seen in the existing literature.

In descending order, the top 3 FLS reported to be the most practical were **11 (93.7%) -** *Playing music and singing nursery rhymes/songs in the language of your choice*, **13 (90.6%)** - *Sending your child to a specific nursery school/primary school/secondary school whether it be a monolingual/international environment* **and 15 (90.5%)-** *Having the child's grandparents look after the child for a portion of the day.* Aside from very minute differences in score percentage, the rankings remain the same compared to the intended scores from all families, including those who had hypothetically carried out the strategies. This demonstrates that these three FLS are viewed equally by those who have and have not performed it themselves.

| Strategy # | % count of parents using FLS | Average Implemented Frequency | Average Implemented Effectiveness | Average Implemented Practicality | Implemented Average of all 3 measurements of efficacy |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13 | 90 | 91.76471 | 98.82353 | 90.58824 | **93.72549** |
| 11 | 100 | 89.47368 | 92.63158 | 93.68421 | **91.92982** |
| 15 | 85 | 88.42105 | 93.68421 | 90.52632 | **90.87719** |
| 16 | 75 | 76.66667 | 98.33333 | 86.66667 | **87.22222** |
| 12 | 100 | 81.05263 | 89.47368 | 85.26316 | **85.26316** |
| 9 | 70 | 84.70588 | 84.44444 | 82.35294 | **83.83442** |
| 10 | 90 | 73.68421 | 85.26316 | 82.10526 | **80.35088** |
| 2 | 70 | 72.94118 | 80 | 83.52941 | **78.82353** |
| 14 | 65 | 72.94118 | 84.21053 | 75.78947 | **77.64706** |
| 7 | 55 | 76.47059 | 81.11111 | 71.11111 | **76.23094** |
| 1 | 70 | 67 | 79 | 78.94737 | **74.98246** |
| 6 | 85 | 64.21053 | 78.94737 | 75.78947 | **72.98246** |
| 4 | 75 | 65.88235 | 75.55556 | 74.44444 | **71.96078** |
| 8 | 60 | 74.11765 | 72.22222 | 67.77778 | **71.37255** |
| 5 | 30 | 65.33333 | 80 | 63.75 | **69.69444** |
| 3 | 70 | 66.31579 | 68.42105 | 62.10526 | **65.61404** |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. iPad (Media Device) | 5. External paid childminder | **9. OPOL from parents** | 13. Schooling Choice |
| 2. YouTube (Streaming) | 6. TV/Films | 10. Flashcards and Numbers | 14. Clubs and Activities |
| 3. Dinner Table Talk | 7. Social Circle | 11. Nursery Rhymes/Songs | 15. Grandparents as babysitters |
| 4. Toys and Games | 8. External family uses OPOL | 12. Fairytales/Books | **16. Other?** |

FIGURE 21. OVERALL RANKINGS OF ALL EXPLICITLY CARRIED OUT STRATEGIES RECORDED BY RELATIVE PERCENTAGE OF PARTICIPANTS IN THE ACTIVITIES PACK WITH ALL CRITERIA FULFILLED. BOTH IN NUMERICAL AND HIERARCHICAL ORDER

## 6.4 Strategy #16: Additional notable FLS

Additional strategies were commonly cited in the comments section (alongside the interview process) of the pack as extra to the initial 15, bringing a total of 21 commonly used FLS to be used routinely by intermarried families in Cyprus. These additional FLS to the Activities Pack (incorporated by 75% of the participating families) were:

i. *Having family and friends from the heritage country visiting Cyprus often as well to speak to the child exclusively in the heritage language.*

ii. *Mothers of the minority language organising a non-profit Saturday school for heritage language speakers in the local community to attend for literacy support*

iii. *Online lessons with a second language teacher (similar family background to the child) who spoke Serbian.*

iv. *Conducting English private lessons with a native tutor.*

v. *Organizing private face-to-face Greek lessons with a friend to help with homework and conversational skills. Was seen to be an additional expense.*

vi. *Allowing siblings to freely code-switch in any language combination in both family languages.*

There appears to be no distinction between societally dominant, minority nor prestige languages as the language of focus, yet the majority of these FLS are geared towards educational or explicit instruction over natural expression, or leisure-based FLS. Additionally, one can notice a trend of incorporating family members, or those who are trustworthy enough to be allowed in the family circle to educationally instruct the children to aid in heritage language learning. There appears to be a distinction of employing those within the inner family social network to act as extra interlocutors of language, rather than complete strangers in an extended language network. Notably, communication with native speakers and authentic, heritage culture target material is the focal point of these FLS. This points towards a language ideology centred around language, identity and cultural authenticity.

Five, additional common FLS were also cited in the interview process, bringing the total reported FLS in the study to 26. The participants spoke fondly of these FLS and are thus worth mentioning. Two of these additional FLS: *Authentic native language media brought from abroad to support language maintenance* and *Extended* h*olidays to Heritage Language Country* were mentioned the most in the interview process, with the holidays FLS being used by nearly all participating minority parents in the study on a regular basis. These two FLS shall be discussed in Chapter 7 of this thesis to better understand the common ideological ground for committing to such a language intervention and to better understand their popularity.

The remaining, additional FLS mentioned are seen in the following sections:

### 6.4.1 Streaming Services in Multiple Languages

Streaming Services such as Netflix and YouTube have made access to TL media for all age ranges instantly accessible with an internet connection, and available for offline download so that it is possible for users to watch their content on the go. Multilingual families reported that their children use such services to watch certain programs in languages of their choosing, and their parents' supervision in both language and content appropriation.

> *#13 (Belarussian mother): "Like, my kids have stuff that we didn't have (growing up). They didn't have this Netflix stuff. And now they have YouTube, TikTok, all this crazy stuff, which has been going on for the last 5-6 years, 6 years. So, it's the whole thing, yes, it's different. Different, different. I actually think that my daughter… I haven't tried with her at all with Russian language, but she because she was watching lots of YouTube videos with one Russian guy.*

Mother #13 discussed that during her childhood, applications such as YouTube and Netflix were non-existent for language support. She noted that she hadn't tried any explicit language interventions with her youngest daughter in Russian, yet her daughter freely chooses to watch Russian YouTube videos on the iPad when relaxing.

> *#13 (Belarussian mother): "…Definitely Greek and English. Even more, I would say he prefers to watch all the Netflix and stuff and most of the books (in these languages)."*

Mother #13 elaborated further that her eldest son (16 years old at the time of interviewing) would explicitly choose Greek and English over his minority language of Russian when immersing himself in leisurely content, both visual and written. This demonstrates that multiple bilingual siblings in the same family independently choose which languages they prefer to spend their free time with, based on the content offered. This practice is mirrored by family #14 with Greek and Hungarian:

> *#14 (Hungarian mother): "What I like in both of my children because they are exposed to Hungarian media, YouTube and whatever they are watching there, it's Hungarian. Their vocabulary, it's not like growing up in in the motherland. I don't think that we would have that kind of (vocabulary), so they've actually learned more from media.… My daughter. She is watching, for example, Netflix. It's coming out something and it's in Hungarian. She will be watching Hungarian and then she will start watching Greek after."*

Mother #14 reported that streaming services allow viewers to pick up vocabulary which would not even be naturally acquired as a child in the heritage nation on a day-to-day basis, therefore proves educationally advantageous, in addition to allowing seamless bilingual access to a range of video content to watch on demand in available languages.

YouTube, being a free media content application, has been a staple in many participants' leisure routine for their children, including popular English television programs such as *Peppa Pig*, in both the original English, and globally dubbed versions:

> *#1 (Cypriot father): "Well, yeah, I sometimes speak to him in English. He watches all of his, or mostly his YouTube videos in English, which is a good amount of time every single day.---And I think he picked up from those as well."*

*#4 (American mother): "If we watched Peppa Pig and Greek and on YouTube, you know, we would insist on some Greek during the day, most days, as part of her watching."*

Families being able to monitor the content their children view through YouTube kids also allows them to balance out language exposure through the medium of content they watch, depending on which language they would like them to hear at that point in time. In this manner, parents take an active involvement in their children's language exposure, without over-interference in their leisure activities.

*#12 (British mother): "They learn English when they speak English. They're very, very fluent. You wouldn't think otherwise. And the accent, everything. My daughter's got a Peppa Pig English accent. My son had a bit of an American cause he preferred YouTube and being a boy and stuff like that…*

*…I think it's an easier language to learn to speak, and my kids have kind of proven that to me as well. They've learned the English very, very fluently very, very quickly from just watching cartoons rather than the Greek. The Greek they, they, you know, the spelling, the, the, the alphabet, the different rules are different."*

Mother #12 reiterated that English-speaking children's programmes, due to their accessibility and the sheer range of content available to suit all age ranges and tastes, has contributed substantially to help her promote English in the household alongside CG. It even reached a level where her elder son would be influenced by such programs on YouTube that mimicry of the accents he would hear would take place.

Alongside traditional films watched in the cinema or on television, parents reported to be able to access foreign television channels, films and series on demand through dedicated set-top boxes, and mobile devices to facilitate a bilingual household:

*#7 (Serbian father): "We have all this Dream Box with whatever, 300 Serbian channels, especially if you like something like (a) football game or something. I try to find it in in Serbian. So, you know, he watches it that language. At least (to listen to) the commentator."*

Father #7 acknowledged his son's passion and identification with his Serbian roots, especially with sports. In an effort to make-up for lack of constant transmission during the critical stage of language acquisition, he seeks to immerse his son in Serbian leisure activities with methods as simple as finding sports fixtures through a special set-top box which has authentic Serbian channels with the appropriate native-language sporting commentary.

## 6.4.2 Use of Disney and Bilingual Television Shows in Media and Popular Culture:

Disney material, seemingly due to its worldwide availability and popularity, and presence through both the parents' childhood as well as their own offspring, seemed to evoke feelings of nostalgia and happiness. Many non-Disney cartoons are also available worldwide, usually that of Japanese origin and these cartoons are dubbed into worldwide languages. Additionally, with the content available in multiple languages, its availability is extended from simple tv shows, to internet videos, and merchandise, such as toys and games.

> *#10 (British mother): "They didn't have that when you were growing up, though, you didn't have the Internet. The only thing they had were videos. The Lion King? Yes, the Classic Disney films, yeah."*

Being that Disney content is so impressionable and available worldwide; it is probable for children to wish to emulate the dialogue they hear through their favourite Disney characters and emulate this in both language choice and register. Classic Disney films available through DVDs contained language options when obtained in foreign countries to have multiple languages and subtitles available. This was confirmed to be the case for Cyprus having both the English and SMG options available on the DVD. This is different compared to the video cassette options which parents confirmed to have watched during their infancy, which were dubbed versions of the Disney films unless obtained from either the UK or America.

> *#8 (British mother): "I can hear him. I could hear him making conversations in English. It was never in Greek. He had these (toy) figures. All that he was obsessed with was (with) all the Disney figures and then he would just reenact the scenes. We used to watch all the old classic Disney films. So, whenever we'd watch them, he'd want us to order the figures. So, what he'd do was put them on and then he'd reenact all the scenes in English."*

An interesting phenomenon cited by multiple families was the language preferences indicated by parents that their children would display when a film or television show they were watching was being shown, and this particular film or show had been viewed by the child in its original language, or a different language, mirroring one of the children's additional mother tongues. This concept further extended when subtitles were introduced to that piece of media, with the dubbed language being one of the children's mother tongues, and the translated subtitle being the other mother tongue the child possessed:

> *#5 (Lithuanian mother): "And this is annoying actually. So, I tried this. They didn't like it and I said "OK, let's leave the TV away every time we go to Lithuania". We would go to (the) cinema every single time we go to Lithuania from three years of age. When they started to sit for 1-2 hours and then we (…), well, we are going to movies, theatre and this is where I and they have this, you know, as a habit every time."*

The mother of family #5 noted that her children prefer to watch films monolingually in either language that they know, because they get frustrated at the inaccuracies in translated subtitles shown during such films in Lithuania/Cyprus.

> *#12 (British mother): "The cartoons they could watch in Greek are preferred in English, but they even now like now when I put the cartoons on when their cousins come round in Greek,*

*they don't like it because they want it in the original voice, they want in the English voice there. But the with the cartoons it was well, there were some more hours with their mum… and mummy's not going to sit and watch Greek cartoons."*

It is interesting to note that the children of family #12 took a liking more to English-speaking cartoons due to having a connection to the original language voicing of the characters. However, we may see a clear intervention from the English mother having some influence in the usage of this FLS, as she would rather sit with her children and watch whatever content they wanted in a language she would also understand, rather than focus on Greek language acquisition. This could possibly be that she wishes to immerse her children in an authentically English environment for such a leisure activity as easily accessible and unwinding as watching a television program with her children.

Parents commented on the ease of using such an FLS as watching films and television shows via cinema, videos and DVDs, or streaming services with their children, having it require no strenuous effort whatsoever other than choosing what to watch and ensure it is appropriate for their children to watch. Often, they would accompany their children to the cinema, or sit with them when watching a film or television series at home, facilitating the suitability of the content. Additionally, the ease of choosing subtitles or dubbed films is hugely accessible thanks to such streaming services such as Netflix being available in Cyprus allowing either dubbed versions, or subtitled versions of content.

### 6.4.3. Additional Applications in Target Languages

Certain parents implemented use of smartphone technology and applications for themselves to facilitate certain languages.

*#4 (American mother): "Now I (use) Google Translate camera feature, it has been amazing for me for notes (whenever) coming home."*

Mother #4 (American) tries to use the Google Translate App's AI Camera feature to translate her children's homework and storybooks, and general Greek material she finds around the house, from SMG into English to aid her understanding of the Greek language, so that she can take further involvement in her children's bilingual prowess, and feel more involved with their Cypriot identity.

*#5 (Lithuanian mother): "Yeah, maybe downloading more applications on the phone. You know, they I had all (phones) from their age of three. I think I have downloaded the application with Lithuanian alphabet and every single letter from alphabet. So, you press on the letter on the on the phone and they say (the pronunciation)."*

Mother #5 admitted to using smartphone applications to aid in her children's acquisition of Lithuanian phonology and literacy by downloading specialist applications which would assist her in teaching them in how to read and pronounce the alphabet. This is in line with her language ideology of wishing to not take a teacher's role in her children's upbringing, but rather leaving it in the hands of educational professionals, or more fun, leisurely means of helping her children acquire TL skills.

This present study's findings have shown that cartoons, alongside a plethora of TL material (books/films/series/videos/television channels/toys/games) are available in so many developed and accessible forms, especially with an internet connection to an authentic standard of TL. Many parents reported the use of video streaming apps such as YouTube and Netflix being staple forms of entertainment in their children's lives, and how the content they watch can easily be switched to a foreign language of their choosing.

### 6.4.4 No Technology Hour

Another FLS used to supplement reading monolingual or bilingual storybooks with the children was an innovative method used by several bilingual families in this study. Parents would forbid the use of electronic devices, such as iPads, smartphones, or smart TV for at least one hour per day, and require all family members present to sit together. They would each read a book in the language of their choice, as long as it was a physical book in their hand, which they could discuss amongst one another once they had all finished reading for this period of time. This was an incentive, amongst others displayed in the interview excerpts below, to promote literacy skills through leisure activities and authentic original language literature from storybooks of the parents/children's choice:

> *#4 (American mother): "I sometimes would pay them to read. I would get them what they were interested in, so long as they would want to read. We've really just pushed reading in our home generally, and most of it is in English for that reason. So, their vocabulary and just their kind of osmosis acquiring of the language would be enriched even if it weren't so formal.---like English lessons after school."*

Mother #4 would offer her children pocket money for finishing storybooks. These books were on topics that her children found interesting, and these coincided to be English storybooks, which would help them immerse in an anglophone environment, whilst they attended public, Cypriot primary education.

> *#12 (British mother): "But they had English and Greek books, but my husband would read the Greek and I would read the English. And because most nights they wanted Mummy, they ended up with more English books. I've got more English books in my in my house than Greek books, and now I'm trying to reverse it by getting them (Greek ones)… like my daughter now wants to read English books. She doesn't want to read Greek books. So, I'm trying to do that.*
>
> *I inhale books, and my son has gone the same way, and I can see my daughter beginning to (too), and again it was an alternative you know, to: "You've played for an hour on the iPad. I want you to read a book." We would sit down downstairs, everybody with a book. Now we go to the bookshop, and they choose one. I always encourage them to go to the bookshop and choose. I never said to them, "an English book". I say pick a book, any book you want, just pick a book.*
>
> *They're raised more by the mother when it comes to reading and stuff. That would be the nurture bit and I've nurtured them to prefer English books. Yeah, I've insisted that my kids read books because I know that everything now is. I mean, they'll go on all of these TikToks and they'll listen. And I said to them, you, "you're listening, but you're not actually reading."*

The mother of family #12 gave a detailed explanation of how big a role literacy from storybooks was for her and her husband to impart on their children. Both parents played an active role in reading their representative mother-tongue storybooks to their children at an early age, and the mother would constantly encourage her children to actively continue reading, regardless of what they would pick from a bookshop. The family would sit together and read their chosen books together. She explained that this was the intervention that she chose in terms of explicit language planning; that she would ensure her children would read but did not interfere in which language they would choose to read in. The content of reading they chose to buy from a bookshop was uninterrupted too. It was seen as a deterrent from electronic devices, in which she reported that only listening skills are stimulated from such apps, and no reading skills are actually acquired to a productive level.

## 6.5 Discussion of Implemented FLS scores and Participant Count

In descending order, the top three reported combined average strategies with all units of frequency, effectiveness and practicality together were strategy **#13**, *explicit choice of nursery, primary and secondary education as a FLS* (93.7%), **#11** *singing monolingual nursery rhymes/songs in the TL* (91.9%), and **#15 (90.8%),** *use of grandparents as babysitters*. These three FLS remained dominant in their combined average scores and give an accurate representation of language transmission methods which are seen as accessible, practical to apply in a family's daily routine, and perceived as giving a high level of success for promoting bilingual child language acquisition.

When observing the overall rankings , FLS **#13** remains the highest average scoring, regardless of explicit usage. Education is highly valued by parents and explicit choosing of a primary education source and the medium of language it is taught in mirrors with a parent's ideology that knowledge is a virtue and facilitates bilingualism and SPE prospect in adulthood. Choosing a nursery from a young age is a key facilitator for a child's social circle and acts as a mediator for language for a large portion of the day. Perhaps, parents wish for their child to be brought up in a linguistic environment similar to their own childhood, or give their children access to a secondary language which they have not been as fortunate to have in their own schooling, realizing the benefits it can impart later on in life.

Having choice of education as the most effective FLS, overtaking usage of monolingual grandparents look after the child as the most intendedly effective FLS, demonstrates that many parents ideally would believe that the grandparents to playing integral part of their children's upbringing could prove extremely effective, but in reality, may not have them always at their disposal. Due to the fact that almost half of the 40 participants' parents are not residing in Cyprus, it is natural to see that a different FLS would be seen as more effective in an everyday scenario, that being one which is to be implemented extremely often: that being sending one's child to nursery or school. Moreover, seeing the grandparents FLS as only the third most popular in implemented reported effectiveness may indicate that it is not actually as successful in terms of the child's language acquisition as one may initially hypothesise. Rather than being in a controlled, fostered environment for educative purposes, the child may simply engage in activities which have no discourse with the grandparents, such as watching television or playing games on smartphones, which at times may be unrestricted in usage and language choice.

In one sense, schooling acts as a form of childcare for a large portion of the day, in which parents place intrinsic trust of duty of care in the educational institution for social and linguistic purposes. In

this manner, a multilingual parent can have some faith that certain educative tasks will be carried out for that time period that the child is absent from the domestic environment, compared to leisurely activities in the presence of the grandparents.

The only shift in the top three average intended and average scores is between **#11** and **#15** in second and third place. This has been previously explained that paternal grandparents may not be physically present in Cyprus to look after the children, yet when given the option, participants responded extremely positively to implementing it in their FLP.

Conclusively, when determining the most implemented and successful FLS used in Cyprus in 2024, **#11** is seen as the highest scoring FLS, with every participating family using nursery rhymes in their children's upbringings, and with a **91.3%** average score success rate with a 100% participant usage rate.

One may deduce that throughout the FLS tables of implemented usage (**see Figure 22. below**), there appears to be no significant changes in terms of the hierarchy order of strategies through their various types of scoring compared to intended usage. What must be noted and discussed is that certain categorisations of language intervention throughout the study all appeared consistent in where they placed. These categorisations all pointed towards certain trends in language pattern usage. When coupled with the parents' interview data, these translated into recurring patterns which pointed towards which FLS categorisations were present in Cyprus.

| Strategy Number | Average % count of parents that have explicitly carried out strategy | Average Implemented Frequency | Average Implemented Effectiveness | Average Implemented Practicality | Implemented Average of all 3 measurements of efficacy |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13 | 90 | 91.76471 | 98.82353 | 90.58824 | **93.72549** |
| 11 | 100 | 89.47368 | 92.63158 | 93.68421 | **91.92982** |
| 15 | 85 | 88.42105 | 93.68421 | 90.52632 | **90.87719** |
| 16 | 75 | 76.66667 | 98.33333 | 86.66667 | **87.22222** |
| 12 | 100 | 81.05263 | 89.47368 | 85.26316 | **85.26316** |
| 9 | 70 | 84.70588 | 84.44444 | 82.35294 | **83.83442** |
| 10 | 90 | 73.68421 | 85.26316 | 82.10526 | **80.35088** |
| 2 | 70 | 72.94118 | 80 | 83.52941 | **78.82353** |
| 14 | 65 | 72.94118 | 84.21053 | 75.78947 | **77.64706** |
| 7 | 55 | 76.47059 | 81.11111 | 71.11111 | **76.23094** |
| 1 | 70 | 67 | 79 | 78.94737 | **74.98246** |
| 6 | 85 | 64.21053 | 78.94737 | 75.78947 | **72.98246** |
| 4 | 75 | 65.88235 | 75.55556 | 74.44444 | **71.96078** |
| 8 | 60 | 74.11765 | 72.22222 | 67.77778 | **71.37255** |
| 5 | 30 | 65.33333 | 80 | 63.75 | **69.69444** |
| 3 | 70 | 66.31579 | 68.42105 | 62.10526 | **65.61404** |

FIGURE 22. COMBINED IMPLEMENTED SCORES

## 6.6 Discussion of FLS Activity Pack Results

This chapter's results have displayed that there is a much wider range of FLS being incorporated on the monolingual and bilingual spectrum, which have seemingly replaced the ones reported by previously mentioned literature (Romaine, 1989: Lanza, 1997), King et al., 2008) as more contemporary in rate of usage, frequency, and satisfaction. These initial results pave the way for underlying language ideologies present in linguistically intermarried couples in Cyprus as to why they have ranked their FLS as such. Additionally, a prominent result from these FLS scores is a gradual shift in strategy pattern from most to least popular. The highest scoring FLS are generally based **on natural, authentic socialisation, education and expression**, leading to a mixture of **leisure-based activities** with some form of TL support, with the lowest scores centred around **explicit instruction** of language use.

This present study's results of FLS such as singing nursery rhymes, reading story books, playing games on the iPad, visiting a heritage country for holidays, answer King et el.'s (2008) calls for further research on policies other than OPOL to be looked into, and are more so linked to monolingual language support at any one given time over simultaneous, or flexible language management, such as code-switching, and seek to improve competence in that chosen language, whilst having the time dedicated to support that selected language being the deciding factor in how proficient a bilingual child can become in both their family languages. Combining this doctorate's reported FLS alongside Lanza's (1997) discourse management strategies to avoid language mixing aids numerous feasible methods a multilingual parent can adopt when communicating to their child in one of the TLs, alongside attempting to have the child maintain the TL the parent is intending to transmit at that given time.

This present study sought to uncover more detailed strategies linked to language choice patterns, as was demonstrated through the FLS Activities Pack where the families could report their opinions on such strategies, report whether they had carried them out or not, and report any previously unreported strategies as extra. The language timelines sought to expand on whether these FLS were seen as a pattern, by having the participants report when exactly certain FLS would be used. The results demonstrated groupings of FLS based on language network groups and strategy type. FLS using internal social networks and forms of natural expression (such as nursery rhymes and having the grandparents look after the child over an external childminder) alongside instructional education, such as the immediate family and trust in educational institutes were in the upper echelons of average scoring criteria. This lead to a general ideology of natural developmental discourse in the family unit, whilst allowing a child to socialise in a traditional school setting over home-schooling. This takes precedence as being a basis to commit to heteroglossic (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013a; Karpava et al., 2021; Purkarthofer, 2019) language practice, over drastic language intervention in an FLP.

A mixture of FLS that are more activity based, such as use of books, TL media, apps, and toys and games, alongside the social based activities such as clubs and intended social circles form the mid-range grouping of interventions in average scoring. This would indicate that parents do find these sorts of measures helpful in a leisurely setting when finding that balance between nature and nurture of an FLP. This aligns with De Houwer's (1999) theory of impact beliefs, with the parents assuming responsibility for their children's linguistic development to a certain degree, whilst still having the parent and child adapt and overcome any challenges together. Allowing one's bilingual child to read their books, play with their toys, watch the films they like, but offer them the freedom of choosing which languages to use these materials aids in the development of that child's linguistic identity (Ylänkö, 2017).

What is noteworthy is that the FLS that were overall ranked the least effective all require explicit intervention within the family network. This includes bringing in an external childminder to implement TL, instructing any bilingual family members to stay with one language, or having all family members adhere to a single language during the dinner table. These are all monolinguistic interventions that require multiple adult parties to agree to implement a rigid language policy for facilitation of a single certain TL in a bilingual household, with little to no leeway. This strategy can be also seen by Kostoulas & Motsiou's (2022) study of '*Language Transmission and Management*' (LTM) methods, (similar to Lanza (1997) and Romaine's (1989) study of bilingual family discourse strategies) under the LTM *Situational Selection of Languages*. This has been summarised as "*systematic accommodation to communicative exigencies*". This may also be categorised as two parents, two languages, in which both parents may code-switch between the family languages where and when appropriate depending on the situation, or a selective language being used under strict circumstances. Deduction that these sorts of FLS are not overall too popular to implement, nor positively viewed upon from this present study's results is crucial to understanding intermarried couple's views on how rigid one should adopt TL support in their FLP, creating that balance between nature and nurture.

## Concluding Remarks to Chapter 6

This chapter has discussed the results reported by the 20 participating sets of parents regarding which FLS they have incorporated in their FLP or not, and which scores of frequency of use, effectiveness and practicality they would award each strategy, regardless of explicit usage themselves. A further discussion of additional prevalent FLS was carried out, accompanied by interview quotes from the participating families themselves.

The major findings from the data collected from Chapter 6 were also combined with interview excerpts from the participants themselves to generate profound themes to aid in answering the research questions as to which FLS are incorporated in Cyprus, and why they scored as such. These themes aided in the researcher's understanding as to why the families adopted certain strategies, or not. Alongside the data collected from this study, theoretical implications struck up with existing published studies are also explored and discussed for each major theme.

The following chapters discuss these findings relating to language strategies and identifiable language ideologies found in the FLS pack and interview data. alongside how they compare with the existing literature. These findings are compared with the existing literature and are organised into three chapters: *Chapter 7: Family, Identity and Authenticity*, *Chapter 8: Language Value, Success and Opportunity through FLS*, and *Chapter 9: Planning, and Potential Inhibiting Factors Influencing FLS Success*.

# Chapter 7: Family, Identity and Authenticity

## Introduction

This chapter examines the FLS associated with family members as a focal point of input exposure. This is in tandem with discussion of the language ideology of allowing the bilingual child to form their own dual identity, and keeping that child's heritage as authentic as possible to their home and minority nations, relevant to the current literature.

## 7.1 Discussion of Culturally Authentic, Family Unit-Based FLS

### 7.1.1 Strategy #11: Monolingual Nursery Rhymes and Songs as FLS

Strategies #11 and #12, *singing monolingual songs and nursery rhymes*, alongside *reading monolingual storybooks and fairytales* were carried out by every single participating family. Songs and nursery rhymes are effortless to use, bring positive memories to light, are an easy form of language to use, require no money, and are linked to generational authenticity from a person's home nation and upbringing. It is a pure form of authentic communication which a native speaker can use on a whim yet may find very uncomfortable to use in a language which is not seen as their native mother tongue.

Singing monolingual nursery rhymes/songs was seen as the most practical FLS. It was seen as a natural form of pleasurable expression (Beck, 2012) which does not need selective thinking or exertive effort to express a parent's affection for their child, whilst being expressed in the native language at any place or point in time.
This can be hypothesised to be the case because one of the most authentic, innocent forms of natural expression in child rearing is singing nursery rhymes and songs. One may use the language of emotion, thoughts and feelings most naturally in their native language, and there is an overwhelming link between emotion, IPA, positive memories and pedagogical forms of language transmission that a parent may use exclusively with their child. This is an FLS which can also be used by grandparents and other family members when interacting with the child which requires no extensive effort. It has been seen as the most practical FLS over reading storybooks, watching television, choosing an educational institute and even sending the children to grandparents as all it requires is the parent to be present with their child for a short amount of time, most commonly when the infant would be rocked to sleep.

> *#1: "The first words… six months in when my wife would sing (to) him in Russian or she would read fairy tales to him. It's now because of the videos on YouTube. It's mostly in in English. I was thinking about the ABCs, you know "ABCD". Yeah, or some English songs. Some English that he picks up really easy and he repeats them. And it's mostly English, you know, like lately he's stuck with his helicopter song, "The helicopter flying high in the sky", you know. And he's just repeats it. So mostly he picks up the English.---And these nursery rhymes, and that's what we.---We'll stick with, you know."*

*#13: "Reading books like fairy tales, mostly in Russian for them, when they were younger, like maybe fairy tales every night and you know, yeah, you do… I was buying books in Russian."*

It almost seems routine for these parents to expose their children to fairy tales (Oller, 2014) alongside nursery rhymes daily, mostly at nighttime before they would put their children to sleep. There is evidence of parents implementing smart technology such as YouTube to expose their children to foreign language nursery rhymes, which their children would find very impressionable and are able to repeat easily, due to the nature in which nursery rhymes and fairy-tales are meant to be memorable, short stories that passes through from generation to generation, irrespective of language.

*#19: "But if we listen to twinkle little star in English, we also listen to twinkle little star in Greek and so yeah, just flooding them in a multisensory kind of way with both of the languages."*

*#19: "If we read a story, for example, I really vividly remember a lot of Aesop's fables that we would read one night in Greek and the other night in English, so that the story line was the same but she… was being exposed to different lingo."*

As reported by family #19, equal bilingualism was desired by both parents, therefore exposure to both Greek and American English nursery rhymes and fairy tales was given equally on an alternating basis to constantly stimulate both family languages. It is noteworthy that this required the presence of both parents to be present to commit to such an FLS.

*#10: "Enid Blyton was there. I think they must have read it. It was, yeah, I think I did lots of English books. Their first books were English, most mostly from me. Their auntie Christalla would get them the Greek books and then. Yeah, because my sister is a teacher, a primary school teacher, she was also a great resource, and she would bring me books."*

Family #10 made use of relatives living in Cyprus who had physical access to storybooks from their place of work to lend them English storybooks so that they could read authentic English fairytales and stories (which were reported to be difficult to obtain in Cyprus at the time their children were young).

### 7.1.2 Strategy #15: Grandparents Acting as Childminders

Choice of monolingual grandparents acting as childminders as an FLS received consistently high scores throughout the data collection process. This demonstrates the possible power balance between competing, dominant cultures and their respective languages, and the ideologies of the minority language parent posing possible challenges. Being akin to free childcare (Atış Akyol et al., 2023), and a concept so widely accepted (Griggs et al., 2010) and used in these intermarried parent's country of residence which is almost anecdotally seen as a method to cement heritage language competence may lead parents to concentrate on fostering and promoting the minority language, or possibly lead to subtractive bilingualism if it is seen as too easy and effortless a strategy to use (compared to other explicitly instructional methods). The same tactic applies for any language which is the native language of the grandparents if at least one set is living in Cyprus. The child has the comfort of residing with the immediate family rather than in the comfort of strangers and would communicate with them naturally in whichever languages the grandparents see fit. Paradoxically, it is

overwhelmingly positive for bilingual children to visit and spend time with foreign grandparents abroad for holidays, especially to foster one of their mother tongues and keep in touch authentically with their roots, yet some parents frown on the idea if the grandparents were to be seen as full-time childminders when living domestically.

> *#4: "We're not next door, but my mother-in-law picks them up from school. We eat together every Sunday and more. Increasingly, my father in law's relationship with the girls is in Greek. So that's been fun to see. I'm glad you asked that because that is one of the things that has helped their Greek as well….It's not an everyday thing, but we when we see them (it does)."*

One example of the effectiveness of Cypriot grandparents being a present support system both linguistically and pastorally is mentioned by the mother of family #4. The regular visiting and eating together with native grandparents being such a prominent factor in Cypriot culture and child raising exposes the bilingual children even more with their Cypriot side linguistically.

What the researcher sought to discover more, was the presence of native language grandparents from the minority language parent's side, to determine if the bilingual child would receive the same amount of TL exposure, were the minority language grandparents as present in Cyprus as a traditional, Cypriot family's one would, or would a different language be used (Kanyal et al., 2024). This was to determine whether families would still use such an FLS and expect similar levels of reported success.

> *#7: "You know, teaching their mother language. Yeah. So, I don't know for what reason. Maybe we are not patient or persistent enough. It was really hard. I tried so many times to, you know, to speak to him to But I didn't manage. I can't really say I succeeded in this. My mother died when my son was like 3, three and a half, I think But she was talking to him* ***non-stop****. She was coming here taking care of him here, babysitting. "*
>
> *#1: "Or taking him to his Russian relatives and telling them to only use Russian, and don't try to speak that, you know, fragmented the type of Greek."*
>
> *#8: " And I've only got the one (child), so I used to speak to him in English and because my mum used to come in the morning and she used to help me look after him. So, the only way they could communicate when my son was 2-3, the only words he knew was English. So he grew up… My son grew up learning English very well."*

Families #7, #1 and #8 all had the minority nationality grandparents living in Cyprus during their children's critical period of language acquisition. It was confirmed that even if they did know some level of Greek, or a different language, some families would strictly instruct the grandparents to use their native language to expose the child to another authentic source of one of the family languages (as is the case of family #1) as a form of intergenerational transmission (Gregory et al., 2010; Jessel et al., 2011; Kanyal et al., 2024). It was once again confirmed that grandparents, especially grandmothers, irrespective of whether they were maternal or paternal, were present in aiding to raise the child in Cyprus, and would communicate almost exclusively in their native tongue being that it was the language that they were most comfortable in expressing themselves to the child in. This calls back to the popularity of native language nursery rhymes being one of the most prominent FLS,

with both grandparents and nursery rhymes involving less language intervention, and more natural expression with one's preferred language of choice when helping raise a newborn.

What is also interesting to note is that as aforementioned in Chapter 2, the intended action of having a bilingual child interact with monolingual grandparents is seen as a supplement to OPOL alongside a form of pre-literacy support (Jessel et al., 2011; Kenner, 2005). The findings from this study suggest that using grandparents as a standalone FLS is more popular in all fields of usage compared to the seemingly stricter rigidity that OPOL would appear to require to be successfully implemented into an FLP. The same also applies for using multilingual relatives to apply OPOL when interacting with the child. It appears that when there is no other choice but to have the bilingual child interact with a monolingual speaker on a regular basis such as that of a grandparent who looks after them, a common language in both interlocutor's repertoire must be used.

### 7.1.3 Extra FLS: Authentic Native Language Media Brought from Abroad to Support Language Maintenance:

Other families reported to have relatives bring authentic TL material as gifts when visiting from abroad or post them from the UK. These families were bringing up their children at a point where some material was harder to access physically in Cyprus due to availability and lack of e-commerce at that point.

> *#10: "Teletubbies. That's because my brothers in England bought them (here)."*
>
> *Interviewer: "Excellent. So rather than English TV, you went through videos instead."*
>
> *#10: "Yeah, we never… I never had English TV."*

Family #10 reported that the mother's brother would bring over English video cassettes when visiting from the UK, due to the inaccessibility of English TV when their children were growing up. Acquiring satellite television to access British TV channels was reported to be extremely expensive at the time. This FLS allowed them to keep an authenticity factor with popular English children's programs at the time.

Before the introduction of e-commerce in Cyprus, a popular tool for English speaking parents (or those wishing to support English as an additional language for their children) was the purchase of products from the Early Learning Centre in Cyprus, before it's closure in 2019 and acquisition by The Entertainer Group. Through local gossip through local anglophone communities, it became a staple in many English parent's needs for acquiring authentic toys and games which were based around British English. This was cited by several British mothers throughout the interview process:

> *#8: "I'm gonna be honest, I never actually thought about it, because bear in mind I was only 24 when I had him (her child), so it never used to be something I thought about. It was only when I started buying, like baby books when I was nine months pregnant and I thought, you know, with those, you just purchased them from an Early Learning Centre."*

Mother #8 never explicitly planned any sort of language intervention for her child prior to being 9 months pregnant, where she thought it almost natural to be able to provide an authentically English style of reading storybooks to her newborn child. This affirms the findings of this present study regarding language planning, and parental impact beliefs (De Houwer, 1999) being a focal point for a parent to implicitly carry out language maintenance as they go.

### 7.1.4 Extra FLS: Holidays to Heritage Language Country

Akin to Liu's and Lin's (2019) study, a commonly cited FLS which parents actively used to give their children a complete sense of immersion into the minority language's culture was to take their children to spend the extended summer holidays to stay with grandparents of relatives in the heritage nation. This would also be an opportunity for the parents to revisit their homeland and reconnect with their own childhood in addition to showing their children that they are a child of multiple countries and origins, alongside attempting to increase TL proficiency.

The parents cited multiple reasons as to why they would adopt this FLS so often:

#### *7.1.4.1 Acquire Native Local Accents and Understand the Concept of Dialects*

> *#6 : "They will learn it (English) with one accent, their father's accent. If they hear a Scottish person speaking, they wouldn't know what they were saying. If they heard an Indian speaking, they wouldn't understand what they were saying. They would just learn it from one side, which is how their father spoke it, or how their mother spoke it with that accent. With that pace, without everything.---An Irish person speaking English is like.---20 miles an hour.*
>
> *You can't go anywhere, and now no one will speak the American English you see on a movie, no one will speak that English. You will hear Pakistanis. You will hear Turkish. You would hear all these national speak in English. To you will hear Scottish people. You will see Geordies. You will see Southerners. You will see different dialects and they're all speaking the same language with a different accent. Unless you're there living this trying to understand it, then you will not learn it.*
> *You also got Street English. So what? No one's going to teach you that at school. No public school. No private school"*

The father of family #6 reported a valid statement that bringing up a bilingual child with input from one sole native language speaker (or a limited amount of input) does not expose a child to the full range of dialects and registers that being in a heritage country can physically offer. He reported that he organises frequent family visits to the UK so that his children would be able to slowly understand the range of English accents and dialects that such a multicultural city such as London, or the city he studied in (Newcastle) would offer, which would not traditionally be as prominent in Cyprus, compared to the international standard of English commonly heard in Cyprus, or American English that media outlets traditionally offer outside of the UK. Furthermore, he commented that no formal education in Cyprus would be able to offer a glimpse into traditional contemporary slang, or colloquial language offered by a heritage nation, and the only way to learn or be exposed to it was to be physically present there to experience it.

#### *7.1.4.2 Authentically Celebrate Cultural Public Holidays and Traditions*

> *#5: "And my children, they know them. They know it, they anthem, they know the lyrics, they know everything. So, this was the and. And they felt a part of Lithuania, you know, small community. And my daughter is… I'm so proud. I'm so proud knowing this. And I'm so proud (of them) meeting Lithuanians and can talk into to them fluently, you know. So, it makes them feel proud. It makes them feel very comfortable when they want to chat about something.---That nobody else understands around.---They have this.*
>
> *For me it was very, very important.---The most important thing, the most important heritage from me.---It was a language and travelling to Lithuania . So, the heritage of Lithuania is very, very important to me because Lithuania is such a beautiful and very old country. Actually, yesterday we were singing the national anthem in Morelos area gathering. You know, a lot of Lithuanians together. And this is the only country that's smallest.---Coming from (one of) the world's smallest countries and where at 9:00 o'clock PM in the whole world in the whole planet, all Lithuanians met on the same time, and we were singing national anthem."*

The mother of family #5 reported that travelling to the heritage nation frequently gives unprecedented, unlimited access to all aspects of the TL, which would be limited when viewed or treated as a minority language in Cyprus. Further to this, she expressed pride in that frequent visits to the minority language country of Lithuania has paid off linguistically for her children, as they are able to communicate flawlessly with native Lithuanians comfortably, whilst also acknowledging their Cypriot heritage exists as an important part of their lives. She reported that frequent holidays to the heritage nation gave her children the opportunity to authentically feel part of two nations and two communities and take part in its customs and traditions without feeling like an outsider, but a national citizen of the country itself, despite her children residing and having grown up in Cyprus.

#### *7.1.4.3 Unlock the Hidden Potential of the Minority Family Language*

Further to the comments of mother #5 about her children being able to communicate more coherently with native speakers of the heritage country, other parents reported that their children, although not as fluent as they wished them to be, acknowledged that taking their children on frequent holidays to the heritage country would help drastically increase their fluency, due to being surrounded by native speakers:

> *#7: "…especially if we go to Serbia and he's surrounded only by the language and those people, he picks it up again quickly. So, as you said, I think there is something wired deep inside that."*
>
> *#5: "So when you don't use them, the languages when you don't listen, when you don't go to that country, they're sleeping inside you."*

The comments made by these parents indicate that they have witnessed their children's language proficiency drastically improve in their minority, or weaker mother tongue when they visit their heritage nation. By being physically present in such an environment, they have witnessed the ability to speak such a language naturally improve, almost as if it was an innate skill that can only be

awakened by being in the country with native speakers as opposed to practising less invasive language interventions in Cyprus.

#### *7.1.4.4 The Feeling that the HL Country is a Second Home*

Allowing bilingual children to visit their home nation on holiday, despite never having resided there long term, can allow them to feel more comfortable and reassured with the option of relocating there for study or work potentially. This is through meeting family relations, such as cousins, and being able to communicate with them exclusively in the minority language, as the family relations may be monolingual and unable to communicate in the other mother tongues the bilingual child possesses:

*#4: "it was it was quite shocking considering that they they've never ever lived in the country. I was quite, you know, shocked as to just how comfortable they felt there, like, they didn't feel like foreigners, whereas my brother's kids that when they come here (to Cyprus).---They feel they feel like foreigners, you know, they can't speak the language very well."*

This quote supports the findings of Chondrogianni & Daskalaki (2023), who report that heritage language speakers may vary drastically in language proficiency depending on their generation, whilst also affirming from this study that even if bilingual children (even first cousins) are from the same generation and contextual background, the parental impact beliefs, amount of input exposure, and adherence to an FLP to support a minority language can prove decisive in whether minority language development may succeed are not.

## 7.2 Language Ideology: Family, Identity and Authenticity

Through analysis of the interview and Activity Pack data, ideological themes centred around the family unit as a social network, the authenticity of a heritage culture and identity association with language were all identified as pivotal driving forces in the parents acting upon their impact beliefs (De Houwer, 1999) in choosing to transmit their mother tongues through said popular FLS:

### 7.2.1 Childhood Education with Language

Certain families wished to educate their children with specific as a primary means of education to mirror how they were taught in their own childhood years, as they anecdotally acquired a high level of fluency in the TL. The ideology of sending one's children even to the same educational institute as the parents demonstrates a level of trust given in certain educational systems in Cyprus, both monolingual Russian, and international:

> *#1: "I thought he (child) should go to a Russian school so that he picks up the language like she (mother) did when she was younger."*
>
> *#3: "So the children's father also went to the same international school and acquired a fluent level of English."*

Other parents desired their children not to have the same hardships acquiring certain languages as they, or people that they went to school with, suffered with in their home nations. This would apply to both the heritage languages and additional global languages. Certain families witnessed schoolmates who did not profit from English language lessons in their school day:

> *#13 : "Not only school, the environment also because I actually I was learning English from my 5th grade at school but there's no comparison[…] And you know what? It's because I'm comparing them to myself.*
>
> *At (that) age, I could hardly like speak (English). I actually learned my basic English quite (late). Well, when I was in the last year of the school because I had to give exams to school… to university. so, looking At K (child) now, when he can actually speak and understand the whole language is like wow… Exactly. Yeah, it's so yeah, it's very nice."*

We can decipher from participant #13's response that parents reflect on their own childhood experiences to rectify or carry out actions in their childhood which they wish their children to benefit from. The mother compares her own schooling in Belarus with that of her multilingual son in a private school in Cyprus, and positively notices the impressive level of English that they have acquired, and how acquiring it so early on in their life to such a higher standard than they did at the same age has made the parent appreciate the value of learning a language earlier on in one's life in a controlled educational environment. This comparison extended to her observation of their school peers and how their lack of acquiring English during their school years has proved detrimental to them attempting to

speak it today. This could be a hint that they further did not wish to see their children similarly end up with such a level of English, potentially hindering any SPE opportunities:

> *#13 : "Otherwise, like if you see my classmates, they have no like, they cannot…They cannot communicate in English. Now, it's just some words they probably remember nothing."*

> *#1: " Again, I think it's a big advantage, like, I would do everything in my power to give that advantage to my child cause I think it's like for me, if I if I had the opportunity, I would love to be like that and I would love my son to be like that, like even 3 languages which is what we're trying right now basically with the Greek, Russian and English.---And I think he's gonna thank us for it one day if we keep on (doing it)."*

This recurring theme of parents going through similar educational experiences in the Soviet system is reflected through participant #19's own childhood experiences and adult life, where work opportunities would be limited due to improper knowledge of English. In this instance, we are able to discover how the desire for these parents having acquired the English language early would open a wealth of global benefits not as accessible to the parents in their own childhood when being educated in the Soviet Union, where English did not receive the status it does in the Western Education system:

> *#19: "We've distinguished [this], but language was a very huge issue when I started work. I understood where they see the text and I understand nothing so… It was the biggest driver for me, and I thought the same way for my kids.*
>
> *…from [the] student time, English played a big role in my life and for me, being a girl from the Soviet Union for me… it was a ticket to the world. So English was a ticket for me and that's why we relocated to Cyprus because I wanted my kids to become a part of European and international community. I want them to have not any difficulties in understanding or finding themselves within the world (there) and then."*

They wished the process of acquiring English to be a much easier process since English is so prevalent in Cyprus in both private education, and day to day living. Participant #19 further justified her will for her Ukrainian/Russian descent children to acquire English, through the medium of IPA, citing the academic achievements she received due to this extra language in her repertoire:

> *#19: "I started to speak English long time ago because of my career. Yeah, it it's all started with a nice story. I was working for international companies my whole life and also, I was kind of obsessed with English. When I was at the university and my Dean invited me and she said: "E (mother #19), maybe we will give you one scholarship and if so, I would propose that to you do speak English."*

This incentive for parent #18 to acquire a high standard of English lead her to pursue a PhD in the English Language. The parent of child #18 desired her children to be able to integrate with all walks of society, both European and global. She primarily used listening and media based FLS as a form of English language transmission, justifying using this FLS due to the simple, easier nature of the language which is aimed at lower language competences:

*#19:"Yeah, I used cartoons and films consciously them and also, I just speak in English at home. Because in the cartoons and in the cinemas the level of language is quite simple and more important, repetitive."*

### 7.2.2 Multicultural Sensitivity

One can confirm that childhood knowledge of the English language is useful for societal integration in Cyprus from a domestic Cypriot point of view:

*#1: "… because I mingled with English kids when I was younger. I mean teenage years.---And OK, not in a sports in a, in a club, or in a uh let's say.---Structured setting, just you know, hanging out and doing sports and it was really effective on picking up the language".*

Participant #1's excerpt confirms that their own experiences with English as an additional language from an early stage assists in relationship-building through clubs and social settings, and assists in developing a multilingual personality, justifying their reason for wishing to transfer English to their own child to mirror their own experiences. This also demonstrates an ideology that acquisition of English gives children the opportunity to meet foreign language speakers opens a much broader social circle and multicultural sensitivity.

*#7: "Yes, I am Serbian, although I was born in Germany, so I grew up with both parallel. I speak German as well as Serbian No fourth language. I mean, I grew up with German, Serbian. Then I learned English. So, it's my fourth language…it was a different situation where all my surroundings in school and everything was in German where my both parents were Serbian and at home we spoke that language. Plus, you know the rest of the surrounding their friends and their kids. They were all from, then it was Yugoslavia if you remember. So, it was a big country: Croatians, Bosnians, you know, they're all the same over there as foreigners. And you know, they were socialising. So, you know, I just grew up with both parallel and.---I think it also helped me later on to learn English easier because some German words and.---I think there's a lot of connection to English And then you know, knowing this 3 languages, I also worked 10 years with the Russian national team. So, I could say I know fluent Russian, but based on my Slavic roots of Serbia.---And you know, I and I, I think more languages, you know, (it's) easier whenever I pick up a new one. So, it's a great thing."*

Participant #7 recounted how being a second-generation Serbian immigrant growing up in Germany, alongside working in Russia and meeting many other immigrants from the former Yugoslavian Republic cemented his positive ideology towards multiculturalism and the importance of acquiring a common language to communicate with others in the local community and worldwide. This language ideology transferred to his willingness to have his son be multilingual.

### 7.2.3 Parental Identity Crisis

Certain families wished to cement a solid identity for the children to avoid potential identity crisis clash between two nationalities, akin to how these parents may have felt growing up. Certain parents had grown up as first or second-generation children to immigrants in their heritage nation and experienced a clash of bicultural identity, and were not exactly sure how they would fit in with either culture:

> *#10: " I think it's my fault. I didn't want them to have this feeling of 'who am I?' that I had when I was growing up in England. I know I wanted them to have a clear Greek identity. Because I feel I don't have a clear identity."*

Mother of family #10 expressed how moving to Cyprus had imparted on her personal decision of wanting her children to be in an exclusively Cypriot educational environment, despite being British and communicating in English as a family language. She expressed a personal feeling of identity confusion of not being able to identify as neither fully British, nor Greek Cypriot, and wanted her children to have a clear, monocultural identity, alongside the linguistic competence of being able to speak fluently in both British English and CG.

Additionally, an intermarried, minority parent's own identity may shift (Piller, 2001)the longer they spend in Cyprus (Goutsos, 2006). Some parents identified as *Cypriot* during the interview process, despite not possessing Cypriot citizenship. A possible reason for this identification is that they have transitioned more into their spouse's culture. As aforementioned in the previous section, other parents felt confused, or lost in finding their own identity after having emigrated to Cyprus, or as a bilingual, bi-cultural child during their own infancy and did not want their child to suffer a similar crisis:

> *#7: "And due to the fact that my wife is Cypriot, and you know is she's (from) a very, it's a very welcoming and connected and supporting family. I never felt here as a.. you know.. outsider or any kind of foreigner, just you know, I think I fit in then and when I when I start talking to people they think I'm Greek because obviously I don't look I don't look Cypriot but they think that's like it's a 'kalamaras'* (colloquial CG term for Native Greek from Greece) *you know?"*

### 7.2.4 Marginalisation in Cyprus

Certain minority culture parents had experienced xenophobia and marginalisation upon arriving in Cyprus with a lack of the Greek language. Through these experiences, they had explicitly intervened to have their children exposed to the Greek language from a young age to acquire an acceptable level of communicative competence to avoid such discrimination. These parents admitted it was a challenge to acquire Greek as a secondary language at the beginning, making many communicative errors, and wished their children to acquire it earlier whilst in an educative environment and whilst being in their infancy:

*#19: "I found this xenophobia at the beginning when I came down here in Cyprus. It was really strong, you know, but now that we have from other countries immigrants somehow these European countries (we) came a little bit higher level."*

*#14: "You know you are destroying the Greek language at the beginning. When I was, when I came when I came here, I didn't speak at all. Greek so, but you know, because now there is some, you know, spur of hatred for foreigner, yeah."*

Other foreign parents had seen the benefit of attending Greek lessons and applying themselves to learn the national language alongside English, recognising it's benefits for social and professional opportunities, admitting that knowledge of English alone would not be sufficient to live happily in Cyprus. Through their own experiences, they had their children attend certain activities in Greek.

*#5: "I will not survive only with English here. And I signed myself for the school. After job, school twice per week and in two years I was reading and writing and speaking fluently Greek."*

### 7.2.5 Memories of Home: Nostalgia Factor of Heritage Nation

The fond memories, repeated traditions and phenomena of being raised elsewhere by what is deemed as natural means for the parents creates another justification to bring up their children in similar means of language transmission. This can be by applying the same materials, partaking in activities and traditions, exposing them to native speakers, or travelling to the domestic environments they were once brought up in. This invoked the feeling of cultural nostalgia and heritage authenticity, with the parent choosing FLS akin to their own childhood experiences, due to having experienced a reported successful experience in terms of language acquisition.

*#13: "When you're when you're from, it's like it's the whole it's the whole thing. Is not only the language, it's the films you've grown up with. You're watching is the friends, all the stuff, the games you're playing."*

Family #13's positive ideology towards exposing the child in the heritage nation through holidays and frequent visits is solidified by their explanation in how the child will be exposed to the entire culture of the heritage nation and a real-life, authentic experience to all genuine, native speaker material and people. This stems from media activities such as television and films, to social interactions with the native populus of the heritage nation. They explain that the language will be learnt almost automatically in this sense through simply 'living in' the heritage nation through the exclusive medium of that TL.

*#4: "Yeah, my husband has huge nostalgia (be)cause he used to go to Northern Ireland every summer to visit his grandma, and so they're just certain things that he just loves so much and we've always have like, a very British Christmas as well because my mother-in-law hosts it. And so, it's a very cool mix of cultures, but it does make that question confusing."*

Family #4 make a habit of celebrating a British Christmas despite living in Cyprus, as it was a factor the father truly appreciated in his childhood years, and wished his children to experience it in as similar a manner as he once did.

> *#12: "(In Greek) I couldn't express (myself), I couldn't read it to them. If you read the Very Hungry Caterpillar in Greek, it doesn't (make sense). But maybe it's because I never had it. But that familiarity is not there. And because that and familiarity comes with nostalgia, like my mum used to do this with me kind of thing like. And then I used to read her to her, because good grief, her English wasn't very good. I wanted to have that. I kind of wanted to follow on from what my mum used to do."*

The mother of family #12 was brought up in the UK by a Cypriot immigrant mother, and recalled fond memories of reading certain, English storybooks to her mother in her infancy to aid her mother's own acquisition of English. She wished to read these same stories to her children in present time to invoke that positive memory of nostalgia when she was a child learning to read and is already familiar with the reading material. She began this extract of the interview claiming that she is not able to express herself properly when reading Greek fairytales and storybooks to her children, as there is no personal connection to these stories. This ideology extends that she could only read the storybooks she grew up with in the original language she was exposed to them in, otherwise it would not feel right for her to read them in a foreign language to her, despite this foreign language being the second mother tongue of her children. This ideology acts as a justification as to why books and nursery rhymes are such a popular form of FLS.

### 7.2.6 Language, Emotion, Authenticity and Feeling

Parents commented that speaking in a native tongue over a forced language could allow a parent to transmit authentic emotion, thoughts, and feelings without restriction, over a language which isn't a mother tongue for that parent and is a desirable, secondary language instead:

> *#4: "Ease of communication in our home to be a higher priority, that we weren't having these big barriers inflicts externally inflicted barriers to our family communication and that that could be a natural, safe, comfortable comfort zone in our home and then to work on our language outside the home mostly."*

> *#5: "This is what how my mind works. I think that this is a must that they know my language because this is my mother tongue and I express myself easier and clearer. More clear in my own tongue. So, if I cannot talk with (them) in this language to my kids I would not feel fulfilled like a mom. So, this is I think from a little bit from my motherly perspective, which is and I don't assume, presume that I like work and effort. I just do it."*

> *#10: "It wasn't a strong desire; it was just natural. I would be speaking to them in English."*

All families quoted in this section quote how '*natural*' it is to speak in their natural native tongue to their children. Mother #5 strongly hinted at her role as a mother not being fulfilled if she could not naturally and emotively communicate and express herself to her children. She did not explicitly state that the specific language mattered, but rather the language that is expressed most naturally by the individual is the one that should be conveyed to the children. Family #4 reinforces this idea by stating

that family languages within the domestic environment provide a safe, comfortable experience for all individuals concerned, and that language acquisition can be frequently trained out of the household.

### 7.2.7 The Notion of Parental Pride towards Child Bilingualism

Akin to how the multilingual children are self-aware of their bilingual and bicultural identity, exhibiting a feeling of pride, the parents are on overall satisfied and proud of their children's bilingualism. This positive attitude to bilingualism, is inertly expressed through the parent's responses when asked how they feel about raising a bilingual speaker, regardless of if planning was explicit or not:

> *#3: "I'm very proud of the level of the Greek that they know. And as I said this this was made apparent when they went to the army and they were both positioned in the offices with the senior, you know, the army officers, and the Greek that they used".*

Participant #3's demonstration of pride truly became apparent later once their children had grown past adolescence when they saw how their children were able to seamlessly apply their seemingly weaker mother tongue of Greek in a professional setting when their children had to commit to 18 months of compulsory army service (a process which all Greek-Cypriot males must commit to once they graduate from high-school).

> *#4: "It's actually (a) really fun process to kind of be an onlooker about seeing your child acquire a language that's not your own.*
>
> *…They're doing a speech at school, or I see them doing their homework or whatever I'm like: "Oh. They really do know it. It's amazing." And I had almost nothing to do. I mean, I, you know, in the we do support it, encourage it or whatever, but it's been others teaching them and that's a blessing.*
>
> *It does fill me with pride. It's very fun, but.---Obviously it happens a lot where I don't see it. Like I said, like sometimes I don't realise how good they are until I hear them chatting with their friends".*
>
> *#5: "I like this is my biggest pride. Like, yeah, I'm really proud when they get the get good grades from school. I'm really proud when they are good in their sports or drawing and singing and dancing. But the most flattering pride for me is the language and the heritage. They know the Lithuanian a little bit of history, the anthem, they always recognise them."*

Participating families #4 and #5 both take pride in the scholarly achievements their children receive, implementing positive vocabulary and emotions. This feeling of pride is exemplified especially when their children's schooling is in the Greek language, and they attain successful results. They take the upmost pride when they are able to communicate at a high level of fluency in their minority languages and observe from a third-person perspective how their fluency improves when left in the care of the educational institutes their children attend. Additionally, mother #5 took additional pride in how her children do make an effort to immerse themselves in their heritage, Lithuanian culture, despite living full-time in Cyprus. This indicates that multilingual parents measure linguistic competence with academic achievement, alongside willingness to immerse oneself in a target culture, solidifying the relationship between identity and language.

> *#6: "It's not an easy achievement and to have it, to be fluent in both languages, Greek and English, it's a massive achievement. I'm very proud and I was very shocked at how fast they transitioned from one language to the other. They, I don't know. Kid's brains are like sponges. Even at 15 years old, at 13 years old. It's not just at 4 and 5 years old, they are still sponges. They will absorb anything you throw at them. And it has to be the correct information, otherwise they will learn something, and they will keep going with it wrong. But I was shocked at how fast they learned it. And I'm very, very proud that they did.---Yeah."*

Once again, another parent from the study exhibited a state of shock alongside pride when realising the level of bilingual fluency that their children had attained. Participant #6 added that one must continue to expose bilingual children to a multitude of stimuli even in their teenage years, even past the critical period of language acquisition to ensure they do not get into bad habits, stating that their willingness to absorb knowledge is doubled, due to the fact they are able to comprehend knowledge in multiple languages.

Even parents whose children are still approximately toddlers at the time of writing are predicting their pride as they are already aware of the skill required to become a native multilingual:

> *#20: "Once he will be older and you know he will be able to speak these three languages. I think I will. I will be very proud, yes."*

These parental attitudes see both the intermarried parents viewing bilingualism in an extremely positive light, acknowledging it can be stressful to implement into a daily life, but at the same time advising that it will pay off in the long run; but more importantly the bilingual child accepting their bilingual identity with a sense of pride in associating with multiple cultures, and expressing that through language. These findings correlate with those found by Okita (2002), who also discerned that bilingual child-rearing is a stressful and laborious task to adhere to, but could prove fruitful for bilingual child rearing.

These results exhibit an overwhelming positive attitude to additive child bilingualism in Cyprus. For minority and majority language speaking parents to acknowledge their children's ability to exhibit their minority and dominant family languages (alongside additional family languages) is a testament to two factors: their language planning (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; Spolsky, 2018) coming to fruition and their efforts paying off; and the notion of good parenting (King & Fogle, 2006) being achieved. Additionally, these findings demonstrate that there is a link between a bilingual child's fluency level, metalinguistic awareness and cognitive development (Bialystock, 2001; Kroll & Bialystok, 2013), with the parents acting as agents of social change as a unit (Trussell, 2018). This theme of pride towards bilingualism coincides with recent studies (Müller et al., 2020) that have also conducted research to determine a link between child bilingualism and their well-being. Both studies affirm that a child who is able to display proficiency in their minority language suggest a positive emotion from the parent.

The parents involved in this present study also take pride in the fact their children voluntarily wish to immerse themselves in their minority heritage culture. This demonstrates that a bilingual child openly accepts their minority heritage culture alongside speaking the language, leading to the notion that identity association may be linked with heritage language fluency, rather than country of residence, as has also been the case in studies involving 2nd and 3rd generation heritage language speakers (Brown, 2009; Guardado, 2017; King, 2000; Little, 2020) .

The parent's linguistic attitudes affirms that being simply '*proud*' of their child is not enough to cement language fluency, and they may not even be sure that their interventions are paying off.

Having some parents be surprised when they see their child exhibiting both family languages seamlessly in social and educational situations demonstrates they are just as involved in the journey of language acquisition as their children are as multilingual agents (Curdt-Christiansen & Wang, 2018) . Jackson (2009) reported similar results when determining positive language attitudes of Japanese-English parents, finding that parental language choices are also tied to identities and social positioning.

Where schooling is concerned the results of this present study, parents expressed surprise and immense pride at the biliteracy their children exhibited. This shows that parents may not be truly aware how competent their children may be in their family languages until they have displayed this fluency at a certain point in their lives, be it school or work. For one minority language mother (#3) to truly notice their fluency level until their children had committed to Cypriot military service dictates that a parent's competence in their children's possessed languages may impact their attitudes towards bilingualism and proficiency. This coincides with the findings in Chapter 4 of this thesis, that most parents adopt a monolinguistic stance in their lingua franca with their partners and children, and do not attempt to learn the other family language, hinting that they may be more invested in the responsibility of maintaining and transmitting their mother tongue only. This supports De Houwer's (2007) theory of '*impact beliefs*', that parents believe they have a responsibility to maintain and transfer their mother tongue through language interventions, but does not show that they are willing to help foster acquisition of the second family language.

The notion of parental pride in child bilingualism supports recent work by Kostoulas' & Motsiou's (2022) study, which had linguistically intermarried families comment on positive attitudes to both bilingualism and plurilingualism. These families often called bilingualism a '*gift*', in addition to coinciding with the ideology of elite bilingualism knowing that their children could become plurilingual if they were to acquire globally prestigious languages such as English.

## 7.3 Child Language, Identity, and Authenticity to Nationality Attribution

Children's beliefs, attitudes and perceptions to bilingualism, whilst relevant, were not the primary focus of this research project. One question was asked in the interview process, that being how the children would answer if someone asked for their nationality. No data was collected directly from any participant's children; therefore, the researcher formulated the question to ask the parents their opinion on how their children would have answered, and how the parents would have liked the answer to be. Several participants expressed how the construction of their children's own linguistic identity influenced their language choices and overall management. This indicates that parental FLS usage and planning is contingent on agency of their children (Jackson, 2009).

### 7.3.1 A Multilingual Child's Ideology on Their Own Self-Identification

A recurring theme between language and identity was frequently cited through the interview process. When the parent was asked to identify how they believed their child would respond to the question: "*What nationality are you*?", answers contrary to the researcher's initial hypothesis were produced. Initially, the researcher had believed that parents would wish their child to identify with either one nationality or the other, depending on which language was more dominant in their daily routine. This

proved to be on the contrary for some cases, as shall be explained further in this section. Parents would admit that they had previously asked their children this very question on occasion on how they would identify when someone were to eventually ask them such a question. This leads to the conclusion that some bilingual children, from a young age, may identify proudly, and sometimes with a heavier weighting to their minority language's culture and nationality, despite never having lived in that country on a long-term basis, or having as strong a grasp of the language as their other mother tongue.

Despite many of these bilingual children never having lived in their minority-language country, they would confess a dual-identity, or heavier weighting towards their more unique, minority-language nationality:

> *#4: "Um, I think all of us would answer the same that they are a mix of Greek Cypriot, Northern Irish and American.---And we've had to have all of that."*
>
> *#14: "Uh, they want to be Hungarian. Yeah. Hungarian. And my daughter was saying long time ago: "Yes, I'm Hungarian, Hungarian." And now the last time after the holiday she was saying: "I'm half Hungarian and half Greek."*
>
> *#19: Funnily enough, I asked my child the same question…and she said, "I'm Russian, but a little bit of Ukrainian as well."*
>
> *#20: "He would say, the truth, which is which is Hungarian, British and Cypriot".*

### 7.3.2 Intermarried Parent's Ideologies on Their Child's Self-identification

Alternatively, parents were asked how they would like their children to be identified in terms of nationality should they be asked the same question. Many parents wanted their children to realise they hold dual-heritage, and appreciate them equally as much as possible, yet also have that freedom to choose how they may identify. Other parents wished to give their children the complete freedom to answer how they identified, and were not bothered in how their children would answer:

> *#7: "I see him as a Cypriot with some Serbian roots. But you know, he lives in this culture here and knows this language. He's surrounded by his Greek Cypriot family. I think he just looks a bit different, but I think he's full Cypriot, and due to the fact that my wife is Cypriot, and you know is she's a very, it's a very welcoming and connected and supporting family."*
>
> *#12: "I don't mind how they respond. There's a freedom of choice. Then I think that my son very much is an 'English-Greek'. And here that's what he would identify with that they've been brought up with parents with two very different cultural backgrounds and however they want to identify within those two backgrounds and what they want to choose from each parent, like I what I choose from each culture they get to choose that as well. It's their freedom of choice and how they see that. So, it doesn't bother me."*

Other parents believed their children would identify equally with both nationalities, regardless of whether they had lived in the minority-language speaking country or not.

*#1: "I would, I would think he would say he's Cypriot.---I would say he's uh Greek Cypriot, his mother would say he's half Cypriot, half Russian.---I think."*

Two other parents stemming from Russian families both concluded that Russian is more so a culture then nationality, and in their own ideology to be identifying as Russian would be more so identifying as a Russian national citizen, rather than just a Russian speaker:

*#13: "Well, I would say he's Cypriot. OK. I would say that, but he doesn't like it. Is reason for that because he's not really 'half'. Well, he has his blood, half Russian, but he's not. He's not... Not even half Russian. I mean, like, he doesn't know really, the culture. You know, he's not integrated in that culture."*

*#19: "I would say half-Russian, half-Ukrainian because this is true, yeah, but for when we would say Russian and we know Russia Is a culture."*

### 7.3.3 Language Fluency not Playing a Key Factor in Identity Association

Further evidence showing a dismissal of language fluency being a key factor in identity association was the honesty from parents admitting their children were not as fluent as they were in their minority languages. This did not deter them from strongly identifying with their minority language nation. This indicates that multilingual parent does not measure their children's nationality by the extent of their language fluency, but by the extent of their self-attribution and desire to be part of a nation's culture:

*#1: "Well, he's he prefers to use Greek. He switches to English.---I mean as a second option and as 1/3 option he may use some words in Russian.--- He's 100% fluent in Greek with complex sentences and everything.---He can understand 100% of the Russian that his mom speaks to him, but he does not answer any Russian sentences, just words. If for example in some scenarios you use in Russian words for example it is morning, he could say in 'UDRA'..for the Russian word for the 'morning;.---So yeah, he understands Russian more than I do.---But on the speaking part, like producing language where on the same level I use only words as well and he uses just words. But understanding he understands more than me."*

*#4: "They're much more fluent than I realised. But I think they still make mistakes. They're not against (speaking) it at all. They're very, you know, they're even with their weakness with it or whatever they and they don't wanna be spoken to in English. They want people to speak Greek to them because they (can) speak Greek."*

*#13: "I believe that they do have less words than me , but then again. It will have to do with their occupation later on in life. So, if they choose, let's say if they want to do business, they will learn the (relevant) words."*

Having parents admit their children are not 100% fluent in one of their family languages demonstrates their ideology that language fluency level and identity construction may not be as inextricably linked as presumed, contrary to the responses of bilingual speakers in the study of Brown (2009), yet their children do possess a desire to speak their minority-language tongues and attempt to avoid code-switching to compensate for lack of vocabulary.

### 7.3.4 Children's Own Feeling of Pride

This theme demonstrated that bilingual children also aspire to adopt and identify their most perceptually positive aspects from each of their cultures. This may lead to a link in a child's own pride of feeling unique when bicultural and bilingual. The recurring term '*proud*' was often cited by parents for how their own children felt about themselves, indicating that it is not just the parents who feel pride in their children's bilingual identity and language proficiency, but namely the children themselves. This also indicates that young children construct their own identity from a young age and are sentient about a sense of self-belonging when they are able to communicate coherently and transmit these thoughts and feelings to their parents. The majority of parents actually took to asking their young children how they would identify early on in life and seemed to have the answer to this interview question already prepared, despite the researcher not having revealed this to them during the interview process. Even if it was reported that the bilingual child is not as fluent in their heritage language as their dominant language, the children do not let it dictate the percentage of how they identify with both their heritage cultures:

> *#6: "Look for me, their nationalities, are Cypriot. They were born here, were raised here. But if you asked them, depending who asked them, they will say British or they are Cypriot just like their dad. ---It depends if I'm on a situation that I want to be British. I'll say, "I'm British and I've got the documents to prove it", and they have the documents to prove that their British they got their passports, and they're proud of it."*

> *#8: "I would answer this for him because I've seen what they (the school) ask him and what he writes. And he says he's British. He's very proud of the fact that he's got roots from England and my mum's English and not Cypriot."*

As is seen by both these combinations of British/Cypriot families, the children self-identify explicitly as British, both in terms of political correctness (holding citizenship) and in terms of desire to emulate their family members, attributing a sense of pride with this nationality.

A possible explanation to the children having answered like this may be to appreciate a feeling of being different from monolingual, mono-national Greek-Cypriot children, and drawing a strong connection to their foreign roots. Alternatively, they may see this as wanting to be accepted by their heritage nation, and have a feeling of belonging to both nations, whilst not being alienated by either. This is evident when the children are taken to their heritage nation on holiday, and are reported to have gelled extremely well with their cousins and the daily routine, and admit a homesickness when having to return to their country of residence:

> *#7: "Yeah. Because, you know, I think kids, especially boys, young boys that age, they like to be different, special and he understood that people react to that when he says that, you know, he's half-Serbian. They look up to Serbians as like, you know, they sporty all the people that came here, they were involved in football or whatever sports of volleyball and you know, they have a high opinion I think in Cyprus about that. He thinks he's kind of elite then so that's why he says it to me."*

The father of family #7 elaborated in his interview that the child reveres successful Serbian sportspeople and identifies themselves strongly as half-Serbian through their trait, despite the father

having explicitly mentioned he did not transmit the language as successfully as he would have intended.

### 7.3.5 Bilingual Culture Authenticity

Bilingualism allows a feeling of being accepted authentically by both family cultures. Additionally, being able to speak the country's national language, or lingua franca in addition to one's family language(s) if different allow a feeling of being accepted in larger society. The feasibility of communication with two, separate language speaking extended families allows the children to fit in with both families, even if one of those two resides abroad.

> *#3: "Oh, I think it's an advantage because they're comfortable in their in the country that they live in."*

Participating family #3 comment that being conversationally fluent in the country's national language allows that child to progress a more comfortable life there, regardless of if it is one of their heritage languages or not.

> *#5: "It was not a questionable thing when somebody came from my husband's family came up to me and asked: "Why would you teach them the language that only three million in the world speak?"*

> *#14: "I wanted them to have an extra opportunity in their life, in their life, obviously. Also selfishly, I wanted them to be able to communicate with my whole family, free(ly), you know, freely in Hungarian and not take away this (opportunity)."*

Participant #5 appeared flabbergasted when questioned by her husband's Cypriot family as to why she would transmit her mother tongue when it was spoken by so few speakers worldwide. She shared a similar ideology to the Hungarian mother of family #14, that alongside having the extra opportunity to a fluent language in their repertoire, that they be able to converse naturally with relatives in their heritage culture with no language barriers or restrictions, and this would mean acquiring that language as a mother tongue rather than a secondary language, which would lose that factor of cultural authenticity. Interestingly, the mother of family #14 referred to herself as "*selfish*" for wanting to commit to such an ideology, despite having her children residing in Cyprus and acquiring SMG through her husband and the Cypriot schooling system.

It appears that her attitude to having her children acquire Hungarian as a fluent family language possibly made her feel aware that this may impact the children's Greek identity, knowing that they would be bi-cultural as well as bilingual. Being born a mono-cultural and monolingual native speaker of one country and nation naturally is a different thought process to that of an intermarried, bilingual one, causing one to consider the relationship between language and identity amongst two cultures rather than one.

## 7.4 Discussion of Findings: Family, Authenticity and Identity

### 7.4.1 Inner-Family vs External Language Networks

The participant's views of themselves as linguistic family units appears to have had an impression on their linguistic management and family-orientated practices in terms of additive bilingualism. Family discourse is said to be the proving grounds where children's communication skills are truly put on display and examined whether to be effective or not (Schiffrin et al., 2008, p. 592). Incorporation of FLS involving direct family members for daycare, extended holidays, and deliverers of TL material indicates the family ties that these intermarried families wish to keep, despite at least one of the parents having emigrated to Cyprus. This indicates that these families uphold the family unit as an important driving factor for which FLS they use to facilitate child bilingualism, correlating with Spolsky's (2019) revised theory of language policy of power dynamics (in this instance the family network taking precedence over external ones) proving to be an underlying force in formulation of an FLP.

Aside from explicit schooling choice, which appears to correlate with a recurring ideological theme linked to elite, additive bilingualism (Mejía, 2002; Mejía, 2012),the top FLS with an 85% commitment rate or higher all involve direct parent-child direct interaction, or close family members (such as grandparents). We may see an emerging pattern as the physical family interactions being a common space (Purkarthofer, 2019) for multilingual development, and the popularity of parent-child interaction being an optimal opportunity to foster language development (Jackson, 2009), whilst also acknowledging the importance of interacting with family members rather than forcefully imposing a social circle on the child for the sake of multilingual gain.

*Choosing a monolingual paid babysitter/caregiver* as a FLS **(#5)** was carried out by the least number of participants (30%). This is probably due to the popularity of strategy **#15,** *Use of grandparents as monolingual babysitters***,** which 85% of participants admitted to using. With grandparents being a cost effective, and trustworthy source to entrust daycare to (Atış Akyol et al., 2023; Braun, 2012; Gregory et al., 2007, 2010; Griggs et al., 2010), it had seemingly been a much more popular option. An alternative conclusion is that certain minority language speaking childminders may be difficult to find in Cyprus, hence why choosing a monolingual grandparent domestically, or travelling to the heritage nation for frequent holidays may be a more suitable option. The other three least popular strategies were also based upon language networks outside of the inner family circle (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; De Houwer, 1994; Hu & Ren, 2017) , that being explicitly choosing the child's social circle, asking multilingual external family members to adopt OPOL, and choosing a child's clubs and activities based upon TL use.

This finding indicates that FLS incorporating those from external language networks are only used as a last resort by the parents when family, or entrusted members of their inner circle are not available to interact with the child with regards to acquisition planning (King et al., 2008), further affirming that this language ideology centred around family cohesion and heteroglossic social spaces (Purkarthofer, 2019) is of the upmost important to those families involved in this present study.

### 7.4.2 Language and Identity

A recurring ideology seen through this study's results is the importance of how both parent and child understand and view themselves in the bilingual child-rearing experience. A selection of mother and fathers in the study were linguistic minorities in Cyprus, raising their children in a country which is not their native one. The perspectives of these parents not only gives insight into how one identifies in intermarriage (Piller, 2001), but also how the relationships between native culture difference inform the decisions about how they should raise their children, whether it be similar to their own childhood experiences in their home country, or akin to the GC way of living. This supports the study of Díaz (2003), where a minority language parent being secure about their own linguistic identity aids in their own strength of impact belief in supporting their children's multilingual development.

Such findings are also reported in previous studies (Chatzidaki et al., 2014; De Houwer, 1999; Kostoulas & Motsiou, 2022) centred around preservation and promotion of the minority language, or the non-dominant family language for protection and preservation of the parent's and children's ethnic identity. This correlates with the recurring ideological theme found in this doctorate's findings that there is a direct link between the mother culture one has grown up with and the ethnic identity they hold themselves to possess today.

Parents quoting that their children would identify equally with both their majority and minority cultures in terms of nationality and feelings of pride (despite residing in Cyprus full-time) suggests that conscious efforts by minority language parents alongside their spouse to transmit their mother tongue aids in passing implicit associations of cultural identity to their children. This supports the notion that identity and mother tongues are inextricably linked (Ylänkö, 2017) through intergenerational heritage being passed to the bilingual child via FLS (Little, 2020). These findings support those reported by Bateman (2016), in which bilingual children with metalinguistic development and support from both parents tend to form a bi-cultural identity in equal favour of both their dominant and minority culture. The data from these FLS centred around the family unit suggest aiding in fostering one's cognition, acceptance and association of a dual-identity (Blumenfeld & Marian, 2013; Kroll & Bialystok, 2013; Nicoladis et al., 2016).

Ultimately, the notion of positive attitudes displayed by the children themselves with no explicit parental interference to '*choose a side*' and make affirmed choices on their own dual identity, indicates that bilingual children are able to negotiate their bicultural identity from a young age and most importantly appreciate the hybridity of their selves. These findings agree with the research of Japanese-American bilinguals from Kanno (2003), that education choice (such as FLS **#11** from this present study), societal support and parental attitudes to bilingualism all play contributing roles in how a bicultural child may negotiate their own identity, regardless of language proficiency.

### 7.4.3 Authenticity and Preservation of the Heritage Culture

In accordance with language ideologies of promotion and preservation of one's bilingual identity, and the inner family circle being maintained, families choosing to incorporate extended trips abroad to the minority language country and keeping in frequent, physical contact with their home-nation relatives, leaving their children in the company of monolingual grandparents if possible, and having those same home-nation relatives visit with TL material is an example of such families wishing to immerse their children in as authentic a linguistic environment as possible with the minority language. Allowing them to feel accepted to use authentic material such as books, toys and games that their minority-nation parent may have done, celebrate traditions and public holidays, and interact with speakers not limited to just their minority language parent and/or sibling(s) suggests that is an important factor in that child's relationship with their home languages.

As quoted through the interview process, having parents as native speakers of their minority language (except for the one mother who chose to incorporate mainly English over Ukrainian for SPE opportunities for her children) already provides the household with their primary linguistic resource for authentic minority language, and when incorporated with OPOL, supports the belief that it is an accessible and useful interactive FLS (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004; Döpke, 1992). However, the other FLS incorporating additional native language speakers for discourse-based FLS (such as grandparents), immersion-based FLS (holidays abroad to visit extended family) and activity-based FLS (TL material from abroad brought to the children as gifts) amplifies the input exposure of authentic linguistic input the children receive dramatically, affirming the importance of input exposure (Cantas, 2024; De Houwer, 2007). This exposure to a variety of minority language variants such as accent, dialect, lexis and register highlights the importance of linguistic diversity and why such an FLS is so popularly used by these families. Chondrogianni & Daskalaki (2023) carried out a study with 58 bilingual Greek-American children visiting Greece on frequent holidays and had overall conclusions similar to this present study's results: that it proves useful for heritage language development and variety. However, they also pointed out that the generations of migration these children belong to differentiates the heritage language outcomes experienced by such children visiting on holiday in terms of language proficiency and output.

These FLS orientated around immersion into authentic TL material also aid in the bilingual child affirming their own dual-identity with a feeling of being accepted in both cultures, and intertwine with the parents' own ideologies that they would feel comfortable living abroad in a country that matches their linguistic repertoire that could benefit their SPE opportunities, and that adhering to an elite-bilingual mindset has paid off (Valdés, 2005). Interestingly, the minority language parents in this study adhered to transmitting their native language or a prestige language through OPOL to their children whilst using holidays as a supplement to their FLP. Some minority language parents in Jackson's (2009) study through Japanese-English families would use education choice and holidays as the primary support interventions (Cunningham, 2020) of minority family languages, whilst choosing to communicate in the dominant language in the household, indicating that family dynamics, identity and power relationships with language (Wodak, 2012) may shift from culture to culture.

## Concluding Remarks to Chapter 7

This chapter has examined the FLS and related underlying language ideologies linked to the use of the inner family language network, and the causal relationship between language, identity, and cultural authenticity. The following identified language ideology, related to wanting of success in opportunity in a child's life relating to their fostered bilingualism shall be explored in the next chapter.

# Chapter 8: Language Value, Success and Opportunity through FLS

## Introduction

This chapter discusses the present ideology of future SPE success being facilitated by child bilingualism, the introduced via the results of FLS **#13** of the Activities Pack: *choice between monolingual or bilingual education.* Views on globally prestigious languages and their implementation are also mentioned. Theoretical implications alongside the current literature will be further discussed.

## 8.1 Strategy #13: Explicit Choice of Education as a form of FLS

Alongside being the highest average scoring FLS in all fields of implementation (93.7% overall score) (**See Figure 21. in Chapter 6**), *choice of education* was reported to be the most frequently used FLS. Those 2 families who noted that they did not use this strategy sent their child to school, but did not think about it in terms of facilitating bilingualism. Aside from its high scores of relative frequency, an average 98.8% score of reported effectiveness is a testament to how much faith linguistically intermarried parents place in the schooling systems they send their children to, when outside of the immediate family network. The following sections outline the various attitudes parents reported towards varying types of education in Cyprus with regards to language learning:

### 8.1.1 Positive Attitudes Towards a Bilingual, Non-Cypriot or International Education

Nursery schooling was a critical decisive point for many families before choice of primary and secondary education, based on whether it be an international, bilingual, or monolingual one, being that a nursery was most families' first foray into leaving their children in the care of those who were not relatives or grandparents. These choices of education would extend into primary and secondary institutions in Cyprus. Families reported their justification on why they supported monolingual/bilingual/international education choices:

#### *8.1.1.1 International Education Could Potentially Support More Prestigious or Useful Global Languages*

> *#5 (Lithuanian mother): "They're teaching three times per week English and two times per week French from the first grade, so this was this was my choice also based, you know, on the languages that I said. The language are very, very, very important thing(s) in your life. Our school has a programme. So, these are very nice and beautiful languages…. (It's a) Nice thing to go to France and then to Italy and to explore those countries knowing the languages.---It's additional".*

> *#7 (Cypriot mother): "Although, as you say, if he if he started maybe at 3-4 and had a good at least, space of English in that preschool.---It would help him later on."*

Parents who decided to invest in private, international pre-schools were very grateful at the range of secondary languages their children were exposed to on a weekly basis and reported it cemented a stronger base in English for their children. Private schools offering international languages such as French on their curriculums were another justification to send their children there, despite the added expense. Even some parents were reflective in whether their children's multilingual competence would have improved had they attended a bilingual nursery.

#### *8.1.1.2 International Schooling Could Facilitate Minority Language Parent's Languages*

> *#1 (Cypriot father): "Now that I remember, I think she (the mother of family #1) would mention that she wants him to go to a Russian speaking school.---So that he picks up the language more easily, especially when he was born because mostly my family would visit and would spend more time with him. He received so much Greek input than Russian. Going on another thing that relates to practicality is, for example, there's a place that my wife wants to send him. That's really far from here, OK? And she just wants to do it because it's in only Russian."*

The GC father of family #1 reported that his Russian wife expressed desire, despite being an impractical affair due to the sheer distance of the school, to send their child to a monolingual Russian school, as both parents acknowledged the imbalance of language input that their child would receive outside of the household from close Cypriot relatives being more present physically than the Russian ones. This displays an admission of adaptation  burden in supporting the minority family language out of the house.

> *#4 (Cypriot father): "So also if I could say something else because all their schooling was in Greek, there was a little bit of question in my mind. How will their written English do?---And if they wanted to go to university, would they be ready?"*

Other families expressed worry that future SPE opportunities could be hindered without an English-centred educational environment being present in their children's lives, versus a monolingual Cypriot nursery, which traditionally views English as a secondary language, despite its heavy presence as a bridging language in Cyprus. More specifically, those parents who were native English speakers were apprehensive if the public system would be able to facilitate the literacy skills in English to their

desired level, in order to prospectively prepare their children for further education abroad. This falls in line with the language ideology of wishing their children to succeed abroad, with a strong language foundation in place before possibly moving away from Cyprus.

#### *8.1.1.3 International Schooling is Believed to be Superior to the Public School System*

> *#3 (British mother): "Schooling is very important from a young age; I always spoke to them in English. They went to an English nursery. They went to an English school. We didn't take them to afternoon lessons because they had some afternoon lessons, but that was in secondary school. Because of the language we wanted, we wanted English to be a very strong factor in their upbringing. Their dad was very pro, as was I. Yeah, he wanted the children to go to the (American) Academy."*

Being that some international or English-orientated schools have been established in Cyprus for the past 50 years and have generated a reputation for being very effective in educating their students to a proficient standard of academic English, many parents (of international and CG origin) were keen to invest in international pre-schools over state Cypriot education, reporting that it would nullify the need for traditional Cypriot after-school tutoring academies, which some Cypriot families traditionally use to supplement their children's public school education, (even often costing as much as some all-day private schools in Cyprus). Family #3 reported a mutual desire between both parents for their children to attend international schooling in Larnaca, so as for the English language to play a very present role in their children's everyday lives, just it had done for them in their upbringing and education.

> *#3 (Cypriot father): "Would I still believe that it's benefited the children? Absolutely. Yeah. I mean, we didn't go through the mainstream Greek education system, and even though the private school may not be as good as it."*

Family #3 continued to reflect that they believed it to be of extreme benefit to their children's language fluency in English, as well as supporting their spoken Greek, despite their comments that the Greek education system may be superior academically than the international school they sent their children to from a young age.

> *#5 (Cypriot father): "Our school is a private school that we send them to because they had the teaching English three times per week, not two times week like in a regular school. You know, the government school, they just teach two times per week."*

Family #5 stated the facts that English is taught a third more often at the international school she sends her children to, compared to a Cypriot public school, giving extra exposure to the children.

#### *8.1.1.4 The Reported Ethnocentricity of the Cyprus Public Education System Limits Bilingual Potential and Capability*

Families, especially those with native British parents, were overall critical of the limited support and proficiency in English that their bilingual children would receive in public education. Naturally these parents tended to compare their own academic upbringing in the UK compared to public Cypriot education where English was taught as a secondary language, leaving room for thought in terms of other ways to supplement those children with English as a family language. There was little to no mention of support for additional languages other than English, leading some minority communities to create Saturday schools for Hungarian and Lithuanian children which they would attend on weekends.

> *#10 (British mother): "They used to struggle once a week. When we were when we were going to the Greek primary school."*

> *#6 (British father): "We did send them to private lessons for English once or twice a week, which gave them some basis. But that is not enough in Cyprus. That is the way the (public) system works. They can hardly learn vocabulary, grammar, and that's about it. They won't learn to speak the language. They won't learn to listen to language, and they won't learn different accents. You only learn the accent of the teacher that's teaching you. Right now, private is the only option Cyprus, unless the public schools improve massively, which I don't see them doing anytime soon, that no one will learn bilingualism from a public school. No one."*

These families with native English parents were very critical of the Cyprus public education system with regards to English support, stating that the standard of teaching and content a student in public education would receive would barely be sufficient to maintain a native English speaker's linguistic competence, and reported that in their experience, private lessons or private daytime education was the only logical option that one could adopt with any attempt to facilitate family bilingualism for the English language, or certain private schools cantered around other international languages, such as Russian, French or Arabic.

### 8.1.2 Positive Attitudes Towards the Cypriot Public Education System

Alternatively, many parents were very positive to send their bilingual child to be educated in the Cypriot public education system from the nursery level for multiple repeated reasons discovered through the interview process:

#### *8.1.2.1 Caregiving In A Traditional, 'Warm' Cypriot Environment*

> *#1 (Russian mother): "OK, basically we did have a disastrous experience with this one. We his first kindergarten of choice was a Russian one and it was the only criterion, OK.---But we later on found out that basically we had an idea that the teacher was not as how caring, I would say… warm. I would say she was very strict. You know you she was this kind of Russian teacher that was very stoic."*

Although available in Cyprus, some parents attempted to send their child to a bilingual Russian/Greek nursery but decided to pull their son out of the nursery due to conflicting ideologies of traditional versus strict care-giving. They preferred a traditional Cypriot nursery which mirrored traditional Cypriot values, which were reported as less "*stoic*" as the Russian bilingual nursery and the teachers hired to look after the children.

#### *8.1.2.2 Assistance in Identity Association*

> *#12 (Cypriot father): "We wanted them to. ---To associate with (with) Greek, we didn't want them to be international from a young age, we wanted them to know this is your country. These are, you know, know the background, the culture, the traditions, the, you know, Cyprus has got a very, very rich culture history. ---Mythology and stuff and I've always been fascinated with Greek mythology in Greek history, so it kind of played into that. The agreement was that they, they, they are schooled in their home country language that they should be fluent in both languages and English is the easier language to learn."*

Some Cypriot/British intermarried parents wanted their children to acknowledge their heritage and not be seen as a foreigner or international child in Cyprus simply for the fact that they were native speakers of two languages. Agreements were made amongst the parents that if both parent's mother tongues were acquired to a comprehensible standard orally, that schooling should take place in the national language to further ensure Cypriot enculturation and societal acceptance. This shall be further discussed in the discussion section of societal language dominance.

#### *8.1.2.3 An Effective Manner to Balance out Exposure of Greek When Parents Emphasise Heritage or Minority Language Support*

Many participating parents often cited how the metaphorical safety net of sending their children through the mainstream Cypriot education system from an early age would ensure a competent level of Greek be taught to their child. This would allow the parents to focus on FLS that could help support minority languages in and out of the home with less constraints on time management. This was supported by parents of all nationalities:

*#8 (British mother): "I wanted him (to) because Greek is difficult language to teach. If you don't learn it in school."*

With state education being free for all children, parents reported how sending their child to a Greek nursery gave them the opportunity to acquire a childhood language which was opinionated to be difficult to learn as a secondary language in adulthood.

*#1 (Cypriot father): "Now I'm going to try and switch myself for example, if I can. I'm speaking 90% Greek and 10% English with him. I'll try to maybe lower the Greek to 70% and increase the English because he's receiving so much Greek input from the school and I want to balance things out, you know.---It's an extra pressure, of course, and it's extra work and extra mental faculties are play, but I think it's the best for him."*

The father of family #1 states that he could consciously manipulate how much Greek he could speak to his child and replace it with further English input, knowing that his child receives enough when at pre-school, mediating the input of Greek, Russian and English in his FLP.

Furthermore, there was a common belief that sending one's child to a Greek educational institute, regardless of mother tongue, would almost guarantee to drastically improve fluency/literacy in Greek:

*#14 (Hungarian mother): "That's why we enrol them in public school. My daughter, she's not here in the Academy. Mm-hmm. You know because I want her to learn Greek. Yeah. Write and read correctly."*

*#4 (American mother): "Greek is in the surrounding community, rather than in our home, we've been trying to support that in our home, but they didn't learn it in our home. They learned it at school. And we've always planned to speak English in our home but send them to Greek school to learn and to support Greek when we could."*

Other families see Cypriot nurseries and primary schools as opportunities for their children to acquire Greek, even if the parents do not speak it to an acceptable standard, therefore can rely on using languages that are more natural for them to speak in the household.

*#1 (Russian mother): "I mean, like, the kindergarten, the, the caregivers are all Greek speakers. So, since he went to kindergarten, his vocabulary and his sentence structure and everything, through the roof. So, I believe that is really effective in producing, you know, the desired change."*

Family #1 reported that a child going to a native nursery school would naturally be exposed to authentic, Greek Cypriot caregivers, and would be exposed to their variant of language daily, akin to how the child is exposed to bilingualism in the household.

*#4 (American mother): "We sent her to preschool here knowing that we were going to be moving away for three years from my husband's degree. And so, we were trying to set her up as much as possible with some language skills that would be buried."*

Other families at the time of interviewing were planning on relocating country, therefore wished to cement their child's heritage languages at the crucial period of language acquisition by intentionally putting them in a Cypriot nursery. This was because CG would end up being a minority language when they moved to America with their children.

#### *8.1.2.4 Opens up the Social Circle Available not Limited to Just Greek-Cypriot Nationals*

> *#4 (American mother): "I believe it's part of the curriculum in every school. I would be very surprised if it's not in every school at this point. The extra Greek support, because there's so many kids coming in from all over the place and so they would often take them out of gym class or take them out of English class and they would go, and it would be one-on-one or one on two and they'd get those that extra, like the basics of Greek. They would work with them, if not every day. A couple times a week giving them that extra. ---Support and acquiring the language early on."*
>
> *(Describing when her English/Greek speaking daughter met a monolingual immigrant Arabic speaker at public nursery) They find ways to communicate, don't they, kids when they're trying to learn each other's languages? They can still play. --- She (daughter) said: "We were playing" and I said, "well, do you, but does she speak English? Like, can you understand her?" And she's like, "well, she, she laughs in English, or she smiles at English.""*

Through description of a touching moment between their bilingual daughter and an Arabic-speaking child who had just moved to Cyprus, the parents of family #4 reported that Cypriot primary schools have begun to support minority language speakers and immigrant children by providing specialist support lessons for such speakers once or twice a week. This would either be to teach differentiated Greek at a more suitable level for them, or support of their native language if such teaching staff were available. This excerpt alone is an example that their children would find ways to communicate with foreign speakers at a public school and are willing to open their social circle, regardless of communication barriers at a younger age. Discussion of possession of dominant societal languages in Cyprus shall be further discussed later in this chapter as a potential barrier to social inclusion and perceived SPE success.

#### *8.1.2.5 English is Already Everywhere in Cyprus*

> *#3 (Cypriot father): "Well, considering that everything in in Cyprus is labelled in English everywhere you go, the English language is so prominent, English is definitely a language that children need to be fluent in."*

An interesting comment brought up by families was that English, whilst not an official language of Cyprus, is extremely prominent as a bridging language, and would be present in any person living in Cyprus' day to day life, regardless of if one of their parents was a native speaker of the language.

> *#1 (Cypriot father): "Well the kindergarten teacher actually said that they bring in an English teacher in once a week and he does the lesson--For them in he uses completely the English in*

*his in his lesson.---And I noticed that he started to sing the alphabet. He started to count to 10. So yeah, it's going pretty well."*

It was further reported by the parents of family #1 that some nursery schools in Cyprus have English lessons for all children, already adding an extra layer of English input for all children, regardless of if they are already competent in English or not.

## 8.2 Emergent Language Ideology: Elite, Additive Bilingualism

Choice of education is seen as a critical point of language exposure and social interaction. It is an environment which may foster multiple languages to a set criterion for a large portion of the day when the parents are not present, therefore explicit selection is evident. For parents to invest time and money into selective schooling over home-schooling demonstrates a willingness to implement their multilingual children into societal integration with either selectively monolingual or other interracial children from intermarried, bilingual backgrounds.

Furthermore, those that selectively send their children to international schools consider the value of the examinations that they may undertake, such as IGCSE or IELTS, in addition to sitting the examinations in their mother tongues, which are largely internationally recognized qualifications. This paves the way for the prospect of international study abroad, which chains into prospective SPE and employment opportunities abroad, mirroring parents' ideologies in the openness for their children to broaden their horizons abroad. Having multiple mother tongues alongside an international qualification bank paves the way for more open doors in the child's future. The recurring patterns displayed through the data point towards a parental language ideology linked to success and opportunity via both additive elite bilingualism:

### 8.2.1 Study Abroad

A salient theme uncovered was parent's positive attitudes to their children being bilingual not just for parent-child relation, but for the added benefit to be able to commit to further study in more globally renowned universities, which would have target family languages as the language of instruction.

*#20 (Russian mother): "Sometimes I think even more about education. Yeah, I mean, if they will go to university, et cetera. So, I think it… it's a huge advantage for someone to be bilingual or multilingual."*

Family #20 understand that that the prospect of being a family bilingual with more languages at their disposal would already set up the child prospectively for a larger selection criteria at the university level, both domestic and abroad.

*#14 (Hungarian mother): "Sticking with the Hungarian school. Hmm. You know, and I'm volunteering. And I'm not doing for any money. As I mentioned to you, because I do want to.*

*Yeah, maybe to study in, in this language, you know? The Hungarian University, I mean the higher school system is really good. Yeah. And it's kind of messy in Greece and it's expensive to go to England to study."*

The mother of family #14, in line with her unique FLS of co-creating a non-profit Hungarian Saturday school for the local community in Larnaca, realises that literacy alongside spoken fluency in a family language would allow an individual to pursue higher education in any country that speaks that particular language. She acknowledged the steep price of university fees in the UK and a dislike to the mainland Greek further education system, opening the opportunity for the Hungarian university system, of which the mother is familiar with already and expressed the opportunity for her children to study there if they wished, knowing they would have the appropriate language base for its requirements to enrol on a degree program there.

*#5 (Lithuanian mother): "If my son, let's maybe he'll study in Germany, maybe my daughter will study in Belgium. I don't know. So, depending on the country, they will have to learn that country's language too, which it will be very comfortable for them."*

The parent of family #5 expressed further positive attitudes towards additive bilingualism, commenting that it would be necessary for her children to have to learn the native language of any country they wish to study in, allowing them to settle in more comfortably into a daily routine there, should they wish to study abroad.

*#6 (British father): "It's very important to me because that's one of our options as to where they wanna study back in the UK back to where I where I grew up and I see I think they see it as a challenge to try and follow my footsteps, go back to the UK and study, it's something that.---I don't know passed on to them that they pulled towards English and for me it's quite important because.---England gave me a lot of good stuff, not just the negative, but also got a lot of good stuff, which.---It's good to pass that one.*

*A big thing I can do further for my daughters is provide them an education in a foreign country that will allow them to improve it (their English) furthermore, that's the best thing that's the most I can do right, no matter how much I'll speak to them about home, unless they hear it from someone else with a different accent, with a difference.---They will not learn it, they* ***have*** *to study abroad to improve it. Furthermore, and the more they study, the more they travel, the more they will learn."*

The father of family #6 drew from his personal, lived in experiences of studying abroad in the UK, claiming that living in a target country will practically ensure complete, native fluency in that TL and that studying abroad in the UK is the optimal opportunity for his children to make the most of their time learning, and gaining that authentic experience of complete, daily immersion in the TL. He commented further that although he deploys OPOL at home constantly, it would only help his children reach a certain level of fluency, compared to having his children being exposed to multiple native speakers and accents of the TL in all walks of their daily lives, hence his justification for wishing to provide them with a university education abroad in lieu of Cyprus.

### 8.2.2 Work Abroad

> *#4 (American mother): "I want them to be multilingual. I want them to be part of this culture and to be able to move between cultures.---I want them to be employable in different places that if they wanted to get a job here, their language skills would be.---Where they need to be that they could have choices in their university."*

Family #4's ideology towards additive multilingualism is that they wished to give their children the freedom of shifting between any culture they desire, with the language skills cemented from their childhood allowing them to settle in seamlessly in any culture that speaks the language, due to adept communicative competence. This would apply for any work opportunities alongside further education.

> *#10 (British mother): "I think it's an asset. Again, I think it's a great advantage for them because I think we live in a global… it's a very global world that we live in, you know, situations and job markets. My youngest works in the UK now. Yeah. So, you know that it opens up that opportunity though that opportunity."*

Family #10 acknowledged the diversity and internationalism of the modern job market and have observed through their own children that through child bilingualism with English as a heritage language, employment opportunities have been more easily found for their eldest child.

> *#6 (British father): "Because I'm now also bilingual,. I would say it's very, very useful in finding work, being able to relocate in opening up… opportunities in front of you because one language is never enough, you never know what's gonna happen to you. I moved from the UK to Cyprus. I had to learn Greek."*

The father of family #6 recalled his own personal experiences with bilingualism in how it helped progress his career, with learning Greek as a secondary language helping him find work easier in Cyprus. His positive attitude to additive bilingualism states that one must always be open to learn new languages as it is impossible to predict where one's life will take them in their later years, whether it be domestic or abroad.

> *#5 (Lithuanian mother): "Actually, my son asked to learn Chinese because he read on the Internet that Chinese very popular language because of the big population of a country of big, you know, international trades and everything. And he's like, I don't know, maybe he'll be in businessman one day. I don't know. He says, "I would like to learn Chinese." I said: "OK, when you start learning Chinese, I'll go for it too." I would like to learn a new language too. So, we are talking about this, that this is learning a new language. It's fun…*
>
> *…Whatever speciality you will choose, maybe you want to be a doctor, but still, you'll have the patients from all over the world the world, or you'll be travelling to conferences to learn new things, you know, to all over the world. So, they're more languages, you know, it's the best, the*

*better for you".*

The parent of family #5 recalled how her son willingly wished to learn Mandarin as an additional language, and the potential employment opportunities it could offer him in international trade. The mother supported this idea and saw it more as an opportunity to spend quality time with her son in an educational activity. This demonstrates that the parent is not solely focused on having their son learn Lithuanian and CG solely because they are the family language, but that any additional language that one learns is a bonus to one's personal development, and that one will be faced with multiple language speakers in their lifetime, hence the need to possess multiple languages at a reasonable rate of fluency.

> *#1 (Russian mother): "I think it's an advantage over others. So, if you pick up a language, it's a whole, it's a whole new set of opportunities that you're open to.---It helps with life.---It unlocks doors, it helps with your professional, with your career later on, it helps communicate with other cultures. I think it's a big advantage that bilinguals have over people that speak just one language natively."*

Family #1 reaffirmed the recurring ideology that being a bilingual gives an automatic communicative advantage to an individual in terms of their professional career and networking with multiple nationalities, rather than limiting oneself to one single set of language-speakers.

### 8.2.3 SPE Opportunities in Cyprus

Parents were also positive about child bilingualism from a domestic viewpoint, considering the ever-growing urbanisation of Cyprus, drawing in foreign nationalities and investors to the country, requiring a need for native language speakers of these foreign visitors:

> *#1 (Cypriot father): "It's important for both of us because the current situation in Cyprus is so much… such a big influx of Russians in this in the country and so many Russian businesses, so many Russian companies.---Plus, we got him the Russian passport, so I'm sure he'll be travelling to Russia at some point to meet the rest of the family and be able to communicate with him. I mean, it's going to be emotional. He's going to be able to blend more with the family if he speaks the language. And again, in the professional world as well, it's gonna be a big plus".*

Family #1 acknowledged the large presence of Russian speakers in Cyprus. Through their child being a native bilingual of Russian and CG, the possibility of their child finding potential employment in Cyprus should they wish is more certain, due to the ability to communicate with said Russian companies that choose to set up offices in Cyprus. Additionally, the theme of being able to communicate inclusively with extended family in Russia as an authentic language speaker was highlighted as a bonus in shaping their son's bilingual identity.

> *#6 (British father): "Nowadays it's a must because Cyprus now it's 90% tourism. If we didn't have tourists, we don't have any other exports or any other money coming into the country. So, if you don't speak at least one of the language of the tourists or some common language that they all speak, it is very difficult to survive, especially in Cyprus."*

Family #6 further commented on this theme, that Cyprus' mainstream revenue stems from tourism, requiring foreign language speakers to accommodate tourists that visit the island. Once again, they comment that being a multilingual is practically a modern-day necessity in Cyprus for work and social purposes.

## 8.3 Discussion: Elite, Additive bilingualism

Parents were extremely open to the idea of their children moving abroad and away from Cyprus for multiple purposes, whether that be to pursue further education, find employment opportunities, or simply relocate to another country for one's personal life. Many parents incorporated private, international/bilingual schooling as part of their FLP in acquisition planning (King et al., 2008) as a means to support globally prestigious languages (Kahane, 1986), to set their children up academically and professionally in the hopes they could move abroad, or find employment in Cyprus for a more lucrative future with additional languages under their belt.

It was in fact unreported to hear that the parents wished their children to stay permanently in Cyprus for work and further study. Parents were all open to have their children to live abroad to discover the experience of another culture, akin to how least one of their parents had done (Smith & Nizza, 2022). However, parents of Cypriot nationality were strongly open to the idea of their children returning to raise a family in Cyprus, due to the perceived notion that Cyprus pertains a more relaxed pace of life compared to other countries. Another reason cited for this belief was to have extended parent-child quality time, a precious luxury which may be as sparingly available in more urbanised areas of the world, such as the United Kingdom.

Having two native languages available at a child's disposition opens a realm of possibilities. Grosjean (1998) proposed the view that bilinguals can adapt to social and linguistic circumstances by implementing aspects of both of their available languages in varying social and linguistic circumstances, something which he calls the '*bilingual view'.* From a socioeconomic and cultural perspective, bilingualism bridges the gaps between the artificial constraints between multiple nationalities living within a single society and increases the potential to create a co-existence between many languages and beliefs under one roof. As Auer and Li (2007) suggest, "*social stability, economic development, tolerance and cooperation between groups is possible only when multilingualism is respected*." In a country such as Cyprus where multilingualism appears to be the norm, the prospect of greater SPE development appears prevalently.

This ideology of openness to studying and working abroad is closely linked with the participants' overwhelming positivity towards additive and elite bilingualism (Rydenvald, 2015). Even for those families that did not have CG or English as the native language of either parent, there was a consensus that child bilingualism languages could open many doors for SPE development. Nearly all families have hinted at British or English-speaking universities to send their children to, with the alternative universities the parents suggested being situated in heritage nations, such as Hungary or Russia. The general consensus is that the parents did not necessarily wish to send their children for further study in Cyprus, but did not cite the reason as to why.

Furthermore, the parental ideology of the importance of a good university education is intertwined with the parent's perception of appropriate schooling for their children in Cyprus. This acted as further evidence to the possibility of a more lucrative future, mirroring the notions of bilingualism as a

tool of SPE empowerment (Mejía, 2002, p. 311). This appears to be one of the key parental ideologies of success in an FLP, alongside the notion of cultural and linguistic authenticity in the family languages.

The data from this study demonstrates that the parents overwhelming support towards additive bilingualism extends to their minority languages alongside additional prestigious global ones. The Hungarian mothers all pointed out the high standards of education offered by their national universities, and acknowledged that these could be potential options for their children should they so wish, with British universities proving financially burdensome due to Brexit having increased tuition fees for international students. This points towards De Houwer's (1997) Impact Belief Theory, as another justification for active bilingualism taking place in these families is both parents holding positive attitudes towards the family languages, alongside their own interventions in terms of education selection in the hopes of positively impacting their children's bilingual development. This is additional to their future SPE prospects, further allowing such parents to choose which languages they wish to transmit (Romaine, 2011) under the branch of elite bilingualism. These findings concur with those found in Jackson's (2009) study, where the participants also frequently cited that enhancing their children's future employment opportunities was a strong motivating factor for their bilingual child-rearing efforts.

From a contextual standpoint, these results offer the ideological perspective of linguistically intermarried parents, of whom are residing in Cyprus. The overall findings from this chapter of the study do affirm the positive ideologies that intermarried parents have towards bilingualism. They viewed bilingualism as a gift that opens doors in all aspects of life for their child. Recent, previous studies centred around the topic of multilingualism in Cyprus (Karpava, 2024; Kkese & Lokhtina, 2017; Nicolaou et al., 2016) sought to examine the perceptions of general multilingualism and multiculturalism in all professional and social capacities, also identifying positive attitudes from the Cypriot community towards additive bilingualism, giving a more holistic view of modern GC language attitudes. This demonstrates that both monolingual Cypriot families, alongside intermarried ones share a common ground to promote multilingualism across the island.

With regards to folk bilingualism, Jackson's (2009) participants also had differing views in relation to the language patterns of the home in relation to the majority national language (Japanese), and choice of an English education in case their children ever wished to move to an anglophone country. The parents of such families would sometimes clash on how the family languages should be incorporated in terms, adopting an elitist-bilingual attitude towards English usage, and a more folk-bilingual attitude to Japanese, saying it was necessary to acquire to live and grow up in Japan, alongside communication with relatives. This present study's results concur with Jackson's (2009) results in terms of CG usage, and influence on the parents in terms of education choice (between monolingual Cypriot and bilingual education), that CG is helpful for living in Cyprus, yet the additional family languages could prove more lucrative for the child's future opportunities abroad and merit further attention in language planning.

This present study's recurring ideology of bilingualism intertwined with SPE opportunity is consistent with elite bilingualism (Guerrero, 2010; Romaine, 2011). Elite bilingualism can be defined through the research of Mejía (2002, pp. 310-11), who saw parental justification of elite bilingualism as a process of empowerment and meeting the demands of "*political, linguistic, sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic and educational concerns*" of said parents. The study of Guerrero (2010) with Chinese-English bilingual schools found that even monolingual families, when given the means, opted for bilingual private schools which teach in the medium of English, due to its prestige associated with economic success. The notion of high expectations displayed from parents in this present study that bilingual

education, or TL education could easily facilitate language fluency (and sometimes being met with disappointing results, as was the case of family #1 who pulled their child out of a Russian nursery for being too "*stoic*") is also seen further studies (Mejía, 2002, p. 287), which saw Flemish parents sending their children to English-orientated schooling, not realising that domestic TL support was just as necessary to allow their children adapt to the TL as proficiently as they desired.

## 8.4 Discussion: The Value of Language in Family Decision Making

An evident salient language ideology in this study is that of setting one's child up for success through the skill of bilingualism, and it is prevalent through the results of this study. Many parents cited how they are more than open for their children to have the communicative competence set in place to study and move abroad if so desired. Being that some families did not possess family languages that were as internationally dominant as English or Russian, emphasis was given to include such languages as additional to the child's repertoire to be exposed to in their daily routines. As strong as this language ideology was in theory for these parents, in practice, there appears to be a strong correlation as to why parents prefer to transmit their own mother tongues to their children to be acquired as heritage languages, instead of remaining with the national language, or perhaps more internationally used ones such as English. Whilst most mothers in the study conferred their children's bilingualism as a '*gift*', underlying tones of the sentiment detected in their words align with Vallance's (2015) words, that "*being able to communicate in one's heritage language is a right and an asset that should by no means be taken away*" from a child. It is only natural for these parents to want to be able to communicate their emotions, thoughts and feelings as naturally as possible with their children, despite wishing for more international languages to be part of their children's native repertoire. This could lead to parents feeling they have not succeeded in the notion of successful parenting as much as they would have desired (King & Fogle, 2006) as was briefly cited by the Serbian father of family #7. The prospect of fostering a more harmonious relationship between parent and child is more likely when a child has developed their heritage language (Gladys María Aguilar, Ángel Vázquez, & Fitzpatrick, 2024).

Parents acknowledging that their native languages are of high importance for heritage identity maintenance (Wehrli, A. 2024), and that acknowledging that such heritage mannerisms and norms must be transmitted on a daily basis for the child to understand and adopt demonstrates a higher probability of minority languages being transmitted than not, even if the interlocutor is the sole transmitter of language in the immediate family network. Even subconsciously to those parents with strong ideologies towards success and opportunity for their children, simply making an effort to speak their minority language to their children aids in multilingual competence from a young age, and may aid in developing intercultural insights through child bilingualism. In a way, a multilingual household is simultaneously a multicultural household, and can help the bilingual child interact with other foreign cultures more seamlessly as they grow older due to their previous lived in experiences.

The increased value put onto the families' minority languages aids in fostering that child's bi-cultural identity, and a greater sense of self-esteem and confidence as they grow older, alongside not having lesser possible negative impacts on dominant language development (as seen with the case of heritage languages in the US from Vallance, 2015; Gladys María Aguilar, Ángel Vázquez & Fitzpatrick, 2024). What was also touching to witness was how minority nationality spouses would dismiss informal language gossip about child bilingualism causing language loss or confusion, and were

adamant that they wished to be able to converse naturally and freely in their mother tongues to their children, affirming the importance of natural communication in a native tongue (which may not be as popularly spoken in Cyprus or worldwide)over potential SPE opportunities, which more international languages would offer, or having to conform to CG for the sake of cultural acceptance from local village communities where these families reside.

## 8.5 Discussion: Societal Language Dominance Impacting FLS

Whilst power and prestige, especially that of SPE augmentation is cited multiple times by the participating families as a catalyst for promoting additive family bilingualism, an underlying theme of social capital and hierarchy is also examined. With CG being the dominant societal language used in Cyprus, and English as an ex-colonial lingua franca across the island, it is only natural that all children involved in the study have had at least minimal exposure to one of the two latter languages. This does not appear by coincidence. One can witness clear social stratification, through the use of language choice, and language management methods reported in Chapter 6.

As is evidenced through the parent's largely negative attitudes towards forcing their children's social circle to be centred solely around fostering select family languages, a language ideology aligning with the child's multilingual identity, and the ease of finding themselves in society is highlighted. With knowledge of the societally dominant language of CG, alongside the bridging language of English, the potential social circle of the multilingual child is broadly amplified, and not limited to just those sharing the same heritage nationality. This further indicates that parents are open to their child to freely identifying how they wish, with the language repertoires available to them, fostered by the FLS used. Such instances of this language ideology is displayed through non-CG parents being open to sending their children to monolingual Cypriot nurseries and schools, and being able to attend the same clubs and societies that monocultural CG children would, whilst also helping their child realise the existence of their family languages and cultures, and the freedom to explore these too.

Language exists not simply as a tool of communication, but as a marker of identity, power and social hierarchy (Alisoy, 2024). Efforts put in place by parents of neither GC nor Anglophone heritage to have their children at least attempt to be competent in either CG or English from a young age (alongside the minority family languages) demonstrates their willingness to have their children enter an echelon hierarchy of Cypriot society and gain social capital (Hagage Baikovich & Yemini, 2024). This social capital allows further prospect to be better accepted by Cypriot society, regardless if they are of GC ethnicity or not. This stratification of language (Alisoy, 2024) would allow the bilingual child to not only acknowledge their heritage identity, but be able to negotiate social scenarios in Cyprus and feel just as accepted on the island as they would feel in their heritage nations. This is evidenced through such choices of FLS which are carried out through the medium of CG or English instruction, such as attending Greek-speaking activities and educational institutes. These efforts are balanced with that of minority language maintenance to give their children such opportunities to identify with multiple social groups in Cypriot society, where knowledge of CG or English would allow one's place in society.

It appears for this reason that CG is chosen as a language for these bilingual families to add into their child's repertoire, over potentially more international languages, such as Mandarin or Arabic. This possession of a more practical societal language that aligns with the dominant, CG populus could not only increase SPE opportunities abroad, but also domestically in Cyprus for greater social acceptance.

### 8.5.1 The Global Prestige of English as an Additional Foreign Language

However, whilst all families involved in the study had exposure to CG in their language timelines, English was just as prominent a language for nearly all families, and appeared as necessary to acquire as the minority languages, fuelled by a language ideology pointing towards linguistic imperialism and elitist bilingualism in global social hierarchy. In this study, both native and non-native English-speaking participants were especially complimentary towards the presence and importance of English in their own multilingual upbringing, relationships, and professional lives. They saw it as almost mandatory to have their child have an adequate mastery of the language in addition to their other family languages. "*Universal*", "*global*", and "*language of communication*" were a few of many terms used to describe English by the participants during the interview process.

The parents were prepared to offer their children the freedom to study and live abroad and believed that facilitating their children with English will secure a much more comfortable future should their wish to leave the island when older. They further reported that it is almost as important to have English alongside Greek in Cyprus to survive:

> *#3 (Cypriot father): "Well, considering that everything in in Cyprus is labelled in English everywhere you go, the English language is so prominent, English is definitely a language that children need to be fluent in."*

Even those without an explicit FLP in place were aware of the definite need to acquire English to survive in Cyprus alongside knowledge of Greek, and would perhaps implement it subconsciously as part of their language practice:

> *#6 (British father): "…I would definitely say Greek and English is a must, especially in Cyprus. I would have said Russian couple of years ago, but now I would still say English because well, no matter what happens, everyone speaks English. It's a common language throughout the world. Most of the countries, they will speak English, so it's a language that is a must, beside Greek, at least."*

Family #6 believed that English is more important to possess in Cyprus than Russian, due to English being the most spoken global language.

> *#1 (Cypriot father): "Yeah, like from my experience growing up because I, but like in my circle, I probably knew the most English and I will, I would get so much so many benefits from that. I mean even from playing video games, I would know how to do the walkthroughs and everything or I would know how to talk to a waiter, or to a random person on the street that is not a Greek Cypriot.---Or later in in the academia, let's say, or in school, I would be able to write essays and an emails and, you know, communicate with foreign bodies, let's say, or in the professional world, it was such a big advantage cause every interview I went to, we switched to English.---And because they saw my proficiency in English, they would just be like after one minute they were like, "OK, you know English, let's switch back to Greek." They would mean it, it would show so much that one minute was enough.---And I believe it's*

*necessary in Cyprus to know English, it's necessary."*

Family #1 recalled from their own experience that knowledge of English as an additional language helped secure them employment, especially in terms of social circle and job interviews. Once again, the necessity of English in Cyprus is highlighted through this excerpt for schooling, social life and one's professional setting.

> *#5 (Lithuanian mother): "English is a 100% must in our world because all the Internet everything is in English, and they (my children) are fluent in English. Before they started in the school from watching the YouTube. And that what they were watching and Lithuanian things they were switching to English things."*
>
> *#12 (British mother): "That it was important to both of us, we wanted them. I mean, English is the universal language.---If you know we're hoping not to be honest that they don't, that they maybe eventually come back to the island, but that they go off and that they explore the world and that they do the thing abroad and they go to university and other countries and you know, the English becomes the basis cause Greek won't take you that far."*

Families #5 and #12 commented on the universal status of English compared to less-spoken languages worldwide. They report on its necessity as a spoken language that one must possess for international interaction, both physical and virtual, as English is widely used on the internet, affirming literary sources commenting on the global dominance that English possesses as a digital lingua franca (Alisoy, 2024). They also reported on the availability of English media available to children already and how knowledge of English gives the extra advantage to immerse oneself to enjoy such media.

> *#8 (British mother): "I would say things have changed. I think now it's very big and it's all of very big importance. I mean people are starting to appreciate it. I've seen and not I think in the past it was totally different. People underestimated it... They never used to think of it. If something beneficial or that's it. Students have always been going to private lessons but purely and simply just to get a degree. But now I think it's more than that.---Because I get phone calls from parents and I get phone calls from adults now where I never used to, who want to learn English and want to learn speaking only because they need it in their everyday life or in their social life"*

The mother of family #8 reported how adults in Cyprus who had not been sufficiently educated in English during their own childhood years feel the regret of not doing so, or not having appreciated it enough. These adults contact the parent, wishing for English lessons, as they realise now its importance for their everyday life, despite it not being an official language of Cyprus.

Family #6 commented on the difference between international, and the variations of American and British English that exist, and comment that one may only reach a certain level of fluency with international English, and must travel to English speaking countries to truly understand the various dialects of English that exist worldwide:

*#6 (British father):* "*You can't go anywhere, and now, no-one will speak the American-English you see on a movie, no one will speak that English. You will hear Pakistanis. You will hear Turkish. You would hear all these nationals speak in English. You will hear Scottish people. You will see Geordies. You will see Southerners. You will see different dialects and they're all speaking the same language with a different accent. Unless you're there, living this trying to understand it, then you will not learn it.*

*And even in the dictionary, when you read from a dictionary it will show you the way I pronounce it. But if you don't know how to read those symbols, you wouldn't know how to pronounce it. And the easiest way to do it right now is to actually go on YouTube, type the word and hope it gives you the British version, not the American ones. So, you know how to pronounce it correctly, because you got this issue now, and I'll tell my daughter's always write the word."*

This excerpt ties in with his ideology of sending his children abroad to the UK to study, to acquire exposure to a wide range of English dialects, accents and lexis, unique to the UK, but also to inform his children that the English used in popular American media is not the sole variant of the language, and to experience authentic British life the same way he had done growing up in the UK before moving to Cyprus.

With English being the dominant international language of Cyprus (followed by Russian), multiple avenues of FLS were available for the participants to choose from to foster their FLP. As noted in the additional strategies section of Chapter 6, multiple methods of internet-based FLS were utilised, such as choice of streaming services, apps, and video calls through smart technology. With English as the lingua franca of the internet (Alisoy, 2024), the prospect of acquiring English to a high degree of fluency to open one's social portfolio onto a digital platform aligns with the language ideology of additive, elite bilingualism opening the digital door of opportunity to the multilingual children of these parents.

One may note a separate language ideology regarding English language usage in Cyprus. As aforementioned in Chapter 1, the influx of Anglomania in Cyprus witnesses the larger population with a desire to become more English, loaning over 500 words into the Cypriot Greek lexicon. Akin to India, a country also colonised by the British, but on a far larger scale, English would act as a language of high social status, and a bridge language by all residing there (Alisov, 2024). This rings true in Cyprus today, where knowledge of the English language would grant SPE opportunities in all walks of life in Cyprus which other international languages such as Russian could not. Knowledge of the English language is also being seen as compulsory in the workplace in Cyprus, and in higher education institutes. When CG would not be an option of communication for two immigrants communicating in Cyprus, English would most probably act as the bridging language for communication to take place. This evidence from the Family Profiles, and interview data highlighting a dominance for families to ensure their children are competent in the societally dominant languages, alongside maintenance of a heritage language to a high degree of fluency underlines the challenges in an FLP for a parent to be able to express themselves as naturally as possible in a language close to their heart, but having to acknowledge that their children require additional societal languages from a young age to gain social capital and success, even if that societal language (CG) may not be potentially useful if they were to emigrate to the heritage country.

#### *8.5.1.1 English Language Status in Cyprus with Parental Gender Roles*

The results of the language timelines (see Figure 23. below) affirmed English is frequently transmitted to bilingual children as an additional language due to its worldwide status and in Cyprus, and successfully transmitted regardless of gender of the parent who may have more frequent contact with their child. Many job opportunities may not even require any working, professional capacity of Greek in Cyprus, meaning that employment can be gained just by possessing knowledge of the English language. One may deduce that English has such a worldwide and important presence for global development and as a tool of communication that it can aid multilingual families where English isn't necessarily their native family language.

The Russian language is very present in Cyprus, particularly Limassol, and useful for SPE according to interviews with the parents who suggested that Russian tourists and investors come second to British holidaymakers who in terms of popularity when visit. There is also a large community of Russian expats (Karpava et al., 2022) in Cyprus. This has led to a large support network of formal Russian schooling, clubs and businesses in Cyprus available across the island which can support a monolingual community of intergenerational bilingual Russian children.

Through this data, we may deduce that languages with a large international presence are more availably facilitated in Cyprus to aid ideology and language transmission. The remaining, less worldwide renowned minority languages in this study were SMG (Greece), Serbian, German, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Hungarian. Three minority languages which do not have as much demographic presence and due to this, possible available community support (Serbian, German, Ukrainian) are not as reportedly successfully transmitted to the children.

The Hungarian language, despite being a minority language, sees consistent support from the minority nationality mothers. This demonstrates that Hungarian minority ideology values the worth of bilingualism and identity and connection to home nation, regardless of how many people speak the language in Cyprus nor worldwide, nor for practicality's sake.

Perhaps other languages which are seen as minority in Cyprus are not facilitated by these families' ideologies, especially where the other family language is far more dominant and allows facility of communication. (Russian and Greek for all cases), and CG being the national language, and other family language available allows for much more seamless communication in day-to-day life:

| Family | Language Timeline: English Percentage Usage |
|---|---|
| 1 CN & MR | 10 |
| 2 AI | 0 |
| 5 IT | 5 |
| 7 ZP | 10 |
| 13 VK | 15 |
| 14 EM | 5 |
| 15 SE | 10 |
| 16 JH | 33 |
| 17 RBP | 5 |
| 19 EP | 10 |
| 20 IL | 20 |

FIGURE 23. EAL TIMELINE PERCENTAGE USAGE FROM FAMILIES WITH NON-NATIVE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PARENTS

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## Concluding Remarks to Chapter 8

This chapter has reported on the popularity of the FLS related to choice of education, and discussed its importance in relation to the existing literature related to additive and elite bilingualism. Further implications were discussed about the value of language choice in one's FLP, and the importance attributed to societally dominant and international languages. The following chapter shall explore the potential importance of language pre-planning, alongside potential inhibiting factors that could deter perceived success of one's FLP.

# Chapter 9: Planning, and Potential Inhibiting Factors Influencing FLS Success

## Introduction

With this thesis' first research question focussed on which FLS are present in Cyprus, an important set of findings reported through the methodology was why certain strategies were not used, or scored poorly, thus being impeded in their usage. It was therefore important to list the participants' reasons for not applying certain, popular FLS in their routine. Furthermore, the validity of planning in FLP is discussed as to perceived success of family bilingualism. Whilst language pre-planning in FLP is present in Cyprus by intermarried parents, over half the participants held firm that they would approach a laissez-faire approach, whilst still assuming responsibility over their children's language development. These implications are discussed alongside the current literature.

## 9.1 The Implications of OPOL: Variants and Implemented Scores

*#5 (Lithuanian mother): "They said it would be even better if every parent was talking in his own language, you know, not to mix. So, I told you, you know (my husband), "I will not speak to them in Greek. I will only speak to them in Lithuanian, and you speak to them in Greek". But actually, what I also did…I showed him all the scientific proof of the languages, and that there's nothing wrong for the kid."*

Contrary to popular belief, OPOL-based strategies as seen in Chapter 6 were not the most used, nor reportedly successful FLS, despite OPOL being one of the most widely researched FLS in further reading. This indicates that lesser known FLS require further attention, as they are seemingly more popular and practical when used in everyday life circa 2024. These findings concur with previous studies (Bain & Yu, 1980; De Houwer, 2007) that OPOL may be outdated in terms of popularity, prompting further research on more contemporary language practices.

OPOL, despite being the most researched FLS in popular literature, received the sixth highest implemented average scores, being surpassed by other, lesser known FLS. Additionally, only 70% of participants reported to be using OPOL daily. This would lead to the assumption that despite OPOL being the most published study and mostly used outside of this research, further research must investigate the more popular strategies (Lanza, 1997), or those that have not even been discovered from published studies. These results agree with the findings of De Houwer (2007), where OPOL was also deemed to be an insufficient method of language transmission, and not the most optimal, nor necessary '*condition*' for bilingual child language rearing.

This study's findings demonstrate OPOL to not even be presently ranked in the top 5 of FLS, in scales of popularity, reported feasibility, practicality, nor effectiveness, contrary to previous studies (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004; De Houwer, 1994; Döpke, 1992) reporting the immense popularity and opinionated success of OPOL. Instead, this present study agrees with the findings found in studies with results

disagreeing with the latter (Bhatia, 2017; De Houwer, 2007; King & Fogle, 2006; Yamamoto, 2001), that OPOL is insufficient as an FLS when used on its own. Although perceived to be optimal in the multilingual family environment, its results ultimately fell flat to the parents' expectations of how efficient it is to use daily. Parents reported that they had considered OPOL due to reading about it in CLA literature, initially regarding it in high esteem.

During the interview process, parents commented on the challenges of realistically implementing OPOL in a daily scenario, despite having been advised to use it, or having researched it when formulating an FLP:

### 9.1.1 OPOL's Lack of Flexibility

OPOL required interparental cooperation to implement. However, family discourse would become stagnated when certain languages that either parent were not fluent in were adopted by the majority of interlocutors. Naturally, the conversation would have to stop to translate for either parent, or that parent would feel extremely left out of the moment. This would also have implications between parent-child relations and interfamily dynamics:

*#5: (when referring to dinner table talk) "There is difficult(ulty) when we discuss something a little bit, maybe with the higher tone of the voice. My husband gets a clue that something is, you know, something is important on the table and then he goes and tell me the in Greek: "what you are talking about? Translate it to me too because I want to be in a topic". So, we just quickly translate. We may switch from that time if he's involved in that discussion, we switch to Greek then.*

*#6 (Cypriot father): "…but it doesn't work if both parents don't speak one of the two languages fluently. So, my wife will feel left out if we didn't speak in Greek because she would not understand the complete conversation. Sometimes, she would stop us and say and ask us what we said. So it wasn't that easy for us to do that. If both parents are strong speakers with one language, then it's much easier if one or the other doesn't speak it, then it's a bit.---Tricky, let's say to involve the other parents in in the conversation.---For me."*

The difficulty of having to halt the natural flow of conversation between multiple interlocutors to accommodate the other parent who did not understand the other family language fluently acted as a barrier to natural communication. This was often cited by families during the interview process and justifies the low scores given to FLS #3. OPOL was criticized as being an unnatural method of communication between parents who were not fluent in each other's mother tongue, or at least competent. It was cited that parents had to adopt a very strict, unnatural (Bain & Yu, 1980) way of speaking to incorporate this FLS, rather than being able to converse more naturally to their children. What must be noted is that one variant of OPOL, that being strategy **#3**, *monolingual dinner table talk* (which can be categorised as *OSOL – One Situation, One Language*), received the lowest intended and implemented combined score of all strategies involved in the study (**see Figure 24. below**), with a score of **65.6%**. When compared to strategy **#9***, using OPOL in all instances by the parents exclusively* (**83.8%** average score), and *instructing multilingual family members to incorporate OPOL* (strategy **#8 – 71.4%**), one can note there is a clear discrepancy to implementing OPOL in a very specific scenario when all family members would be present together in the evening, due to the extended effort required to have both parents communicate exclusively and simultaneously to the child in their

chosen language, whilst also having to find a method to communicate amongst each other coherently. Modern families may not always be physically present in Cyprus at dinner time due to possible work/time constraints (Okita, 2002), creating an uneven linguistic input balance of OPOL.

| Strategy Number | Average percentage count of parents that have explicitly carried out strategy | Intended Average Scores | Implemented Average Scores |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | 70 | 65.61467 | 65.61404 |
| 8 | 60 | 74.70667 | 71.37255 |
| 9 | 70 | 82.554 | 83.83442 |

FIGURE 24. OPOL-VARIANT STRATEGIES WITH INTENDED COMBINED AVERAGE SCORES

This aspect of rigidity further prompted for parents to dispel widely-read studies that OPOL is more effective than flexible language practices:

*#4 (American mother): "Like almost hypothetically I've been told that that's the Holy Grail and I've been told that we should have done that and that my husband, 'A', that he should have done that, and the girls would have learned so much quicker. And I would have been better. And all of that... Feeling forced to be a certain thing as opposed to another thing. And so, he felt very strongly, for better or for worse, that he was* ***not*** *going to do that with his kids. I know there are families that do that, but I think we're so comfortable in English that we just stick to it".*

Family #4 rejected OPOL, despite having researched it, due to wanting to raise their children with a more natural, less invasive manner of speaking, without limitations of which language one parent must exclusively speak.

*#1 (Cypriot father): "Well, the practicality again, it's because.---I would have to, or my wife. She we would have to always think ahead and be like, "no, I don't have to say this in Greek, and I have to say it in Russian."---And we would have to. How can I describe it? It would be more cumbersome, let's say, for us."*

Parents also commented that it was tiresome to constantly adopt OPOL. During their weekly routine, it would be too cumbersome to rigidly adopt OPOL as the parents themselves were physically tired after work, and felt more comfortable to use a language that didn't require strenuous effort:

*#1 (Russian mother): "Yeah, yeah, it will be a mix up of you know, because we're both usually tired at dinner table and we will try to communicate, and we won't be able to use OPOL".*

*#4 (Cypriot father): "I think we could have done better supporting it in the home in terms of my speaking it more purposefully."*

*#17 (Hungarian mother): "When uh, our son, was uh younger he I have been very much set on my ways, not necessarily just with language in general and I've learned along the way yes to be flexible, I think which is very important for the children."*

Affirmed in this doctorate's findings, certain families (for example, quoted from family #5) would have both mother and children communicate in Lithuanian, and only translate certain excerpts of the conversation for the Greek Cypriot father. This felt cumbersome, and would break the natural flow of conversation. This seems to paint a more realistic picture that not all intermarried couples may be able to understand, let alone communicate effectively in their partner's mother tongue. The potential language barriers of couples not understanding each other's native tongue to a fluent standard would have to allow either a tertiary bridging language, or use of one of the family languages at that time, possibly upsetting the desired exposure balance of languages used at that time around the dinner table. This agrees with the data found in Chapter 4, where 19/20 couples would use one common lingua franca with each other, rather than implementing both family languages if possible. Usually, CG, English or Russian would be the common language between parents, and it seems that this common language would extend into scenarios when all the family are present at one time.

This proposes that parents prefer to use OPOL in certain scenarios and opt for code-switching in others when feasible.

### 9.1.2 Culture Clash/Friction when Implementing OPOL

Some parents would jokingly switch family languages with their children, disrupting the initial outcomes outlined by OPOL. This would cause some tension amongst spouses:

*#14 (Hungarian mother): "Even though you know C (father) was, sometimes, was for joke. He was answering in Hungarian. I was saying, "No. Don't do that. Don't do that because you are not speaking correct the language. I'm not speaking correct the language, the Greek language. There is no necessity for the children to hear that"."*

*#4 (American mother): "And in like marriages that people become competitive with their cultures or feel.---Um.---Yeah. I think the piece of the family is more important, but it should be a high priority."*

*#20 (Russian mother): "I think culture can often cause friction as well."*

This present study's interview data had minority language participants critique their spouse for jokingly switching languages in the presence of the children, reporting that it would skew their FLP alongside the child's perception of when to use a certain language. This highlights the importance of interparental corporation as vital for success of heritage and dominant language transmission (Venables et al., 2014).

Another conclusion from these interview quotes is notion of culture becoming competitive and potentially clashing (Gass et al., 2020), leading to extra pressure on both parents as to which languages to use and how much input exposure the child should receive, potentially causing an upset as to which languages should be present in the family domain and for which purposes (King et al., 2008) . These findings agree with those of King et al. (2008), that ideological conflicts in the family crucible can be a source of language shift and determining language outcomes. Additionally, it shows how large a role both parents must play in ensuring minority language transmission is successful. Should the parent of the dominant language not take the language rearing process seriously, or be largely absent from the home, it lowers the likelihood of successful input exposure. These findings mirror those found by Venables et al. (2014), that the majority language parent plays an important

role in supporting their spouse by trying to facilitate the minority language where possible, such as use of the '*hot house approach'* in OPOL (King & Fogle, 2013).

### 9.1.3 Multiple Siblings Interfering with OPOL

Some parents faced challenges implementing OPOL when trying to balance out language exposure in the household to support a weaker family language. This challenge stood out when bilingual siblings would unbalance the languages heard in the house by either code-switching, code-mixing, or exclusively communicating monolingually amongst each other:

*#12 (British mother): "They consistently code switch, but they've been a bit naughty now because like they, they know, like who understands better each language and they've got their own little thing that they kind of they code-switch with these modern words that they have; obviously half of them my husband doesn't understand."*

*#10 (British mother): "I would communicate obviously to him in in English, but probably because he was playing with his siblings, he they would communicate in Greek. So, the balance was affected."*

*#6 (Cypriot mother): "She speaks that language from copying her sister. Let's say. So, one sibling will copy the other one. It's always the case."*

It is discernible from such quotes that the siblings may use code-switching (Cho, 2018; Lanza, 1992) voluntarily as a secretive form of communication amongst each other, especially when wishing to discuss matters within earshot of their monolingual parent. Bilingual children may be exposed to code-switching and may frequently deploy it amongst their siblings and monolingual parents to manipulate the conversation as and when they wish (Keenan et al., 2016). Bilingual children may also loan words from each of their mother tongues due to a lack of lexical availability (Hamers & Blanc, 1989) in either language. This instance is known as restricted code-switching. One may also hypothesize that the level in which a bilingual child mixes languages can evaluate the extent of a monolingual or multilingual environment they live in, fostered by their parent (Lanza, 1992, 2007). Lanza's study (1992) on language mixing in bilingual children determined that the code-switching displayed by Spanish-English speaking children in the Southwest of the United States saw that children would purposefully code-switch to single out or gain the attention of a particular addressee.

### 9.1.4 Mitigating Circumstances of OPOL

Although some parents were enthusiastic about implementing OPOL and creating an immersive bilingual household, parents with clinically diagnosed autistic children were advised by language therapists to avoid bilingual exposure completely for the child, and to adopt a strict monolingual environment for the child to avoid delay of critical language acquisition, being told that bilingualism would impact the child negatively and cause language confusion, or language attrition:

*#12 (British mother): "My eldest son is autism spectrum disorder, so he we had to only do Greek at the beginning, so he's not as bilingual as the others. He does understand, he speaks English….So we were told to stick to the one language so that he doesn't get confused. I mean, he always watched and did it. I did the same thing with all of my kids with the when they were younger."*

These findings indicate a monolinguistic, restrictive language ideology implemented by some speech therapists in Cyprus, with parents following their professional guidance, rather than rejecting it and adopting a multilingual exposure approach with their autistic children. This also correlates with De Houwer's (1999) theory of impact beliefs, with the parents explicitly limiting the linguistic variety from the critical stage of language acquisition for an autistic child of multilingual parents, believing that they hold a responsibility to ensure their cognitive wellbeing as a priority over multilingual capability, yet adopting additive bilingual approach for their other children, indicating that certain circumstances require more drastic interventions (Hampton et al., 2017). The study of Howard et al. (2019) demonstrated that schools in the UK with largely multilingual environments could aid in facilitating bilingual autistic pupils, and the opportunity to embrace their bilingual identities to enhance their school experience, thus opposing the way Cypriot language therapists would operate, indicating conflicting ideologies in language planning for children with special needs.

Other parents (families #3 and #7) limited or ceased heritage language maintenance due to either seeing it as impractical in their daily lives in Cyprus (thus affirming the results contextualised in Chapters 4 and 5), and stressful personal experiences with their heritage cultures causing them to reject that language and shift to a different language of transmission, such as English which could potentially open more doors in their children's lives (Fotiou, 2022; Ou et al., 2023; Papapavlou, 1997).

## 9.2 Additional Real-World Challenges and Critiques to implement FLS

Aside from OPOL, although certain FLS were desirable to implement or practise, they were unable to do so due to factors separate from ideological conflicts (King et al., 2008):

### 9.2.1 Dispelling Rumours about Language Confusion/Shift from the Family Social Network

Village gossip or informal discussions about bilingualism causing language confusion informed intermarried parents' language policies with regards to bilingual child rearing (Guiberson, 2013). Parents advised that from their own experiences, a multilingual couple must commit to established research from professionals and contemporary literature, rather than accepting general gossip, which appears to have extended family advise the parents to transmit only one family language to their children instead of multiple, as this would cause future language confusion, unintended mixing, and possible language shift in later years:

> *#4: "Yes, from my husband's family and from the (Cypriot) culture. Yes, we do feel that pressure. Everyone has an opinion about how it should be done as well. So, you know, if, because my kids are still acquiring the language and some of them are older. They were like: "Oh, they would have learned so much better if you had done this and this and this".---And obviously with hindsight, sometimes it seems like they could have, but at a cost in other ways. And so, we just have to kind of do the best we can and let those opinions stand and let them go in a sense."*

> *#5: "For them, they started to speak both of them in the age of 18 months. When they started, it was funny, but the first word they told in Lithuanian and then the next day, it was the first word except for "Mama & Papa", which is in all the languages. And the next day they told the Greek word.---But you know, then I started to search because a lot of relatives, especially in the village, they started telling to my husband: "Oh they will get confused. They will mix the languages. They will not speak neither Greek neither Lithuanian, (and) at the end of the day you have kids that will (be) totally at the edge." I couldn't believe people can think like this nowadays."*

Both mothers from families #4 and #5 (unwillingly) received anecdotal advice from their husband's Cypriot extended families on how they should raise their children linguistically. Mother #5's surprise in how families in the 21st century believe that bilingualism poses a detriment to a child is a testament to her ideology that bilingualism imparts benefits on an individual's life, when fostered appropriately.

This present study shows that those who have been residing in Cyprus for several years and have integrated into Cypriot culture tend to research CLA less through a literary perspective, and are prone to more anecdotal advice from external family members, akin to the studies of King & Fogle (2006), rather than consulting specialised literature on child language acquisition, further. This also

demonstrates the profound role that extended family play in Cyprus, with them being so present to aid in looking after the child.

With Cyprus being a network of communities largely village based, and small cultures, there do exist families who receive critique and judgement from the local community on how they should raise one's child. This notion of '*correct parenting*' (King et al., 2008) can influence these parent's language ideologies on how they should approach their FLP in Cyprus, sometimes against their better judgement, with these parents potentially falling victim to unrelenting advice (Guiberson, 2013) and input on how they should '*correctly*' raise a child according to Cypriot standards. This mirrors the experiences of linguistically intermarried Japanese mothers in Okita's (2001) research, who were impacted by advice from external family members on how they should approach bilingual child rearing, often met with stress and trauma from the parent.

This finding is concurrent with Kostoulas' & Motsiou's (2022) study, which had Greek families express their concerns that plurilingual input exposure may cause language delay or confusion to their children, and whether this would cause language salience, unintentional code-switching or language mixing from the bilingual child. Parents in Greece also confirmed to rejecting such stereotypical beliefs and preferred to commit to published or researched sources to discern whether this may be true for their child or not.

### 9.2.2 COVID-19 & Financial difficulty to Afford Extracurricular Activities can Prove Cumbersome

Activities, tutoring institutes, private schools, childminders and heritage language material is expensive to acquire in Cyprus. Parents may simply not have the expendable income to support a strategy which they may ideally like but cannot financially afford to implement.

Additionally, COVID-19 was a serious inhibiting factor to many young child's social circle and ability to communicate with other same language speakers, especially those who were in the critical stage of language acquisition at that time. This meant that parents who wished their children to socialise with other, minority-language speaking families were unable to take advantage of such an opportunity, especially if their child were to be in the critical stage of language acquisition. This meant that parents working from home would have to spend extra energy and effort to communicate to their children bilingually within the confines of their home:

> *#14 (Greek father): "It was the COVID mass quarantine. Everybody 24/7 together it was. It shouldn't happen. It couldn't happen. So, And that is a lot of energy taken away from you."*

> *#4 (American mother): " We were kind of very selective partially for financial reasons, but also just because of how of COVID happened".*

The COVID-19 pandemic inhibited families to leave the house or socialise with other native language speakers for their children to mingle with linguistically. Some parents reported that they could only pick certain activities for their children to partake in, such as after-school clubs and activities. This was due to financial constraints, or the reality that certain language activities would cost more than others

due to the exclusivity of that language, or that certain language materials had to be imported from abroad at extra expense.

Similar examples are given in research (Mueller, 2023) pointing towards lack of transmission not through lack of trying, but that it was simply not possible to financially afford material to aid a minority language parent's input exposure to match that of the dominant language. This was in addition to parents not being able to afford monolingual childminders, extra tuition, or clubs in the heritage language, or that they simply felt lost because of having no language network in their country of residence to give community support. This present study did not interview families with endangered minority languages, or those with no language support network, thus could not compare to see if language loss or subtractive bilingualism could occur as an after effect of these challenges.

Regardless of the pandemic or not, other, media-based methods of FLS were still difficult to acquire. Certain minority or heritage languages still have limited or small communities in Cyprus, such as Lithuanian. This makes access to certain material, albeit easier than before thanks to the Internet, difficult or impossible to access physically in Cyprus. This includes TL television channels which may not even be accessible through a computer:

> *#5 (Lithuanian mother): "There's no Lithuanian channels and they are not (all) on the computer. On my laptop I can open some Lithuanian TV (channels). But they are not interested in it."*

Furthermore, the bilingual children may not show any invested interest in watching such material, as aforementioned before, preferring to watch content that is of interest to them, without the regard as to which language it is shown in.

### 9.2.3 Not Enough Time in the Parent's Daily Routine Limits the Opportunities They Have to Transmit a Language.

There may not be enough free time in the parent's day to spend with their child focussing on a certain FLS which requires extensive time, for example committing to reading a book together, playing educational games, or using media to facilitate language training. Long work hours limit contact with their children and may impact successful language transmission.

> *#4 (American mother): "But obviously life is busy and it's hard to remember to do those things. It's hard to get into new habits as a family at this stage, but I'm sure I think we would like to at some point...*
>
> *…And then to take her to somewhere to help her with the homework so that I didn't have to do it. And my husband was very busy with work at the time, so he wasn't available to help her with the homework. The homework would take her like 2 hours to do every night and 2nd grade because she was just acquiring the language."*

Although it was desirable for many parents to spend quality time all together at once to conduct certain multilingual activities together, (be it educational or leisure) work and/or time constraints simply clashed with some parent's schedules, leaving them unable to partake in certain FLS.

*#7 (Serbian father): "As a father, you know, which you know, I was aware of it, but I just didn't manage this…. I didn't have the energy. I failed it in that, OK. And you know, to another father to be more persistent, definitely to find some kind of care. Like a babysitter to influence in that language that you want that the child learns and you know, you know, I was aware of everything. I mean, we are educated, smart people, but I just* ***couldn't****. I didn't manage through is what you said before that maybe if my lifestyle and working hours were different and had more time and energy. You know, I just didn't have the energy and then, you know, he's like, ohh no, not now, you know, and I ohh later this and that. And I just give up, you know, I didn't have the energy to push it, which I think there's and women do you know they will be more persistent there I think."*

*#5 (Lithuanian mother): "You know, the things that I maybe didn't have time for or whatever, and then grandparents, they transmit another knowledge you know, and they are more down to Earth. But at one stage my husband got a like 12-hour job every day and he was not a lot of in touch with the children again."*

*#6 (British father): "I didn't actually speak to them at all. I was away from home most of the day…*

*…It wasn't practical for me at the time as an overall it could be practical, but for me it wasn't because my wife was mostly at home. I was mostly at worked. I was at home maybe 2-3 hours a day. I was tired. It wasn't practical for me, but it if it different circumstances, it would have been an ideal system."*

Certain families felt they had let down their children and were disappointed that they had not transmitted enough TL to their children, due to the business of their lifestyle and working hours having to leave their children in the company of grandparents, childminders, or with the other parent, leaving the children to be more immersed in the other family language, which may have already been the more dominant household language. These families who reported such circumstances were very honest in their absence from home, acknowledging that although they were absent from home, it was for employment reasons to financially support their families, and knew that the minority language acquisition may suffer, at the expense of their children being well looked after.

*#14 (Hungarian mother): "And we don't have the luxury of time to stay awake at evening and have our conversations, you know. There's not enough hours in a day. I'm dead... I'm dead at night and my husband is coming late home. So by the time that I'm finishing with the, you know, packing the lunch, sandwiches, I'm through".*

These findings demonstrate that long work hours can imbalance the time an intermarried family may wish to spend equally with their child, leading the multilingual child to spend potentially more, if not most of their day with monolingual speakers (grandparents, childminders, one parent over the other etc). Parents can be too tired to commit to an FLP. At the end of the working day, they may find it too cumbersome to sit and apply themselves to speaking a certain language which isn't natural for them (Jackson, 2009; Okita, 2002; Wei et al., 2011). These findings correlate with the language timeline data from Chapter 5 (and justify their importance) that parental presence and engagement can play a role in whether successful, balanced bilingualism can occur in the home, alongside mirroring conclusions found in research that highlight the importance of parental input exposure of relative

frequency (De Houwer, 2007; Verhagen et al., 2022) playing a key role in the success of one's FLP implementation.

Studies (Venables et al., 2014) also correlated with this doctorate's own findings, affirming that not just OPOL (but OPOL can suffer dramatically if one of the primary transmitters of language, especially the minority language is largely absent) but many FLS require constant commitment for the family unit to engage in regular parent- child interactions, which affirms the challenges mentioned in the interview that some FLS are simply not adhered to, or are seen as a challenge if one parent is away at work, or tired to implement such a FLS due to personal commitments.

## 9.3 Planning Affecting Success in FLP: Failing to Prepare, or Preparing to Fail?

As is seen in Figure 25. (**see Figure 25. below**), an ongoing theme within the department of FLP is whether explicit, nurtured and intended language management and practice should occur versus allowing natural language transmission to occur. As displayed from this present study, there is almost a 50/50 ratio of families who actively commit to discuss amongst themselves whether to implement an FLP to those who do not. When asked whether any of their language management efforts were intentionally and explicitly planned or discussed prior to committing to language practice, responses varied amongst families into what can be broken down into three categories: **Intentional FLP**, **no desire to apply an FLP**, and **Unintended FLP**. This section explores three types of language management relating to explicit planning for FLP, and how this has uncovered a language ideology relating to impact beliefs.

| Explicit and Planned FLP or Not | Count |
|---|---|
| FLP Pre-Planned Total | 9 |
| No Pre-Planned FLP involved Total | 11 |
| **Grand Total** | **20** |

FIGURE 25. INTENDED PLANNING VERSUS NATURAL LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

### 9.3.1 Language Timeline Results: FLP Pre-Planning

Popular literary sources centred around bilingual-child rearing (King & Fogle, 2006) advocated the importance for explicit and calculated pre-planning in FLP. However, the language timeline results from Chapter 5 demonstrated that only 9/20 families pre-planned their FLP in accordance with Spolsky's framework of '*language planning*' (Spolsky, 2018, 2004). Only 3 of those 9 families claimed to have achieved equal 50/50 bilingual language exposure and another 3 of those families had a heavier weighting of majority language father's language being transmitted more than the minority language and the other three the minority's mother language. Two out of three minority mothers possessed less globally dominant languages (Lithuanian and Hungarian), yet possessed strong ideologies to transmit these languages and incorporated numerous linguistic interventions as part of their corpus planning (King, 2000; King et al., 2008), believing they held a responsibility to make the extra effort to ensure their mother tongues would be adequately transmitted to their children, whilst also acknowledging that their majority language of CG played a vital role in their upbringing, displaying additive bilingualism. Purkarthofer's (2019) study involving bilingual families and heritage language acquisition also saw these families inform their language planning as such in favour of equal, additive bilingualism. But does pre-planning in a family language policy truly equate to real success, or is this success simply perceived in the eyes of the parent? Do these parent's prior efforts to plan out language interventions and routines give the indication that their policy would be more successful in their eyes?

The language timelines seen in Chapter 5 demonstrate that regardless of whether an FLP is planned out for desired balanced bilingualism, equal bilingualism may not be achieved unless positive

attitudes to additive bilingualism are adhered to. Those intermarried families who planned an FLP and stayed disciplined enough to maintain one, despite the challenges (Okita, 2002) can achieve some degree of success in language transmission in certain factors, and have a higher potential to achieve a greater success of language transmission, yet this requires cooperation and hard work from both parents, especially those who possess the minority family language. The data from the language timelines support previous studies' findings (Jackson, 2009; King et al., 2008) of bilingual families applying language interventions. Only 50% of the intermarried parents in Jackson's (2009) study planned out some form of language interventions with their children, with 50% having no prior plans or discussions about how, when and if they would apply them. Furthermore, this present study correlates with the latter's results, that lack of pre-planning seems to have no impact on the initial linguistic development of a bilingual child's family languages. These findings support the view (King et al., 2008) that bilingual child rearing is a developmental, implicit process which is a unique experience for each family, having the child and parent learn together, with input exposure playing a more important role than explicit or overt language planning.

### 9.3.2 Nurturing Language Practice: Intentional Planning

Intentional planning was classified as "*explicitly planned decisions set prior to applied language practice in real-world scenarios*" by the participating parents, inspired by matters as minor as informal interparental discussions and conversations with other multilingual families, to informed visits to a speech therapist, background reading on linguistics or complete research in the field of multilingualism and child language acquisition.

> *#18 (American mother): "So, it's something that we embraced as an expectation for our family from the beginning. So (yeah), so we actually were very planful even before we had children, we knew we wanted by a fully bilingual home. We wanted beautiful, unaccented Greek. We wanted beautiful, unaccented English. We didn't want our children to have a heart language. We wanted full integration of the two languages, so we had to be very planful and intentional, and I think it's worked."*

Family #18 explicitly stated that through prior research of linguistics, and sheer expectation for their family's future, they wished for an extremely balanced level of bilingualism as possible from their children. They highlighted that they wished for authentic, unaccented Greek and English, and for this to occur required careful and strategic planning, with a degree of ideological flexibility.

> *#5 (Lithuanian mother): "I started to search for the scientific proof in on the Internet to show to my husband that his relatives are very, very wrong. Very, very wrong."*

The mother of #5 carried out prior family language planning as a manner to dispel the gossip and rumours that her husband's Cypriot relatives would tell her that bilingual children would face communication issues and possible language confusion. This ties into her additional ideology that she wanted to communicate to her children in her mother tongue to express authentic emotions and feelings yet did not want to rid them of the opportunity of bilingualism.

### 9.3.3 Allowing Nature to Take its Course: No Desire to Plan

Other families explicitly stated that they had never, nor wished to plan any language maintenance nor practice for their children, and approached their children's linguistic upbringing with a complete *laissez-faire* approach:

> *#3: "Growing up bilingual... It's not something that I had to sit and think about."*
>
> *#4: "I think children, I really believe children need to be children. They need to have time to play. They need time to relax."*
>
> *#13: "I would go with the flow. I never planned out, but I was doing my way, you know, because the way I was treating him, like we treat most kids in Russia."*
>
> *#20: "No, I didn't feel pressure. It's just the thing that I would like him to have."*

These families who adopted an approach where they did not plan any language management efforts prior to committing to any conscious language practice adopted the similar ideology that raising children should be seen as a completely natural part of parenthood, and that bilingualism in the family should not require any extra effort. They expected to raise their children either in the same manner they had been raised in their home nations, or embrace any challenges as parents in a natural manner which required no extensive thought extra to the fact that their children would be born into a family with two mother tongues. Additionally, since they sought to raise their child as naturally as possible, no invasive interventions were put in place to assure a certain tangent of culture or language were obtained.

#### *9.3.3.1 Forcing Social Circle Upon a Child is Unnatural for Social Development*

Some parents felt that forcing a social circle on a child simply for the sake of language transmission was unnatural. Some parents reported that certain children would cause culture friction or shock with their own if forced to mix with their own in an explicit manner.

> *#1 (Russian mother): "Yeah, it's too much interference changing your child's social circle. You think it's very effective. You don't do it. However, it's not practical at all to acquire the language.*
> *Ohh, you know, maybe some of them are. I don't wanna say the word, but not* ***too*** *good of a kid to begin with. But we're not just gonna be with them for the language, you know? I don't. I don't feel like doing that."*

Family #1 reported that having tried such an FLS, they reported little to no success of successful language maintenance in Russian. Firstly, they felt that the child may be negatively influenced by the behaviour of other children who did not coincide with the morals of family #1. Additionally, they reported that forcing their child to interact with others would cause the child to rebel, or refuse to communicate with others, simply wasting the time spent with that child attempting to socialise with other speakers of the same language.

#### *9.3.3.2 Forcing an Activity Without Neither Parent nor Child Enjoying it*

Akin to forcing a child to unnaturally mix with other children to have them speak the TL, some parents may simply not take enjoyment in trying to apply a certain FLS with their child, and it may feel too forced upon the family. They may feel it is more beneficial to use their time and resources doing an activity which seems more natural and leisurely, at the cost of successful language transmission.

> *#4 (American mother): They do homework and then you're going to have another sit down. Let's sit down and learn the language. I would much rather be in their leisure time that they're being given resources for play or for reading or something fun. Am I going to, after a long day of Greek where they're really burnt out?---Learning a new language and navigating all of that…. Am I gonna have to sit down and do grammar lessons with them in English, even though I'm qualified to do that?"*

> *#13 (Belarussian mother): "Though I know like some mothers also they're trying to send them to lessons. Also, Russian lesson just for you know for grammar. But I tried that actually, was one, maybe two years, but they were kind of bored and we stopped."*

Similar to how bilingual children may not feel enjoyment from explicit instruction to commit to certain tasks, they may have viewed such interventions from parents as hard work, or not enjoyed committing to such a task, and did not invest their energy into committing to such tasks. Similarly, parents who felt burnt out, or seeing their children feeling burnt out from activities which felt forced upon them decided their children's spare time would be better spent doing an activity that was more enjoyable to them, rather than practical in terms of language development.

### 9.3.4 Unintended FLP: A Plan that Develops Implicitly Despite no Prior Discussion

Other families responded to the question with a mixture of answers, which brought across unique, interesting scenarios from families such as #1 and #12. They were not intentionally planful in how they would approach raising their children multilingually, yet approached their language maintenance and practice with a more, flexible approach with various sources of influences that would dictate how they would approach certain language practices:

> *#1 (Cypriot father) "I think a combination of both is the ideal, you know? Yeah. Nature will take its course, but you need to influence it positively.---So, uh, we didn't actually plan something before, just we, we would say just, you know, speak to him in Russian. I'll speak to him in Greek and from my scientific knowledge, let's say of linguistics, I believe that he's going to pick up both. It's better if you have at least.---The draught structure of how you're going to approach the.---I mean, if you really want him to acquire both languages, you need to have a bit of a plan. I mean, maybe I'm biased because of my experience, but I mean my linguistics experience, but yeah, you need to have at least some sort of plan.---On how to go about it. Otherwise, you you'll lose the critical window."*

Family #1's father had previously read linguistics at the university level and was aware of the critical period of language acquisition in infants. He commented that even though he and his wife and not explicitly planned out any plan before having their child, he was aware of the possible challenges that having a bilingual child would pose compared to that of a monolingual one in Cypriot society, and wished to immerse that child in a positive, multilingual environment, and allow nature to take its course to a certain extent in terms of childrearing, whilst applying a more flexible form of OPOL.

Family #12, however, presented an exceptional case where their first child was diagnosed with autism from a young age, and set out to visit a speech therapist for how to facilitate this child's language capabilities, whilst they committed to their ideological approach for their younger, two other children.

> *#12: "Yeah, we were told to by our language therapist: pick one language and we're in Cyprus. So, we chose Greek that that's what it came down to. So, we were told to stick to the one language so that he doesn't get confused. I mean, he always watched and did the same thing with all of my kids with the when they were younger, they would watch cartoons in English. They would listen to music in English when they were with me. I'd speak to them in English. And my husband did the Greek."*

This approach did not deter her from applying her maternal instincts and wishing to express her emotions, thoughts and feelings naturally in her mother tongue of English. Stating that she was unable to nurture a practice that didn't feel natural to her:

> *#12 (British mother): "A lot of what I do, I kind of just do by accident. I kind of trust my instincts as a mum and I trust my instincts with my language as well and with my teaching everything and I think that that's what the kids pick up on and if and that's why I say to you, I let them choose because if it doesn't feel natural to them.---You can't nurture something that doesn't feel natural.*
>
> *But I think with me that they're more intertwined. I don't really separate them as this is nature and this is nurture. I never think about it like that. I just do what comes naturally to me in the hopes of teaching my children that they speak in the language that comes naturally to them. They, they do what they want in the language that comes naturally and feels more comfortable for them. Then nurture wise: They live in a country, they live in Cyprus where most of the people, if not all the people, speak Greek. Well, most of the people speak Greek as a first language.---And that nurture comes not from me. That comes from where we live."*

In other terms, the family would instinctively apply OPOL as a means of language practice. They would shift to monolingual CG for certain activities to facilitate the advice from the speech therapist to help accommodate their child that was diagnosed as autistic, yet would not interrupt nor deter the conversation should any of their three children wish to code switch or reply in a language different to the one spoken to them in by the parent or relative. The mother elaborated that the nature aspect of language transmission stems from the natural instinct from the parent to raise and communicate to the child, whilst the nurture aspect is from a functionality standpoint from the environment that the child is living in, and the society to which they conform to its rules and regulations, growing up as a lawful citizen, such as going to school and interacting with members of the same society. For this, she elaborated that it is necessary to nurture the societal language of Greek, which is why the speech therapist recommended the autistic child be more exposed to Greek over English, for feasibility of societal integration. The mother would unconsciously counteract this advice in place of her maternal instinct to communicate and raise her children in her mother tongue of English which felt more natural to her. This finding adds onto those found in Jackson's (2009) study, who categorised language

planning between either those parents who had or hadn't discussed prior. One could pose an argument from this finding adds a third category of parents who do not discuss initially, yet slowly reflect on their language practice and add in elements of planning as they observe their child's linguistic development.

### 9.3.5 Discussion: Language Timeline Results: FLP Pre-Planning versus Success

Popular literary sources centred around bilingual-child rearing (King & Fogle, 2006) have advocated the importance for explicit and calculated pre-planning in FLP as a contributor for ensuring child bilingualism is achieved to some degree. There appears to be the consensus of correlation that pre-planning any language intervention may yield a greater likelihood of perceived success in a FLP. The researcher's approach mirrors that of Smith-Christmas (2019), that family-orientated experiences and approaches (strongly linked with positive attitudes to bi-cultural identity) should be a greater indication of success in one's FLP, rather than a measuring on the child's multilinguistic output and intended fluency.

The possibility of a more structured approach as to how to approach using certain languages in various contexts may have pre-informed parents aware of certain pitfalls that could come up as a result of ad-hoc language practice. Furthermore, pre-planning in the eyes of certain families (#1, #4, #5 and #19) was reading extended literature and studies on possible methods on how to approach raising a child in a bilingual household, yet may not have informed their actual planning, or even impacted their actual practice. Family #4 quoted that reading studies on OPOL informed their decision not to implement it as religiously as they would have intended, because they had been prior informed by community gossip that it was seen as a holy grail for bilingual language exposure. In this manner, they approached a more flexible language policy in terms of languages used, yet did not change the actual FLS used in their daily routine on how these languages would be deployed. The fact that those parents with university degrees (or higher) had a tendency to commit to further reading and planning on multilingualism and child rearing gives further evidence that level of education may influence the types of FLS planned and ultimately used in language practice, notably more literacy-based methods, such as restricted technology hours and implementation of secondary language schools. In a way, this evidence of pre-planning bettered the resilience and consistency for such families to adhere to their FLP, rather than give up at the first sight of difficulty, akin to how family #18 advised for parents to play a FLP out for long-term results, not a simple quick-fix satisfaction of target language reproduction. Ultimately, knowing the child's own personality and preferences towards certain language use would be up to them is an admittance that pre-planning and actual implementation of any FLS is an effort that a parent can do to at least try to facilitate language learning, despite it possibly not paying off in the long run at all. These acknowledgements of pre-planning from such families may not have impacted eventual child language output, but agrees with Smith-Christmas' (2019) approach of making more memorable family experiences, through the medium, but not absolute requirement of target language learning.

### 9.3.6 Discussion: The Burden of Adaptation

Those intermarried families with some sort of FLP and discipline to maintain one, despite the challenges (Okita, 2002) are able to achieve some degree of success in language transmission in certain factors, and have a higher potential to achieve a greater success of language transmission, yet this requires cooperation and hard work from both parents, especially those who possess the minority family language. The burden to have one parent (especially the minority language parent) support target language transmission poses a greater risk of lack of failure rather than perceived success. This is evident from the father of family #7, who was unable to transmit Serbian as much as he would have liked since he was absent from home for most of the day, and with no other Serbian speakers around during the critical stages of language acquisition, nor support from his wife in the Serbian language, successful transmission was not completely possible. Other parents commented on how their spouse would jokingly interfere with OPOL by speaking their spouse's minority language, and this would cause arguments about the possible consequences of messing with the child's cognitive differentiation around native language speakers. Ultimately, even if each language speaker in the family is not competent in each other's native language to support a balanced bilingualism, it was recommended by parents to '*share the load*', especially when supporting the minority family language through use of creative FLS in that native speaker's absence, such as use of monolingual films or apps, which could be easily facilitated using electronic translators by the other parent. Through '*sharing of the load*', these families attempted to balance the language input their children could receive, yet this was not always the eventual outcome, as demonstrated by the language timeline ratios.

With the multilingual landscape of Cyprus as a setting for these families to commit to potential adaptation burden, an increased challenge is posed on certain FLS to support minority languages. Whilst not the case for Russian or English, in which a large international presence of native speakers reside on the island (which in turn leads to readily available, authentic Russian/English items for purchase), the challenge lies in supporting less-present minority languages, such as Serbian and Hungarian. Mother #3 cited how helpful it was to have the Early Learning Centre only a couple of minutes' drive away from her hose to purchase the same toys and games for her child that her nephews in the UK would play with, to let her children feel "*at home away from home*". In the instance the minority language parent is absent (for example, Hungarian), yet the spouse wishes to attempt to read a Hungarian storybook to the child in the evening, the probability of finding authentic, Hungarian books or toys in Cyprus is rather scarce. With all foreign material having to be imported from abroad at additional cost, the reliance on community support in situations such as these is critical for parents to stick to their FLP and continue attempting to ensure balanced language input for their child is adhered to. With Cyprus having a prominent presence and popularity of having grandparents look after the child for part of the day, this burden of adaptation could extend to them as well. As quoted by Vallance (2015): "*The only way that heritage language maintenance is to be achieved is if everyone does their part*". Agreeing with this statement, this includes both parents, and the those given a linguistic duty of care to their children in the parent's absence, such as grandparents and schoolteachers.

These data sets from the language timelines support previous studies' findings (Jackson, 2009; King et al., 2008) of bilingual families applying language interventions. Only 50% of the intermarried parents in Jackson's study planned out some form of language interventions with their children, with 50% having no prior plans or discussions about how, when and if they would apply them. Furthermore, this present study correlates with the latter's results, that lack of pre-planning seems to have no impact

on the initial linguistic development of a bilingual child's family languages. These findings support the view (King et al., 2008) that bilingual child rearing is a developmental, implicit process which is a unique experience for each family, having the child and parent learn together, with input exposure from physical presence of parents working together in harmonious linguistic expectation for their children playing a more important role than explicit or overt language planning.

### 9.3.7 Discussion: Impact Beliefs and Laissez Faire Approaches

These results have demonstrated the reality of language planning in bilingual child rearing, that despite it being discussed as an extremely overt and important factor (King & Fogle, 2006) in bilingual child rearing, it is not always initially discussed by parents (incorporating a *laissez-faire* style of FLP), or it could be rejected entirely. Additional to these rejections to plan any strategies are those parents with conflicting attitudes to their spouse with regards to certain languages or applying any sort of FLP. Furthermore, unintentional *laissez-faire* (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013a) planning is a factor that has been observed in this study to have occurred more frequently than pre-planning, driven by the parents' willingness to have bilingualism occur, whether it be orientated around an ideology towards elite bilingualism or bilingual identity facilitation. Additional to this are parents who have decided to commit to a plan extremely strictly, compared to those who have had a plan in mind, yet have adopted a flexible approach to their FLP. These findings of implicit planning are consistent with other studies (Piller, 2006), and especially with those such as King et al. (2008) and Jackson (2009), who reported that a multitude of linguistically intermarried families struggle to implement a rigid FLP due to lack of preparedness, or unwillingness to commit as such.

The third categorisation of unintended implicit planning found in this present study align the notion of language management most similarly with the works of Curdt-Christiansen (2013a), who categorised language management as "*Highly organised intent and planning with regular monitoring of the child's bilingual development, Unreflective parental adaptation depending on the child's prowess with the intended languages* and *Complete 'laissez-faire' attitude to the child's mother tongue(s) development".* These findings demonstrate that most bilingual families prefer to adapt a more fluid approach to language management and planning whilst parenting, and develop some sort of FLP as they go. This concurs with Spolsky's (2019) revised theory of language policy with regards to the pillars of language planning in alignment with power level relations and view of oneself in the family unit. These parents determine their role in the family with regards to the importance of language planning, find an agreement with each other, and make an educated decision as caregivers on whether to implement specific interventions or not, in coordination with their intended language beliefs.

Evidently, instead of believing that having a plan of action ready will prove the focal point whether a child will inherit both family languages, the participants' perception of their role as a good parent (King & Fogle, 2006), and it being "*the natural thing to do*" to allow additive bilingualism to occur was one of the driving factors for wishing to foster a multilingual household. A laissez faire approach as dictated by 11/20 families in this study did not indicate a rejection of family bilingualism, but an ideology that child bilingualism does not need any explicit planning. This is independent to FLS which all families have committed to in both family languages as evidence of all wishing to have the children exposed to some tangent of each parent's heritage language. The notion of believing that one is responsible for the linguistic development is one of the underlying a language ideologies evident in

this data, tied into De Houwer's (1999) theory of impact beliefs as a focal point for bilingual childrearing. The theory is described as either any deliberate decisions to exercise control over the linguistic functioning of a child, or the general belief that a child may pick up their languages naturally from the environment that they live in. As evidenced through Chapter 6, the parents must all reflect on their own roles as transmitters of language and consider using interventions to encourage active bilingualism (in this present study's form of FLS alongside status and corpus planning (King et al., 2008)). In all scenarios, the parents must hold positive attitudes towards the TLs in question and towards their child's active linguistic development. This is exemplified through their willingness to not only commit to an FLP if they have one, but offer advice and facilitation to future multilingual families in Cyprus who may face potential challenges in bilingual child rearing. Having a pre-discussed plan at their disposal only acts as extra evidence towards their positive attitudes to wishing to foster bilingualism in the household, yet is not necessary for committing to any language practice. Implicit language planning appears just as frequently as explicit, fuelled by the parent's desire for their children to all acquire more than one mother tongue.

### 9.3.8 Discussion: Lack of Transmission is '*Criminal*'

Regardless of whether planning was intended or not, there was an overwhelming reported feeling of confusion, anger and disappointment from parents hearing that there do exist multilingual families who do not transmit their mother tongues to their children at all. Often, words such as '*criminal', 'shame', 'sorrow', 'baffled'* and '*confusion'* would come up in the interview process, as the participants would question why a parent's mother tongue could possibly not be transmitted to their child, essentially ridding them of an easy opportunity to acquire a secondary language extremely easily. This confirms the existence of impact beliefs in all participating parents entrusting themselves to at least attempt to transmit their chosen native tongue.

> *#3 (British mother): "For sure. And I think it's really sad when they're in, like, mixed cultures. Couples that are together, for example one is Greek, one is Russian, one is English… And (they) have no idea and they can't communicate in their parent's language I think is really sad."*

> *#6 (British father): "It is a crime with a child not to learn at least the languages of both parents. It is a crime. If your mother's Russian and your father's British, they should learn Russian and British. They should learn the two languages of their parents for sure. That is a must, **plus** the third language, if it's the country you're living in, you can't be born in a country and not speak that country's language."*

The parents of families #3 and #6, both of a similar nationality and culture combination, both comment that it should be almost obligatory to have the children speak both of their parents. Participant #6 further elaborates that it should be compulsory to acquire the national language of the country that the child is living in, to allow them to fit in on a larger social circle, alongside the micro-scale culture of their bi-cultural identity, meaning that it would be criminal in their mind for these types of families not to have trilingual children at the very least.

> *#8 (British mother): "See, I teach many Greek kids whose parents are Greek, English, Cypriots.---and they don't speak at all. They don't have the accent, they are just completely unaware of the English language. And I thought, you know what? I don't want this. And so that's why I*

*told my mum to come and look after him and I was really strict, and I wanted her to talk to him in English."*

The mother of family #8 observed in her profession as an international high school teacher the impact of language loss through bilingual students who have not been sufficiently exposed to both family languages and do not communicate to a native standard, and took inspiration from these observations to deploy the popular FLS of a native speaker grandparent to look after her child when she was not available and expose the child to native, unaccented English, coinciding with the ideology of staying rigid and strict to adhere to an FLP.

*#10 (British mother): "I think it's a crime if there are two languages in the home and only the one language is spoken, I think it's so easy for children to be raised using both, speaking both languages."*

*#13 (Belarussian mother): "You know, shame if he loses this, if I don't give him this opportunity, I mean, he doesn't even need to put any effort in that."*

Parents from families #10 and #13 commented that speaking one's mother tongue to a child requires no serious effort, as natural conversation in one's original language can be an extremely easy process, even if living in a foreign country, justifying their attitudes of '*crime*' and '*shame*' for those unable to transmit their mother tongues to their children.

*#17 (Hungarian mother): "To nicely put it, I'm just confused. I'm just baffled why someone wouldn't want their child to speak their language. Like why would they throw this opportunity away from their children? Or like what? There must be something behind it, some anger. Or resistance or something that they are holding against their culture, their language, their country. I think that holds them back, I believe…."*

Family #17's mother did express emotions of confusion as to why one would not transmit their mother tongue to their child and choose another, yet also questioned the possibility of there being a justifiable reason to one either refusing to transmit, or substituting that mother tongue for a different, secondary language. She quoted that there must be some sort of resentment to one's mother culture, or any matters, corresponding to one's personal phenomenological experiences that have resulted in them choosing to consider shifting language transmission.

These results affirm a positive attitude towards child bilingualism, with the parents expressing such strong feelings to those who chose not to, or failed to adequately transmit a family language. Whilst these parents associate a sense of responsibility to ensure their child is spoken to in their mother tongue, they do not consider social factors that could influence such a decision to undergo language shift, such as those studies pointing towards anxiety or pressure on the minority language speaker (Sevinç, 2022), leading the minority language speaker, or both parents to cease household multilingualism in the hopes that they would alleviate such anxiety from their lives.

Whereas multilingual families in this present study do view minority language loss as a shame, yet acknowledge that there are those who adopt an ideology to act as agents of change in their FLP. Sevinç (2022) sees such reactions from minority/immigrant communities observing minority language loss as a sense of disloyalty to the heritage culture and country, and therefore must incorporate a more folk bilingualism-orientated ideology to feel more connected to their heritage side over the societal language, almost placing extra pressure on those minority language speakers to nurture the

language to ensure transmission takes place. Sevinç (2022) further explain how a dominant country's pressure to adopt to a monolinguistic mindset, and ethnocentricity towards those in an immigrant context (causing them anxiety to adopt to the dominant society's linguistic norms), whereas parents from this present study embraced Cypriot culture, whilst also making an effort to keep cultural ties with their heritage nation, as exhibited by their children's own affiliation with both home and heritage nations when identifying their nationality.

## Concluding Remarks to Chapter 9

This chapter has discussed the implications of adhering to certain FLS in a daily routine, despite some being popularly documented in the literature to be seen as the holy grail of bilingual child rearing. It has also given an insight into the challenges faced by bilingual families in Cyprus when attempting to adopt certain language interventions. This chapter has also discussed the findings from the Activities Pack and interview data in relation to the language ideology of impact beliefs and language planning. The concluding remarks to this thesis are covered in the next and final chapter.

# Chapter 10: Concluding Remarks of Thesis

## Introduction

This chapter summarises the work undertaken to investigate Family Language Policy Strategies within intermarried, multilingual families in the Republic of Cyprus, in tandem with their own, lived-in experiences with multilingualism growing up, and their justifications for choosing to commit to, or avoid choosing certain FLS in their daily routine to foster certain family languages to their children.

This chapter is composed of summarising the central findings that arose from the researcher's data, looking into the researcher's positionality, reflecting on the initial research objectives, the present study's contribution to the current literature, the project's limitations, possible expansion of the current project, and the project's originality and recommendations for future research in the field of FLP.

## 10.1 Central Findings

### 10.1.1 The Family Unit is Key to Cementing an Effective Language Base

This study's results have shown that groups of calculated language strategies based around natural expression and discourse, such as reading fairytales and nursery rhymes before bed, and socialisation with family members of that desired TL, were perceived to be the most popular to incorporate into one's FLP.

Compared to monolingual couples, all the participating linguistically intermarried families involved faced the choice, and subsequent challenges on whether they should have their child grow up bilingually or not in Cyprus. This would include how, when, where and why to use their mother tongues as a method of communicating with their children, alongside acknowledging that additional, globally prestigious languages may also be desirable for their children to acquire at an early stage of CLA.

The families involved in this study highly praised FLS that incorporated use of the inner family language network as a primary transmitter of language, through natural methods of discourse and physical exposure and immersion with the minority/heritage culture. Singing nursery rhymes and reading fairytales in both family languages, having monolingual grandparents look after the child over a nanny, having toys and games brought from abroad, and frequent holidays to the minority language nation all acted as mediators to support the minority family languages. These were reported as easy, non-strenuous, and financially feasible methods to ensure a certain percentage of TL input exposure could be managed, whilst also placing any restraint on the child in terms of explicit instruction. These were forms of natural expression which the child would be able to code-switch between, depending on the person they would communicate to. These FLS highly scored for frequency of use, efficiency and practicality alongside explicit implementation into these families' routines. Parents preferred to

incorporate individuals from within their family/social circle if possible, to provide additional TL input for their children in cases of the majority and minority family languages in cases when the child was not under the care of an educational establishment. Only when necessary, or to facilitate a minority language for educational gain, would they attempt to bring in external help, such as tutors or use of monolingual minority language schools. Ultimately, these were not met with complete satisfaction by nor parent nor child, due to conflicting ideologies, or simply being too strict with how their children's language development should progress.

Not only would such FLS aid in facilitating a chosen language out of sheer linguistic competence, they would aid in immersing the child in as authentic a TL experience as possible by the parents to be connected with their heritage cultures, both dominant and minority, through physical contact with such members of the family language networks. Advances in smart technology allowing such multilingual families to keep in touch with their friends and relatives (home and abroad) so seamlessly would facilitate such a language ideology even further. Making the child feel that their language acquisition journey could be as comfortable, natural and authentic an experience as possible would aid in how they identify strongly and positively with those cultures attached to their parent's native tongues.

### 10.1.2 Bilingualism Opens the Doors to Studying and Working Abroad

The main FLS centred around SPE-orientated language planning in Cyprus are explicit choice of an international, private school to aid fluency in English, alongside extra classes in the minority language should the school offer it. FLS centred around bi-literacy also extend to minority communities in Cyprus opening Saturday schools, hiring specialised tutors, alongside promotion of having the children read as much as possible in their family languages. As noted from this study's results, linguistically intermarried parents do have beliefs about where their child could pursue further study and career opportunities, and the attitudes that their children taking advantage of their gifts of bilingualism will facilitate such opportunities should they so wish to take those opportunities abroad. The language ideology geared towards additive elite bilingualism (Romaine, 2011) for globally prestigious languages (Kahane, 1986) alongside maintenance of any minority heritage languages is a common theme cited by many of these parents. The hope that they could aid in such a way through their FLS so that their children would be accepted by prestigious work and study establishments on the global scale is a testament to their belief that bilingualism truly opens doors for one's prospective career.

### 10.1.3 Impact Beliefs Regarding Language Interventions and the Notion of Good Parenting

As one continues down the list of findings present in Chapter 6, one notices the categorisations of FLS impact their given scores. Those FLS which are seen as individual, lone activities which the child can partake in independently, and lack the element of family cohesion (such as film/TV channel selection, electronic media from tablets and monolingual toys and games) were in the mid-tier scoring range. These individual activities for leisure may not make the parent feel as invested as they would be when physically interacting with their child and spending quality time in their natural native languages of emotion and expression, although they do see how such activities are useful for certain occasions in

the day to keep their children occupied. This links into the notion of striking the challenging balance of feeling responsible for the multilinguistic development of one's bilingual child, whilst also allowing feeling that one is accomplishing the notion of '*good parenthood*' (King & Fogle, 2006) by allowing their children the freedom to explore and construct their own linguistic identity.

FLS all based around explicitly instructing the child to use a certain language for educational or communicative purposes, or to widen their social network for linguistic gain all scored relatively poorly. This leads onto the suggestion that challenges in FLP do exist. Whilst desirable, they could also be problematic in their actual implementation. For example, no available TL networks may be available, time constraints may be imposed on the family (Okita, 2002) to accomplish such tasks, or the concept to have to translate any conversation at the dinner table, or instructing any visiting member to the household to use a certain language could pose a challenge to implement into a family routine, as having to interrupt the flow of family conversation to ensure bilingual input exposure is met may not feel natural at all and cause conflict amongst the parents in whether their language management is too rigid and restrictive.

These findings tie into the current literature of a bilingual parent's perspective of what measures good parenting must be composed of, and ties into the theory of impact beliefs playing a dominant role as a language ideology for these families in Cyprus. They shed further light that the type of language intervention one desires must be carefully thought out in terms of practicality, but also in how invasive and feasible it would be to realistically accomplish in terms of parent-child relationships, rather than simply language transference.

### 10.1.4 Challenges in FLS Must be Considered Before Application

This thesis' results have demonstrated that although a range of language interventions do exist and may seem tempting to use at first (as they could be effective in sheer quantity of language input), they may not always guarantee one's desired results of fluency if they do not associate with one's language attitudes and beliefs (De Houwer, 1999; Kkese & Lokhtina, 2017; Lee et al., 2015). OPOL was reported by the participating families to be a useful tool, alongside the one most prevalent in the current literature, yet was not categorised as the most used FLS in Cyprus due to its impracticality of usage in certain scenarios, especially if both parents were present at once and attempted to implement it with their child . Culture clash amongst intermarried parents, alongside gossip from the outer social circle of some families on how to '*correctly*' raise one's child if they were bilingual were additional challenges encountered by the participants.

## 10. 2 Researcher Positionality and Reflexivity

*"The researcher's position influences what they choose to investigate, how research is conducted, and the results"* (Rowe,2014, in Yip, 2023). Positionality also details how the researchers view themselves and are viewed by others: as an insider or outsider to their participants and potential reading audience. Malterud (2001) demonstrates the importance of the researcher's own personal lives as near-symbiotic in their research as it could dictate in *"what they choose to investigate, the angle of investigation, the methods judged most adequate for this purpose, the findings considered most appropriate, and the framing and communication of conclusions".*

This reflection of positionality could further aid in how connected one feels to their own research aims. Examining, addressing and reflecting on my own positionality in the research context of this doctorate is but one example of a conscious effort in attempting to understand how my positionality as a researcher potentially played out in the entire process of composing the project, particularly shaping the data collection, its analysis and ultimate interpretation. The following section accounts my social context and personal experiences with sociolinguistics in the case of multilingualism and Cyprus.

### 10.2.1 Researcher Positionality in Motivations for this Study

My own motivations for committing to this research project impacted the process of participant recruitment, data collection and analysis in this doctorate long before I formally decided to begin this PhD during the COVID-19 pandemic. Through reflection of my own cultural and linguistic background, I had always been fascinated by the concept of multilingualism and had a natural affection for learning foreign languages as a child. Having been born to British-born parents of Greek Cypriot (GC) ethnicity in London, those being children of Cypriot nationals who had emigrated to the UK in the 1950s, I had witnessed first-hand how my own parents were not truly bilingual, viewed Cypriot Greek (CG) as a part of their natural upbringing and heritage, yet adopted British cultural values as their primary identity. With my sister and I being 2nd generation British-Born Cypriots with English as our mother tongues, I would always develop a sense of fascination and longing for the same competence of proficiency in Greek when I would visit my cousins in Cyprus on childhood holidays. Whilst being born in Cyprus, they had been raised in an international, English-speaking school whilst growing up with their father speaking CG to them and their mother (my mother's sister), transmitting British English to them. They possessed the same accent as me yet could switch to CG instantly. I would even quiz them as a child to say phrases in English, then code-switch immediately into CG. I vividly remember during one set of school holidays, that my mother sent me to Cyprus for a week, and the international school my cousins attended in Larnaca allowed me to take part in their classes for one week. This very school in Cyprus is the American Academy in Larnaca, the same one that some participating parents in this doctorate attended as children, and their multilingual children did in their image. During that week, I thrived in all lessons taught in English (I was set in my cousin's class, two years older than I was at the time), yet drastically felt extremely uncomfortable and out of my depth in the Greek language classes, which were teaching Standard Modern Greek (SMG) as a first language. It was at that point I would question for a long period of time whether I was actually Greek Cypriot, or just English with a Cypriot face. This potentially shaped my research objective to determine whether language and identity played a dominant factor for bilingual, or bicultural children.

I noticed how my own parents tried to help my sister and I keep in touch with our ethnic roots, by sending us to extracurricular Greek school on Wednesday evenings and Saturday mornings, whilst also immersing us in the local Greek Cypriot community in North London. I never truly appreciated my parents' efforts until recently, in them trying to give us some standard of literacy and fluency in our heritage language. At the same time, they confessed that growing up in a British society and being educated in the British education system themselves made them feel more English than GC, and it was only natural for them to raise us with the best standard of education they could afford in the country we were living in, yet they wanted us to acknowledge the fact we were not English by blood, but raised in England with British values with a secondary culture unique only to Cypriots. This contributed to wishing to understand further the modern-day efforts applied by multilingual parents to support their own children's bilingual prowess and identity, and whether the motivations for using such methods, or supporting such languages was in fact different from my own experiences. One could assume this was a further rationale for applying IPA as an analysis tool, to compare my own lived-in experiences with heritage languages to those who were simultaneously bilingual.

I would constantly meet future native bilingual speakers throughout my education and career and 5 years as a languages teacher before committing to this doctorate. These bilingual speakers would be both coworkers and students I taught. The fascination on meeting these speakers rekindled that initial puzzlement on how they could just switch from language to language with no real effort, when I had to go through numerous years of study and practise to learn my secondary languages, and gave me a fascination to find out more, just as I had done with my cousins all those years ago. Upon further reading that such a concept such as Family Language Policy (FLP) existed on such a small scale such as that of the domestic environment for a multilingual family pushed the belief that I could answer that ever-burning question on how it could be truly possible for a child to become a simultaneous bilingual speaker from birth and their natural daily routine with no explicit language lessons from the secondary school level like I had committed to, and one day if I were to have children of my own if it would be possible to replicate the same methods into my lifestyle, whilst fitting with my ideals on why it would be so important to speak more than one language to a high standard of fluency.

This is why this doctorate set out to investigate the strategies and practices used by intermarried parents through an inductive approach to discover which feasible language practices they have used themselves to raise their children bilingually, in such a community where English is not the national language, yet may also be viewed as an additional, globally prestigious language.

### 10.2.2 Participant Recruitment

Yip *(2023)* views a researcher's positionality as a point which could potentially *"affect their access to the participants, as the latter may be more willing to share information with researchers whom they consider to be sympathetic and knowledgeable of their circumstances."* My positionality as a British born, polyglot, modern foreign languages teacher of GC ethnicity played a role in participant recruitment and subsequent data collection.

This research project required 20 families residing in Cyprus of mixed nationalities with bilingual children. Being of Cypriot descent myself and having family residing in Cyprus initially made me believe that it would be more feasible to recruit participants, particularly those with one Cypriot spouse, hypothesising that native Cypriot speakers would feel more open to being interviewed knowing the researcher were able to communicate easier with them. Being aware of the

commonplace stereotype that "*All Cypriots seem to know each other somehow*", I assumed that if I were to commit to one interview, that word would spread in the local communities of the selection criteria.

In fact, my positionality as a former secondary school teacher proved more effective in participant recruitment rather than my heritage and linguistic competence. Having connections from previous schools I had contact with in Cyprus (although no teachers from those schools where involved in the study to avoid a conflict of interest) had word spread of my study to the American Academy in Cyprus and its subsequent Parent-Teacher Association, where the Head of English Studies created an email chain advertising my study through the initial recruitment method outlined in Chapter 3 of this thesis. Through word-of-mouth with several English teachers of the same department of this school, multiple parents offered to take part in the study, alongside the school librarian.

### 10.2.3 Empathy, Assumptions and Understanding of Context

My positionality remained active and evident throughout the data collection process through both cultural and professional ties. Katyal & King (2014, in, Yip, 20203) noted the potential benefit of sharing a cultural identity with one's target research audience could facilitate access to that certain community and could limit potential miscommunication issues or lapses in cross-cultural communication. On the flipside, I would say my positionality of a shared cultural identity with British and Cypriot participants left me with pre-supposed assumptions of how they would raise their children multilingually, and how similarly the FLS used by such parents would be to how I was raised with English as a mother tongue and CG as a heritage language.

Inversely, my positionality presented instances of improving my credibility to the participants, and the subsequent data collected from them. Although at the time of writing I possess no children of my own, my background from the teaching community in the UK and Cyprus assisted with the quality of answers that participants would give regarding the use of literacy-based FLS they would attempt to use with their children, as they were aware I was a qualified professional to teach children and have high standards of teaching and learning for my language learners, irrespective of natural ability level, alongside being practically experienced and trained in meeting language learner outcomes. Knowing that I stemmed from a background of teaching modern foreign languages to younger children and teachers demonstrated I was well-versed in contemporary popular culture that younger language learners would appreciate (after all, teaching in a school is about creating a classroom rapport and learning one's students' hobbies and interests aside from simply teaching content!) would make some participants feel more open in divulging the FLS they would use with their children. This seemingly assisted in participants giving more honest answers rather than superficial ones, and avoiding potential reported biased in how well-versed their children may be in their mother tongues, or if they had indeed committed to certain FLS.

Being of Cypriot ethnicity, although not having been through it myself (as my grandparents had emigrated back to Cyprus in the early 2000's so were not present in my daily upbringing), I could empathise and understand the reasons why the use of grandparents in the Cyprus context was such a popular FLS to use (although I had not previously researched how this would be beneficial for facilitating bilingualism of intermarried families), although what surprised my assumptions was the use of minority-nation grandparents moving over short-term to assist in babysitting for many of the

non-Cypriot mothers, indicating the idea that Cyprus as a location is favourable for bringing up children in a seemingly better quality of life.

Additionally, my positionality as an experienced educator and having committed to prior research in rapport during interviews had participants feel a greater sense of security and ease when narrating their experiences with bilingual child rearing. My positionality further assisted in how, as a researcher, I would allow the participant to freely narrate their own lived in experiences, whilst staying the course of the structured questions I had prepared. Knowing from my background of intercultural studies advises one to acknowledge how the communication, behaviours and actions of one could be motivated as a tangent of their cultural background assisted particularly when interviewing three Hungarian mothers in the study. Having no rapport with one another yet exhibiting similar language ideologies and language practices allowed me to draw parallels with one another, and most importantly give me a set of predictions on how possibly the interviews with the second and third Hungarian mother would pan out after interviewing the first. This assumption turned out to be partly affirmed in terms on how they collectively believed in how an individual was worth as many languages they speak.

My cultural ties with Cyprus made participants feel more open in openly talking about certain brands of shops and locations in Cyprus that they would use, assuming that I had heard about them before being that I was of Cypriot ethnicity. This would aid in not breaking the flow of conversation and allow them to interpersonally recall the toys, books and games they would acquire from some shops (unfortunately some now long gone, such as the aforementioned Early Learning Centre as talked about by mother #3 being a sort of holy grail for acquiring authentic anglophone material for her children in their infancy), without having to explain in unnecessary detail what these were. This would facilitate interviews with native English and GC parents. Naturally, parents of minority nationalities in the study would elaborate further on these materials which may seem foreign to those out of their cultural and linguistic circle.

### 10.2.4 A Researched Relationship

The personal relationship between the participant and the researcher warrants discussion as a legitimate point of positionality in how the eventual study panned out for data collection. One of the participants (mother #12), an experienced English teacher, had grown up with a family member of mine in the UK before emigrating to Cyprus and raising their family there. Whilst the intention of participating may have been out of good will, the quality of answers given may have in fact been improved, knowing there was a personal relationship between my family and hers. This was proven further as they in fact invited me to conduct the research interview at their house to conduct their interview in a more informal setting. This sense of perceived homogeneity in community aided to enhance trust and openness (Merriam 2001, in Yip, 2023) on multiple occasions in the data collection process. can create community and enhance trust and openness throughout the research process.

Perhaps they initially conducted the interview as a sign of friendship to my family member, yet my personal positionality with this interview opened the potential for them to advertise my study openly and very willingly to their colleagues in Larnaca as they were so grateful to have taken part and recalled such fond memories of raising their child (thus largely opening up the recruitment pool). In fact, once the interview had finished, they would show me photographs of their own childhood in

London with my family members, highlighting the fond memories they shared before moving to Cyprus.

## 10.3 Theoretical Implications of Study

This study has affirmed the importance of parental language input playing a dominant role in bilingual child rearing as noted in Chapter 5, with parents possessing positive language attitudes towards elite and additive bilingualism (King & Fogle, 2006) playing a more active role in ensuring they expose their child more to their native tongue. The current literature lists that impact beliefs (De Houwer, 1999) must require some form of positive attitude towards bilingualism, whilst also ensuring that the parent assumes some role in nurturing their children's language development. This present study's results demonstrate that parents rather wish to take a more flexible approach as to how their children should develop bilingually, and report that implementing a range of explicitly instructional language interventions are cumbersome. The parents in this study report that taking responsibility via implementing activities that promote natural conversation and interaction in their family languages without overbearing the child prove much more popular, with the positive intentions of keeping their children in an immersive, authentic cultural environment to their home and heritage nation.

This study further indicates that language practice and ideology (Spolsky, 2004) are interconnected for a successful FLP to be implemented, yet language planning is not necessary to adhere to, or consider prior to having children, for TL development.

This study further contains theoretical implications for answering the call to discover practices other than OPOL (King et al., 2008; King & Fogle, 2013) and carry out further research into bilingual child rearing in order to inform our understanding of more unique and diverse societal attitudes from a range of nationalities and language combinations of linguistically intermarried families. This study offers new data regarding parental practices, alongside the underlying relationships between language, identity and power for parent and child in an under-researched context (linguistically intermarried families in Cyprus).

## 10.4 Practical Implications

The data from this study has demonstrated that for such intermarried families in Cyprus, attaining bilingual proficiency is desired, but not an absolute must for all parents. Furthermore, it has demonstrated that whilst SPE prospects are desirable, the parents feel that their children's happiness and functioning as a happy family is their priority. Parents feel it is their responsibility to at least attempt to communicate to their child in the language which best suits them communicatively and in line with their global view on certain languages, but their main priority appears to be ensuring their child feels comfortable with their identity and fitting in society. It should by intermarried families that balanced, or perfect bilingualism may not be attainable, and that parents should expect realistic results in how they should approach an FLP in line with their daily routine. Culture clash amongst dominant and minority nationalities are a reality alongside conflicting attitudes and beliefs, and this recognition may alleviate any negative thoughts that parents may feel in thinking they failed in committing to certain FLS to have their child attain a TL as a mother tongue.

The data from this study also shows that many nationality and language combinations exist within linguistically intermarried families, even from a country as small as Cyprus. Furthermore, with all FLS scores being reported, future researchers should acknowledge that there is no '*holy grail*' of language practice interventions, or a single way to raise children bilingually. Rather than find a '*one size fits all*' approach to bilingual child rearing, this study has reported on multiple options available to such families, with their language ideologies being subjective to their own lived-in experiences. This data also critically adds onto the popular literature on previous models or interventions of language practice, commenting that it should acknowledge how complex the process of bilingual child rearing truly is, and that it is a process shared uniquely between the parent and child together.

## 10.5 Research Objectives

This study's aim was to answer the following primary research objectives:

Primary Research Objective 1: *To discover which language management and practice methods are used at home by multilingual parents to raise their children multilingually in the Republic of Cyprus.*

Not only did the study succeed in uncovering a range of language practice methods incorporated by intermarried parents at home, in a range of districts in Cyprus, it expanded to report additional methods which are used out of the house in these families' everyday lives and on frequent occasion, such as explicitly selecting a choice of primary, secondary or tertiary education, facilitating bilingualism by spending longer holidays abroad in the heritage nation with family members, and choosing a social circle in Cyprus with language speakers of the same family languages. Furthermore, the range of language practice interventions uncovered have pointed towards the preferences such parents prefer to use, with FLS centred around the inner family network and social contact taking preference over incorporation of external media-based and explicit instruction methods.

The FLS reported also gave an initial insight into Cyprus' adequacy of facilitating minority languages through the perspective of linguistically intermarried parents, some of which worked within international schools, and were able to give their perspective on why they had to choose alternative methods to foster their chosen family languages over others. The study reported on 21 language interventions used by intermarried parents in Cyprus, many of which were not present in the current literature, which demonstrates that multiple methods other than OPOL (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004) and standard discourse-based strategies (Lanza, 1997) are indeed available, yet possibly outdated in terms of current usage, as the FLS demonstrated in this study seemed to be held in higher esteem and used more frequently than OPOL. Families also gave their opinions on the challenges and difficulties faced when using certain FLS, and recommended against using certain methods, due to their practicality, inefficiency or restrictiveness in their FLP.

Primary Research Objective 2: *To discover the language ideologies underpinning such a choice of family language policy from such bilingual families in the target area.*

Ideological themes were uncovered through collection and analysis of the data in this study. The results from this study reported on their language attitudes and beliefs, but geared more towards child bilingualism, and how they viewed it as a valuable gift and near-criminal when not carried out by

linguistically intermarried parents. Should parents have had an explicit FLP in place, they did report on their ideology, wishing for their children to be able to feel accepted, welcome, and identify with both parent's cultures, despite most families having one GC parent, and therefore residing in the societal, linguistically dominant culture. Parents exhibited an elitist-bilingual ideology as to why they wished their children to acquire globally prestigious languages and attain fluency in both their family languages to broaden the horizons their children could achieve beyond living in Cyprus.

The researcher thought it crucial to have families openly discuss through structured interviews as to why certain FLS had been carried out, and add a personal, qualitative touch to the study, with these participants able to give a voice (Guest et al., 2014) to their responses and personify their FLS Activities Pack. Through interview questions focused on IPA, the participants would discuss their own and their children's lived in experiences with language acquisition, bilingualism, and cultural integration in Cyprus to justify and explain why such language interventions, or lack thereof had taken place when raising their children in a bilingual household. Being that becoming a parent is one of the most unique and personal aspects in most people's lives, the researcher thought it adequate to use IPA as an analytical lens to allow participants to freely talk about their children's upbringings, free of theoretical implications and constraints, and give meaningful responses whilst narrating on how they transmitted languages to their offspring bilingually. GIT worked in tandem with this methodology choice to interpret and structure the responses and stories told by the participants and give substance to their answers to best answer the research objectives proposed by the researcher.

Secondary Objectives:

*In accordance with Research Aim 1, this study aimed to uncover:*
*1. Which discourse strategies and practices are used by the parents to facilitate bilingualism when raising their children in Cyprus.*

This study has succeeded in answering this specific research objective by explicitly asking parents to indicate whether they had carried out the FLS listed to them, via an option given in the methodology. Not only were discourse strategies independent from the existing literature commented on, but additional methods not previously seen were cited and commented on by the participants. A total of 21 language interventions were reported during the data collection process.

*In accordance with Research Aim 1, this study aimed to uncover:*
*2. Whether parents have a pre-planned plan of action to influence their children's linguistic behaviour or not.*

Through data collected and organised through NVivo 14, this study has successfully reported how many families explicitly plan out a linguistic plan of action to include any interventions on their children's upbringing. Through formulation of the interview questions in the methodology, parents were asked *Stage 4a, question a)* of the interview questions. If they answered "*no*" to this question, the interview would divert to *Stage 4b* (Appendix B).

This study's results showed that 45% (9/20 families) of the participants had used a preplan of action to facilitate their FLP before their children were able to speak, and those that had committed to some sort of plan experienced greater levels of success of mother tongue transmission and child bilingualism. This, however, was dependent on how active the parental involvement was for both parent and the degree of invested interaction the parents had in their child's bilingual upbringing. Furthermore, other families who did not plan any sort of interventions prior still reported to have

brought up their children to a proficient level of fluency in their heritage languages, albeit not to an authentic native standard. The data from this study also reached a conclusion that language pre-planning was not a necessary tangent of a family language policy for successful bilingualism to occur within the family home.

*In accordance with Research Aim 2, this study aimed to investigate:*
*1. Consciously or unconsciously, why have the parents chosen/used such a strategy to facilitate their children being bilingual.*

Whilst GIT aided in giving the researcher a set of guidelines as to which interview questions to ask the participant, and which parent codes to create to allocate appropriate participant responses to (these codes being centred around these research objectives, whilst the child codes would develop as a process of categorising relevant interview quotes over several analyses per interview), IPA allowed the participants to freely narrate their personal stories in a comfortable and judgement-free manner, as they were asked to simply report on their own, and their children's upbringing with language acquisition, in not only what they did to raise them with languages, but also as to why.

Participants successfully answered as to why they had committed to certain FLS whilst raising their children. Responses ranging from natural instinct, to wishing to give a better communicative opportunity globally, to connecting their children with their heritage, to wanting to facilitate SPE opportunities and study abroad opportunities abroad acted as a justification for imparting reportedly prestigious or global languages were amongst some of the responses given in multiple interviews, which were developed into themes, alongside coded interview quotes to further give evidence of these themes' importance.

*In accordance with Research Aim 2, this study aimed to:*
*2. Discover their ideology attributed to teaching their children their chosen languages.*

Participants successfully reported their view on bilingualism, both on its importance in Cyprus for a child to possess multiple languages, why they chose to proceed with raising their children bilingually over monolingually, and their views on the English language as a global language of prestige. Their views on wishing to ensure they could at least try to help their children acquire both family languages, seeing it as a natural duty of their parenthood links back to the theory of impact beliefs (De Houwer, 2007), and affirms it is present by such families in Cyprus. Discerning these language attitudes was crucial in developing a recurring theme of how parents may have never considered it before, but displayed pride in raising bilingual children, and feelings of despair and sadness for those intermarried families who chose to raise a child monolingually, seemingly robbing them of future SPE opportunities in their later years.

*In accordance with Research Aim 2, this study aimed to:*
*3. Determine whether ideology and identity have an impact on choice of FLP.*

A parallel between identity, authenticity of dual cultures, and language was cited many times during the interview process. Through its popularity, this was generated as a key theme relating to ideology and did affirm there is a clear link between the manner one perceives certain languages, language proficiency and competence at the native standard, and finding one's place in the world as a bi-cultural and bilingual individual. Some parents had experienced feelings of identity shift and confusion of their own as a result of diaspora, bilingualism and intermarriage, and displayed feelings of wishing their children to have a clear view on how they would find themselves in the world. These feelings were recorded in their interview responses and thematically organised as parent codes in the final analysis of findings.

## 10.6 Project Limitations

The methodology for the final study appeared effective in obtaining the desired participant data to answer the research objectives to an acceptable standard. However, upon careful reflection of the methodology during and after the study's completion, a few limitations arose which the researcher would potentially like to rectify for future study:

### 10.6.1 NVivo 14

NVivo 14 was a practical tool for organising all participant data in one interface, yet simultaneously presented an array of practical implications.

The researcher was able to create cases, case classifications and codes with relative ease and assign these codes (both parent and child) for all interviews. The facility of having all the project data neatly organised and accessible through one program was reassuring to the researcher, knowing all the data was clear to access, and to present when monitoring the project's progress. Exporting of all project data for manual analysis into Microsoft Word document format was also incredibly seamless and effective. This was the case for the family profiles, language timelines, code references and interview quotes attributed to the Codebook.

When the program did not unexpectedly crash, the researcher's favourite feature of NVivo was its manual coding process and ability to create an ever-expanding codebook on the go. This proved far quicker to do for large pieces of interview text, rather than doing so by hand, as the ability to quick code any text instantly, and cross-reference it with other interviews in the same project helped to outline overlapping themes in terms of the research questions. The researcher's initial codebook comprised of the primary and secondary research aims (created as parent and child codes) and would constantly create and assign subsequent codes relevant to these sections. Additionally, this would help uncover any salient patterns which the researcher had previously not hypothesised in terms of language identity, ideology and practice.

#### *10.6.1.2 NVivo Limitations*

The researcher hypothesised it would be more feasible to use NVivo as a method to store, streamline, access and ultimately analyse data. This assumption turned out to be partly true, as the researcher encountered several difficulties with the importation of data into NVivo, and actual real-time use of the program when organising and trying to analyse using said program's automatic features.

Regarding data importation, an initial challenge which presented itself was the lack of availability of the NVivo Transcript Feature on the paid version which the researcher had access to. The researcher pre-planned this by learning how to convert raw video and audio file interview data from Microsoft Teams and Microsoft Stream into a transcript through Microsoft Word Online. 300 transcript minutes were available to be obtained every month with a Microsoft 365 account. The transcripts generated were not always accurately transcribed and required manual correction.

Through the data collection process, the transcript option became available to the offline version of Microsoft Word, yet presented the additional hassle of having to import the Microsoft Word

transcripts into NVivo into a format it would recognise and synchronize with the audio/video files, whilst also recognising timestamps, and differentiating between each person speaking in the interview. The pilot study had the researcher manually separating the Word transcript by timestamp, tab, speaker and line, before converting into a *.txt* file for NVivo to accept. Even if one second of a timestamp was out of sync, NVivo would not accept the upload. This would cost the researcher hours of additional manual correction per interview to have NVivo simply accept a transcript's raw text format before even coding would commence through the program. Through an online converter [1], the process was made much easier, but speakers would not be differentiated by NVivo and would be included as part of the interview text. The research rectified this by just manually coding the selective pieces of text that aligned with a certain code. Once a transcript was finally uploaded and accepted into NVivo 14, the researcher attempted to synchronise the audio/video with the correct interview text, for the NVivo Autocode function to analyse speech patterns and thematise additional codes both automatically and manually.

Regarding actual usage of the program once data had been imported, it was possible to add additional Microsoft Word, Excel, PDF, *.mp3* and *.mp4* files to each family's case, although addition of *.mp4* video files would drastically increase the project file size and cause considerable slowdown whenever NVivo would open. On multiple occasions, NVivo would unexpectedly crash when coding interview transcripts, and progress would be lost. In this instance, the researcher enabled the autosave function to avoid further instances of lost data and time, but this meant disabling the '*undo'* feature, which seemed rather counter intuitive should any errors be made when accidentally deleting any content or errors made. The researcher created multiple backup copies of the project in case of a total program crash.

Regarding practical implications of theme identification, the researcher was overall disappointed with the NVivo Autocode function (SEE APPENDIX O). When transcripts were initially analysed through this method, themes were not developed, but rather the program would highlight words that were repeatedly cited in the interview but not suggest these as a theme of any sort. When analysing transcript language, the Autocode function would incorrectly categorise the transcripts' sentiment as either '*Positive', 'Neutral', or 'Negative'* examples of language. These had no connection to positive, neutral nor negative language attitudes nor ideologies, and did not contribute to successfully completing the research objectives on a participant's view on child bilingualism. Instead, the program would highlight the semantics of individual words whether they would be positive or negative, irrespective of context. This would offer no benefit in answering whether one's ideology towards bilingualism or language skewed a certain method, and ultimately the Autocode data was not used for final analysis of this research project.

It proved more effective, and less time consuming to manually analyse the interview data by manually creating and attributing codes to an interview quote, then creating manually typed summaries of each family's interview, and cross-referencing these summaries to discover overlapping language ideologies and FLP, through the lenses of GIT and IPA. IPA conclusively ended up as more of a major overlapping theme of justifying language ideology for the researcher to use as a base for each interview, to answer the second primary research objective as effectively as possible, with GIT as a tool to find overlapping secondary themes between the 20 participants as extra rationale as to why participants adopted certain FLS in their children's linguistic upbringing.

In reflective conclusion, the researcher's experience with NVivo deems it to be best suited for a researcher to create a manual codebook and manually drag and drop interview data into a code they

[1] https://securityessentials.github.io/Teams2NVivo/

created that is most applicable to their research aims. It is also a convenient method to view and organise multiple sets of relevant data for individuals/cases/groups. The researcher would not recommend NVivo for projects or raw files demanding large storage space, as it appears the program's capacity to seamlessly switch and load such files causes unexpected computer crashes (multiple computers were tested in this process). Finally, the researcher would not recommend NVivo's automatic feature of qualitative coding of data, due to its own limitations in deeming what should be highlighted or analysed in terms of sentiment. The researcher would instead recommend NVivo's suite of manual coding tools to extract what they deem relevant and have the individual's own intuition, methodology and positionality analyse said extracted data.

### 10.6.2 GIT

There were initial concerns when devising which methodology to approach the study with to obtain a holistic view of FLS usage and presence in Cyprus. With GIT being completely inductive, and the topic of FLP warranting further research on a global standpoint, let alone little to no previous research in Cyprus at all, it was a challenge on which key themes the researcher intended to use as an initial basis for data collection. Applied Thematic Analysis, or Inductive Thematic Analysis (ITA) may be an alternative method of analysing interview data to identify key concepts and ideas, with previous qualitative having used NVivo (Fereday et al., 2006) alongside ITA. Whilst GIT may be tailored for any means of research and contains many factors similar to ITA in terms of flexibility, ITA is more qualitatively orientated and may require more rigidity in seeking to discover sets of themes in a piece of text or extract, which would be unfeasible for this study's first research objective of quantitatively discovering FLS in Cyprus. It is feasible, however, for analysing interview data with regards to developing understanding of language attitudes and ideology. It has been used as a useful tool for qualitative research in identifying outlying patterns in datasets both large and small (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Fereday et al., 2006; Guest et al., 2014; Proudfoot, 2023; Spiers & Riley, 2019).

### 10.6.3 Participants

Participants' responses were entirely reported during the study to their own perception. At no point before or after the data collection phase, nor analysis, were participants questioned on the validity of their responses, or whether they had given biased answers, such as the parent claiming they used certain language practices with their children that may have been untrue in context. They were reassured during the interview process to be as truthful as possible in their responses, and to feel free at any time to have their record responses omitted or skip a question if they did not wish to answer it. At no point during any interviews did a participant refuse to answer a question.

Regarding participant recruitment, initially, it proved challenging to locate participants in Cyprus willing to participate in the study. Around 40 families expressed their initial interest in participating in the study, yet only 25 of these families completed the participation forms and consented to take part in the study with their signature on the CNBC ethics forms. The 25 participants who sent their consent forms and wished to participate replied in a timely fashion. It would be desirable for future study to expand a participant pool of 50-200 participants nation-wide.

With only 20 finalised, selected participating, intermarried families that fit the inclusion criteria to elicit successful responses, it still presented a limited sample of a larger picture of bilingual families in Cyprus, and did not claim to be a holistic representation (Wilson, 2019) of all intermarried couples in Cyprus. It is also worth noting that this study has examined parental bilingual language ideology through a phenomenological lens and naturally, every participant's experience with language can vary from person to person, family to family, and culture to culture. These factors naturally have shaped each family's FLP uniquely and differently (Savikj, 2017).

Akin to previous studies and dissertations on child bilingualism, (Ojha, 2020; Wilson, 2019, 2021), it would also be desirable to include both young and adult bilingual children in Cyprus for future study. Should such participants be recruited for future study, I would also, suggest incorporation of the language portrait methodology (Ou et al., 2023; Soares et al., 2020; Thuy Dam, 2023). Through this methodology, multilingual children highlight, or colour in percentages on a diagram or silhouette (Busch, 2018) how much they attribute to certain cultures, nationalities and languages. This may also be done by the creation of unique flags which the child would be asked to colour in, which best represents their identity allocation. The use of image, colour and picture as a form of conversation starter and basis on which to begin a conversation with the bilingual child as to why they decided to create their language portrait the way they did.

## 10.7 Originality of Study and Recommendations for Future Study

This study was the first of its kind in Cyprus to investigate language management and practice through FLP involving intermarried families of all nationalities and language combinations and communities. Relatively few published studies exist which focus on discovering multiple methods and strategies themselves in FLP in Cyprus (Karpava, 2024; Karpava et al., 2022; Ringblom & Karpava, 2019). The author found it important to shed light on the existence of multiple strategies that people may not be aware of and bring these into the limelight and call for further studies on these discovered and seemingly popularly used FLS.

It was also one of the first studies of its kind to have participants justify language strategy use through IPA, which worked effectively in having multilingual parents reminisce on their own lives and how it played in important role in determining which practices their children would take part in, and why it was so important to the parent, based upon their heritage.

It is also important to acknowledge that this study reported on language practices reported from the period of 2021-2024. It has given a glimpse of strategies that may not have been initially heard of in previous literature which has synthesised language practices, and technology and its seemingly endless array of content in all languages extremely accessible from all corners of the world. Future research should aim to monitor how FLS will continue to evolve as technology evolves and its accessibility to the public increases, and whether this would have any impact on language progress, and how attitudes towards multilingualism may shift due to future diaspora of certain communities and their accompanying languages.

The field of FLP is still relatively new and needs constant, contemporary research to broaden its horizons. Completing a study such as this one in such a small country, yet with a plethora of intermarried, multilingual families using innovative methods to raise bilingual children opens a realm

of possibilities for the undiscovered, unresearched FLS that may exist in larger, multicultural, international countries, such as the UK and the USA.

It is highly recommended that future research continues to be conducted to discover which FLS are being practised worldwide in the domestic family environment, and that their importance realised in how they play such a crucial role in facilitating mother tongue development, be that monolingual or bilingual. As humanity progresses into an age where one becomes more dependent on electronic devices for communication, it would be fascinating to discover how once, traditional methods of child-language rearing evolve to adapt with the times. Additionally, observing the developmental shift of parental language ideology with this evolution in technology, and increase in the number of multilingual families worldwide would prove supplementary in aiding one to gain a more holistic, modern understanding of FLP and its inner workings on the small culture scale.

## Concluding Remarks of Thesis

This study has provided an insight into the practices actively incorporated by intermarried parents in Cyprus to raise their children bilingually with either both the parent's original mother tongues, or with additional, globally prestigious languages. Various methods were cited in how the parents attempt to achieve this goal of child bilingualism, with their own experiences of childhood and multilingualism seemingly influencing their own practice with their children. GIT alongside IPA revealed the recurring themes of real-life challenges that modern-day parents face when attempting to adhere to an FLP, alongside their very positive attitudes to the concept of a child being bilingual unlocking the potential to achieve greater successes in their social, professional and economic world, in addition to the freedom of being able to move country for study or work purposes with multiple fluent languages under their repertoire.

Although posing a challenge from the stresses of everyday life, and opposing, stereotypical ideologies to contradict belief that language confusion may occur should a child be raised bilingually, parents in Cyprus remained largely positive to commit to adhering exposing their children to both their family languages by committing to certain activities monolingually or bilingually to mediate input exposure in these TLs. With so many parents incorporating the use of selectively choosing monolingual or international schooling, monolingual grandparents as childminders over day-care centres, and actively using nursery rhymes and stories in both family languages, further research is advised to be carried out on these prevalent strategies in a multilingual context to determine how effective they truly are in aiding an intermarried family in raising their children to their desired level of mother tongue fluency in both languages, whether they be dominant, minority, heritage, or additional to the parents' mother tongues, as all observed in this doctorate's study.

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# Appendices

## Appendix A: FLS Activities Pack

Dear participant,

A warm welcome and thank you ever so kindly for your precious time to partake in this research project at the University of Central Lancashire!

You are an amazing couple of parents who have brought something extremely unique into this world: *a child with the potential to become bilingual and able to switch languages at will!* My question is: "***How is this process happening***?". This is a phenomenon that merits our research and attention into how this transference of multiple mother tongues happens!

At a time that is convenient for you, we will arrange an interview either via video call or face to face to openly talk about your experiences regarding the upbringing your of children multilingually (with more than one language at home).

Please find attached the following, and send back to me at your earliest convenience:

1. **Activity 1: The family profile:** *Please fill in the small table with the details required*
2. **Activity 2: The family language strategies chart:** Please fill in the entire chart and answer the questions available. If you can remember doing any of these actions for either language, please tick the box! Even if you have never done this strategy yourself, please fill in the criteria based on how you think they would fare in terms of frequency, effectiveness, and practicality. You are welcome to elaborate with extra comments in the provided section space.
2. **Activity 3: The family language timeline:** Following the example timeline given on the first page, please*, in as much detail as you wish (and truthfully to avoid bias) fill in the timeline with the languages and activities you believe your child is exposed to on an average day.* If you have multiple children, you may choose one child to follow for this task.
4.. **The CNBC consent form:** This study has been approved by both the University of Central Lancashire (UK) and the Cyprus National Bioethics Committee. Should you require the certifications of approval I am happy to send you a scanned copy.
*Please fill in and sign the consent form to give your permission for your participation in this study.* A kind reminder that your data will be anonymised for this study, as is outlined in the consent form.

Withdrawal from this study is completely optional and bears no penalties or ill-will towards the parties involved.

I look forward to hearing back from you and thank you once again for your time!

A.Kakoullis

PhD candidate at the University of Central Lancashire

Family Profile

| Parent 1 - MOTHER | Parent 2 - FATHER |
|---|---|
| Nationality<br><br>Years lived in Cyprus (if not born in Cyprus)<br><br>Education Level<br><br>Occupation<br><br>Mother tongue(s)<br><br>Preferred language(s) of communication (if different from mother tongue)<br><br>Main language of communication with partner<br><br>Main language spoken with child/ren<br><br>Comments | Nationality<br><br>Years lived in Cyprus (if not born in Cyprus)<br><br>Education Level<br><br>Occupation<br><br>Mother tongue (s)<br><br>Preferred language(s) of communication (if different from mother tongue)<br><br>Main language of communication with partner<br><br>Main language spoken with child/ren<br><br>Comments |

*Which languages would you consider as your household's family majority/minority or heritage languages here in Cyprus, considering Greek & Turkish are the island's official national languages? Do you also use English as an additional foreign language in your household as a family language?*

| Majority | Minority/Heritage | English as an Additional Language? (Add: Y/N) |
|---|---|---|
| | | |

Language Planning/Practice – Strategies

*Here is a list of some family language strategies that exist in society. If you can remember doing any of these actions for either language, please tick the box! Even if you have never done this strategy yourself, please fill in the criteria based on how you think they would fare in terms of frequency, effectiveness, and practicality. You are welcome to elaborate with extra comments in the provided section space.*

Definitions of Terms:

Frequency of Use: *Please give a score of 1-5 of how often you would use this strategy (hypothetically or if you do actually use it). 1 being the least often and 5 being the most often.*

Effectiveness: *Please give a score of 1-5 for each one depending on how well you (would) believe it would work to help your child learn that specific language. 1 being the least effective and 5 being the most effective.*

Practicality: *Please give a score of 1-5 depending on how practical you believe the strategy would be to use for your family languages and in your, and your child's daily routine. 1 being the least practical and 5 being the most practical.*

| | Have you ever done this strategy? (Tick Y/N) | Which of your family language (s) was it used for? | Frequency of use (1-5) | Effectiveness (1-5) | Practicality (1-5) | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Allowing the use of an iPad/tablet/media device with apps/games in the language of your choice | | | | | | |
| 2. Allowing YouTube videos exclusively in the language of your choice | | | | | | |
| 3. At the dinner table, each parent would exclusively speak their language to their child and expect a response in that chosen language. | | | | | | |
| 4. Buy toys and games only available in target language for the child to play with | | | | | | |
| 5. Choosing a babysitter based upon which languages that person would speak | | | | | | |
| 6. Ensure your child only watches television shows/films in the language of your choice | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7. Ensuring your child's social circle from a young age is with same speakers of the language you choose. | | | | | | |
| 8. Instructing family members to only use one language at a time when communicating with your child. | | | | | | |
| 9. **OPOL** ( Having one parent speak their chosen language to their child and the other in theirs in all scenarios) | | | | | | |
| 10. Playing educational games, such as flashcards and number training exclusively in your chosen language. | | | | | | |
| 11. Playing music and singing nursery rhymes/songs in the language of your choice | | | | | | |
| 12. Reading stories/books to your child in the language of your choice | | | | | | |
| 13. Sending your child to a specific nursery school/primary school/secondary school whether it be a monolingual/international environment. | | | | | | |
| 14. Sending your child to extracurricular activities (sports/clubs etc) tailored to the language of your choice. | | | | | | |
| 15. Having the child's grandparents look after the child for a portion of the day | | | | | | |
| **16. Other?** | | | | | | |

*Please answer in as much detail as you would like, and elaborate on extra paper if you wish:*

a) *If you could only pick three of these strategies to use daily, which ones would they be, and why?*

_____

_____

b) *Is there any strategy on this list doing that you would categorically <u>not</u> recommend doing?*

_____

_____

c) *At home, can you recall any actions you would naturally/specifically do when raising them with your family languages?*

_____

_____

d) *When out of the house, can you recall any actions you would naturally/specifically do to ensure they speak a certain language?*

_____

_____

e) *Can you recall any actions which you have specifically carried out regarding your child's education and them learning a specific language?*

_____

_____

f) *How big of a role do you believe that choice of your child's education in Cyprus will affect which languages they will learn and to what extent?*

_____

_____

## Language Maintenance/Practice – The Language Timeline

Alongside the family profile you have completed, this language timeline is an approximate representation of what language input your child is exposed to during an average day's activity, and to what extent. *Please look at the example language audit of a bilingual Italian-Greek child below*:

Child's Age: *4 years, 5 months*

Languages spoken by child: *Greek, Italian, English*

Parent 1's preferred language of communication *Father, Italian*

Parent 2's preferred language of communication: *Mother, Greek*

Parents communicate to each other in: *English*

Date language timeline is recorded: Friday *12th April 2022*

| Time of Activity | Activity | Other people involved in activity | Language(s) used during activity | Further Comments |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *06:30* | Breakfast and morning cartoons | Mother | English (cartoons)<br>Greek (mother and child) | TV is on in the background whilst mother communicates to child in Greek during breakfast. |
| *07:00-7:30* | School run | Father | Italian (father and child)<br>Greek (car radio) | Child responds in Greek |
| *7:30-14:30* | Primary school-lessons and breaktimes | Teachers, classmates | German, Greek, English (teachers and classmates) | Certain lessons are delivered solely in Greek or English, aside from the German lesson which is delivered in Greek. Child mixes with English speakers during breaktimes. |
| *14:30-15.00* | School run | Grandfather (maternal) | Greek | Radio is also in Greek. Parents work full time so grandfather does the after-school run |
| *15:00-18:30* | Afternoon meal, play on iPad and nap | Grandparents | Greek (grandparents)<br>English (iPad) | iPad is banned from the table, child must communicate with grandparents and after plays by themselves with iPad. Nap is one hour. |
| *18:30-19:00* | Pick up | Father | Italian | |
| *19:00- 20:00* | Homework | Father | Italian (father to son)<br>English (homework instructions) | Mother intervenes with Greek homework if necessary. However, she works late and Father usually does homework with child. |
| *20:00-21:00* | Evening meal | Both parents | English | Common language of English is used between family to discuss about day's events. |
| *21:00-22:00* | Pre-bed routine | Mother | Greek(mother)<br>English (iPad, storybook) | Child plays on iPad for 30mins. Mother then gets child ready for bed (bathe/brush teeth/storybook/bed) |

On the next page, following the example table given, in as much detail as you can and as truthfully as possible, please record:

| Reference code (for researcher use only: |
|---|
| |

- The time of the activity. If the activity takes place over several hours, please group the times together (e.g. *14.00-17.00 – after-school sports club*).
- The timetabled activity carried out
- Any other persons involved in the activity
- The language used by the child (and other persons/sources present during the activity)
- Any further remarks you would like to make.

Child's Age: _____

Languages spoken by child: _____

Parent 1's preferred language of communication: _____

Parent 2's preferred language of communication: _____

Date language timeline is recorded: _____

| Time of Activity | Activity | Other people involved in activity | Language(s) used during activity | Further Comments |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 06:00 | | | | |
| 07:00 | | | | |
| 08:00 | | | | |
| 09:00 | | | | |
| 10:00 | | | | |
| 11:00 | | | | |
| 12:00 | | | | |
| 13:00 | | | | |
| 14:00 | | | | |
| 15:00 | | | | |
| 16:00 | | | | |
| 17:00 | | | | |
| 18:00 | | | | |
| 19:00 | | | | |
| 20:00 | | | | |
| 21:00 | | | | |
| 22:00 | | | | |

## Appendix B: Interview Questions

Stage 1 - Family Profile

| Parent 1 | Parent 2 |
|---|---|
| Nationality<br><br>Years lived in Cyprus (if not born in Cyprus)<br><br>Education Level<br><br>Occupation<br><br>Mother tongue(s)<br><br>Preferred language(s) of communication (if different from mother tongue)<br><br>Main language of communication with partner<br><br>Main language spoken with child/ren<br><br>Comments | Nationality<br><br>Years lived in Cyprus (if not born in Cyprus)<br><br>Education Level<br><br>Occupation<br><br>Mother tongue (s)<br><br>Preferred language(s) of communication (if different from mother tongue)<br><br>Main language of communication with partner<br><br>Main language spoken with child/ren<br><br>Comments |
| *Which languages would you consider as your household's family majority/minority or heritage languages here in Cyprus, considering Greek & Turkish are the island's official national languages? Do you also use English as an additional foreign language in your household as a family language?* | |

| Majority | Minority/Heritage | English as an Additional Language? (Add: Y/N) |
|---|---|---|
| | | |

Stage 2 – Language Planning + Practice – Contextual background of the multilingual child

a) *How old is your child/How old are your children?*
b) *Which languages did you always want your child to speak no matter what?*
c) *Which languages does your child currently speak at home daily?*
d) *Do you believe your child is truly 'fluent' in both their family languages?*
e) *Does your child currently learn or speak any other languages aside from their mother tongues?*
f) *Are there any languages your child can speak more fluently than you do? How is this the case?*

Stage 3 – Ideology towards FLP/Language Attitudes/ Language Planning:

*a) Language Attitudes towards Bilingualism*

I. *What are your views on bilingualism?*
II. *What are your views on having a multilingual child in Cyprus today?*
III. *How important is it to you ensure sure your child speaks your family minority language as a mother tongue?*
IV. *Do you feel an extra sense of responsibility and pressure to have your child speak your family minority language alongside the majority language? Why/Why not?*
V. *If someone were to ask your child what their nationality is, how do you think would both you and they respond?*
VI. *What are your views on the presence, and possible importance of the English language in Cyprus? Do you feel it is important for your child to speak this language as fluently as possible alongside their family languages?*

b) *When your child was born, or during pregnancy, did you have any desire about which languages you wanted your child to speak?*

c i) Did you plan out HOW you would do this? - Yes, they had a plan!

I. *Please describe this plan.*
II. *Did you feel that you stuck to this plan, and it turned out successful?*
III. *Why have you chosen this plan of teaching these languages to your child?*
*(For example, some people choose for ease of communicating with family members. Others consider the social and economic benefits of knowing a certain language etc.)*
IV. *What advice would you give to aspiring/new parents of mixed nationality to bring up their child multilingually?*

c ii) Did you plan out HOW you would do this? - No, they didn't have a plan!

I. *Why did you decide not to have any specific language plans when raising your child? Did you just want to go with the flow* ***or*** *were you not aware if family language plans exist?*
II. *Do you think it is realistically possible to plan and nurture which family languages your child will fluently speak, or do you think nature should just take its course?*
III. *Do you think planning could prove beneficial in acquiring family languages?*
IV. *What advice would you give to aspiring/new parents of mixed nationality to bring up their child multilingually?*

Stage 4– Language Planning/Practice – Strategies (If not completed in 1st phase)

*Here is a list of some family language strategies that exist in society. If you can remember doing any of these actions for either language, please tick the box! You are welcome to elaborate with extra comments in the provided box.*

Definitions of Terms:

Frequency of Use: *Please give a score of 1-5 of how often you would use this strategy (hypothetically or if you do actually use it). 1 being the least often and 5 being the most often.*

Effectiveness: *Please give a score of 1-5 for each one depending on how well you (would) believe it would work to help your child learn that specific language. 1 being the least effective and 5 being the most effective.*

Practicality: *Please give a score of 1-5 depending on how practical you believe the strategy would be to use for your family languages and in your, and your child's daily routine. 1 being the least practical and 5 being the most practical.*

| | Have you ever done this strategy? (Tick Y/N) | Which of your family language (s) was it used for? | Frequency of use (1-5) | Effectiveness (1-5) | Practicality (1-5) | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Allowing the use of an iPad/tablet/media device with apps/games in the language of your choice | | | | | | |
| 2. Allowing YouTube videos exclusively in the language of your choice | | | | | | |
| 3. At the dinner table, each parent would exclusively speak their language to their child and expect a response in that chosen language. | | | | | | |
| 4. Buy toys and games only available in target language for the child to play with | | | | | | |
| 5. Choosing a babysitter based upon which languages that person would speak | | | | | | |
| 6. Ensure your child only watches television shows/films in the language of your choice | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7. Ensuring your child's social circle from a young age is with same speakers of the language you choose. | | | | | | |
| 8. Instructing family members to only use one language at a time when communicating with your child. | | | | | | |
| 9. **OPOL** ( Having one parent speak their chosen language to their child and the other in theirs in all scenarios) | | | | | | |
| 10. Playing educational games, such as flashcards and number training exclusively in your chosen language. | | | | | | |
| 11. Playing music and singing nursery rhymes/songs in the language of your choice | | | | | | |
| 12. Reading stories/books to your child in the language of your choice | | | | | | |
| 13. Sending your child to a specific nursery school/primary school/secondary school whether it be a monolingual/international environment. | | | | | | |
| 14. Sending your child to extracurricular activities (sports/clubs etc) tailored to the language of your choice. | | | | | | |
| 15. Having the child's grandparents look after the child for a portion of the day | | | | | | |
| **16. Other?** | | | | | | |

*Please answer in as much detail as you would like, and elaborate on extra paper if you wish:*

*If you could only pick three of these strategies to use daily, which ones would they be, and why?*

_____

_____

*Is there any strategy on this list doing that you would categorically <u>not</u> recommend doing?*

_____

_____

*At home, can you recall any actions you would naturally/specifically do when raising them with your family languages?*

_____

_____

*When out of the house, can you recall any actions you would naturally/specifically do to ensure they speak a certain language?*

_____

_____

*Can you recall any actions which you have specifically carried out regarding your child's education and them learning a specific language?*

_____

_____

*How big of a role do you believe that choice of your child's education in Cyprus will affect which languages they will learn and to what extent?*

_____

_____

Stage 5 - Reflection - Language Management/Practice

a) *Are there any fond memories or anecdotes you can think of where languages were involved bringing up your child?*
b) *Do you feel you have used a certain language without thinking whenever you have been happy or angry to your child?*
c) *When your child was happy/angry/tired/hungry, can you remember which languages they would respond in?*
d) *Did you ever reward your child when they tried to speak in the language you wanted them to communicate in?*
e) *When you were having a conversation with your child in a select language, and they switched to a different language. Did you interrupt the conversation to insist they spoke the language you wanted them to?*
f) *Did you ever mix languages together in conversation when all together as a family? Did this feel more natural?*
g) *Please recount one instance where either you or your partner experienced communicative difficulties when communicating in your household languages with your child. This can include the exclusive language that your partner speaks and that you do not.*

Stage 6 - Reflection – Language Practice - Multiple children in the family

**a)** *Do you have any other experience bringing up more than one child with more than one language?*
**b)** *Do you think the quality of language learnt by your children is affected when there is more than one child to bring up? has this happened in your case?*
**c)** *If you were ever planning to have another child, would you do things differently regarding languages? Bearing in mind that you are around more than one child this time round.*

Stage 7 - Reflection C- Critical Thinking for the future- Language Planning

a) *Is there anything you regret not doing during this period of infancy regarding languages?*
b) *Are there any aspects of language learning that you feel you could currently & realistically change at home to learn a certain language even more effectively?*
c) *Are you satisfied with the way you have brought up your child with these languages?*

d) *Are you proud that your child can speak your family languages fluently?*

e) *If you could go back and start again, would you have done anything different to try and teach your child any languages?*

Notes:

## Appendix C: Advertisement Flyer to Recruit Participants

### ARE YOU A PARENT WITH A DIFFERENT NATIONALITY TO YOUR PARTNER AND ARE CURRENTLY LIVING IN **CYPRUS**?

- **Does your child speak more than one language fluently?**
- **Which languages have they learnt from you whilst growing up?**
- **Which language do they use if they're hungry / tired / happy / playing?**
- **Which language does your child *dream* in?**
- ***How did this amazing process all happen***?

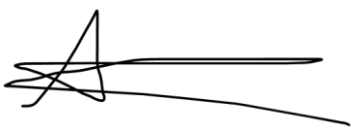
Can you relate to these questions? If so, you are parents who have brought something extremely special into this world: *a child with the potential to become bilingual and able to switch languages at will!* This is a phenomenon that merits our research and attention into which methods this transference of multiple mother tongues can occur within the family environment, especially during the crucial, early years of child language acquisition.

As part of a PhD study at the **University of Central Lancashire**, we are looking for **multilingual**, **mixed-nationality families** who are upbringing or have brought up a child with multiple languages from birth to share their experiences on how they managed to do so, and whether they had planned to use any **certain methods** or **strategies** to assist them.

At a time that is convenient for you, we will arrange an interview either via video call or face to face to openly talk about your experiences regarding the upbringing your of children multilingually (with more than one language at home).

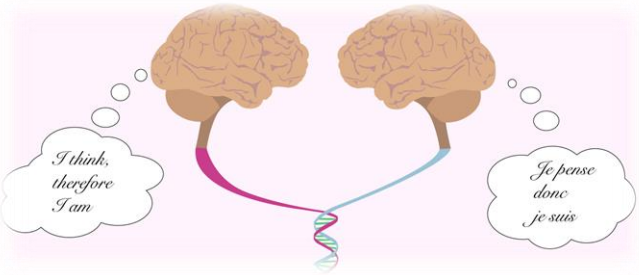
If interested, please contact: **ajkakoullis@uclan.ac.uk** or call/message **+357 99746649** for further information.

I look forward to hearing back from you and thank you once again for your time!



*A.J.Kakoullis*

*Lecturer & PhD candidate at the University of Central Lancashire*



# Appendix D: Ethical Considerations - CNBC Consent Form of Participation

When recruiting participants via social-media networks and presenting the research project in secondary schools, a disclaimer was given stating that as much personal data would be anonymised for the study, and that only the participant's occupations, education level, nationality and years living in Cyprus would be classified as low-risk personal information to be shown in the study. Those that registered their interest in the study were sent a digital or physical copy of the consent form alongside a welcome letter. It is noteworthy to mention that volunteers contacted the researcher to register their interest after seeing the adverts. This demonstrated that participants did not feel pressured to take part and that their participation was voluntary. The consent form was created using the CNBC template and outlined the study's purpose, full duration, any risks involved to any parties taking part and contact details of the Director of Study should there be any matters that arose. The form stated how the data would be processed, stored, and subsequently destroyed through its lifespan, and how any personal data would be used when publishing and presenting the final thesis. Participants were assured in this form that no minor would have to partake in the interview. It was assured that all names of parents and children when transcribed would be anonymised with reference codes and initials when used in appendices or quoted in the Presentation of Findings Chapter of the thesis. Both the consent form and welcome letter also stated that withdrawal from the study was completely optional and available to the participant should they wish to before data collection took place. The consent form had to be signed either by hand or electronically before a date could be set for the interviews.

No child or vulnerable group was subject to any activities that would place them in a harmful situation. No child was physically involved in neither the recruitment, nor the data collection stages, including the interviews. Any information concerning the participants' children expressed by the parents themselves was regarding their linguistic competence only, and all sensitive information was anonymised. This was clarified in the consent forms distributed to the parents.

Once the interviews took place, participants were again reassured of the ethical procedures before any questioning took place, but this time reassured by the researcher in real-time. They were given the option to refuse to answer any question should they feel uncomfortable to do so (Lowes & Gill, 2006), and should they not wish for their voice to be recorded, then the option was available for the researcher to manually transcribe their answers verbatim. Participants were assured to feel as comfortable as possible (Legard et al., 2003) and to answer in as much detail as they felt fit to do so and end the interview whenever they felt free, even if all questions had not been asked.

Given that this research centred around participants', and their children's lived-in experiences, the researcher considered levels of intrusiveness and ease of answering, and ensured the participants saw the interview as an enjoyable and positive experience and build a rapport of trust (Kvale, 1994), as they would recall fond and happy memories of how their children grew up. Consideration was taken to add in interview questions asking the parents to recall funny stories or anecdotes about language mishaps between them and their children to lighten the atmosphere, to make the interview process a thoughtful and positively memorable experience, alongside beneficial for the research project. Consideration was given to adhere to the participants' schedules and lifestyles, and the researcher did not impose any strict deadlines for the Activities Pack to be submitted and ensured

that the participants could find a time, date, and location most suitable for them to conduct the interview. This is why e-meetings were added as an option for the interview, as some participants would only have a few hours free in their schedule and could partake in the interview from the comfort of their own home without the need for travel or unnecessary delay. In person meetings were offered in public or private spaces, with many participants offering for the in-person interviews to take place in their home and consenting to being recorded with a microphone. This was to allow the interview process to flow as smooth as possible (Roulston et al., 2003).

A section included in the consent form also informed readers on how the study would not only benefit the participants, but future generations of multilingual families by discovery, discussion, and promotion of interesting and previously unexplored FLS. The participants were informed that due to Cyprus being a small community, preservation, and awareness of contemporary FLS could only seek to further aid new families who may feel a need to plan yet feel initially lost in how to raise their children bilingually for whatever reasons they see fit. In this instance, the researcher wanted the participants to give their own advice to aspiring multilingual parents on how to effectively raise children with an FLP, as their wealth of experience from their own trials and tribulations provided an extra depth of expertise. The willingness and openness from these participants in sharing their own personal life stories about their childhood, their lives in Cyprus, and how they had brought up their children with multiple means of FLS demonstrates that they were appreciative to be given the opportunity to discuss multiple aspects about their family life which was so personal and unique to them.

Consent Form:

| Research proposal title |
| --- |
| **Investigating Family Language Policy Strategies in Multilingual Families in Cyprus** |

| Principal Investigator of the proposal/project you are invited to participate in |
| --- |
| Mr Alexander John Kakoullis - University of Central Lancashire UK (Cyprus Campus) |

| Duration of the project |
| --- |
| January 2022- June 2024 |

| Brief description of the project (outline the procedure and purpose) |
| --- |
| To enrich the relatively new and emerging field of Family Language Policy (FLP), this study will contribute data for future generations of parents who wish to raise their children bilingually. The primary objective of this research is to determine which language planning strategies are used by multilingual parents to raise their child with more than one language. This is in accordance with their beliefs about language ideology and reflecting on their eventual language practice.<br><br>Mixed-marriage families welcome parents with different mother tongues, possibly communicating via a unique lingua franca. The bilingual children of such parents welcome numerous possible language combinations during the crucial stage of initial language acquisition.<br><br>Determining a causal link between a parent's belief, or ideology to language learning, and discovering the way multilingual parents communicate and foster initial bilingual learning for their children may harbour a link to why some languages are preferred over others by the parents.<br><br>This qualitative study will interview 20 multilingual parents on their language practices used at home and their daily lives in an effort to promote certain languages being spoken by their children. |

| Details of any risks that may exist or any inconvenience that participants may incur |
| --- |
| This is classified as a minimal risk study.<br><br>The only physical risk associated with this study is possible transmission of the COVID-19 virus if adequate safety measures are not followed. The only face to face contact with any participants will be adhering to all COVID-19 restrictions in order to minimise any transmission of the disease, should the interviewer or participant test positive. There will be no physical touching of one another, and both interviewer and interviewee will wear a facemask and maintain social distancing of two metres. Hands are to be sanitised before the interview. The interview will take place in a well-ventilated and sanitised area adhering to University Guidelines if the participant wishes to do the interview face-to-face.<br><br>There is also the risk of a breach in confidentiality, should a participant being interviewed in an online format be overheard by their child or another individual. However, it shall be insisted that these online interviews will take place in a private setting with a secure internet connection from my end. This is to maintain the confidentiality of their answers, should they so wish to remain anonymous.<br><br>There is a minimal/no risk of psychological/emotional distress. The interview questions have been carefully prepared to minimise/avoid any such stress. One of the interview questions asks the participant to recall the means on how their child learnt a certain language. This may elicit uncomfortable memories only if the participant went through a difficult period in their life through this time. The participant is free to avoid such a question in this case.<br><br>The participant will be debriefed about these issues before any interview takes place.<br><br>There is no penalty or discrimination for reconsideration not to partake in the study. |

| Details of what data will be collected or generated for you within the project, who will have access to them and for how long |
| --- |
| All data requested will only be accepted if the participant has given specific consent for their education level, nationality, languages, and children's languages to be included in the study for quantitative reasons. No data will be sought, stored, processed, or used without the participants' consent.<br><br>No personal details of participants are divulged which could lead to any implication or incrimination. All personal data is anonymised to protect the participants' identity. All actions will adhere to the legal framework of both the UK and the Republic of Cyprus. |

By answering a selection of prepared interview questions, the participants will be invited to share personal stories on the manners in which they communicate to their child multilingually to have the child become bilingual. They will be expected to discuss the possible strategies used to have the child learn a certain language in a country where these languages are not widely spoken in the community, in addition to their opinions on why they have chosen such a manner of doing so.

Data will be collected via questionnaire, a timeline of daily language input, and via face to face or video interview. The proposed start date of data collection revised is July 1st, 2022 until January 31st 2023.

During processing of data, the principal investigator will be the only one who has access to the data. Once the data is anonymised, transcribed, evaluated and printed for a thesis, it will be available for reading if the dissertation is printed publicly and presented at conferences.

The original, raw data will be fully destroyed by December 2024 latest once the PhD is complete with no changes.

## Expected benefit for participants

There is an expected educational benefit for participants. Knowing that there are varying methods to transmit mother tongues to children may inspire these participants to adopt such methods and facilitate ease of communication should they wish to have more children.

## Expected benefit for researchers and/or sponsors

Educational purposes only. Interview data from a small sample alone will greatly benefit the field of FLP to look through the perspective of how a multilingual family communicates in a previously unexplored area.

This research allows us to discover which language management strategies could be seen as the most effective in terms of bilingual competence.

| Site and total duration of data collection expected under this research proposal |
| --- |
| The data collection will take place in the Republic of Cyprus, in an open-aired space of the participant's choosing so that they may feel comfortable. This may include coffee shops, their homes, or a communal space. The estimated total time of data collection per interview is 2 hours maximum. |

| Description of relevant procedures in handling the data and personal information of participants who choose to withdraw from the study prior to its completion. |
| --- |
| Informed Consent is to be obtained by written methods with the attached consent form from the Cyprus Bio National Ethics Committee. The form may be sent to me electronically or handed in person.<br><br>All records of the signed consent form will be kept in a safe place for future reference.<br><br>Regarding data storage, all physical paper data, namely paper formats of language audits, family profiles, or any notes taken during the interview process will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in the investigator's home until it is ready to be destroyed.<br><br>All computer data including participant lists, recorded voice interviews, transcribed scripts, and electronic formats of the family profiles and language audits will be saved to a private computer, in a password-protected folder.<br><br>Should any interviews take place via video call, all persons involved in the interview will be asked for their consent to continue with the interview in this format and will be advised that their interview will be recorded, and again saved to a password-protected file only. This password protected file will be stored on the University of Central Lancashire's secure online server as per the university guidelines.<br><br>Any electronic data which backed up onto an external hard drive (kept in a personal locked filing cabinet) shall be also transferred and uploaded to the secure online server.<br><br>All electronic data is set to be processed through the program NVivo 11. This program is only accessible by the investigator's university, password encrypted account.<br><br>In December 2024, which is approximately 6 months after the projected end-date of the PhD, all data, both physical and electronic, once evaluated and analysed and is no longer required for research purposes, shall be destroyed. A 6-month extension period from June 2024 is required in case any changes are required by the UCLan exam board for the final PhD submission. |

Any physical papers containing personal or anonymous data will be shredded, and any electronic files shall be formatted and deleted, containing no trace of personal data. All data drafts processed through NVivo will be erased from any cloud and domestic server.

There is no penalty or discrimination for reconsideration not to partake in the study.

| Full contact details and title of the person to whom participants can submit complaints or grievances regarding the programme they participate in. |
|---|
| akanikli@uclan.ac.cy – Dr Antri Kanikli- Director of Studies<br>pharries@uclan.ac.uk – Dr Pauline Harries- PhD Secondary Supervisor |

| Full contact details and title of the person whom participants can contact for more information or clarifications about the research programme. |
|---|
| Mr Alexander John Kakoullis<br><br>ajkakoullis@uclan.ac.uk |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Surname: | ..... | Name: | ..... |
| Signature: | Please check the box as proof of your consent to participate: ☐ | Date: | |

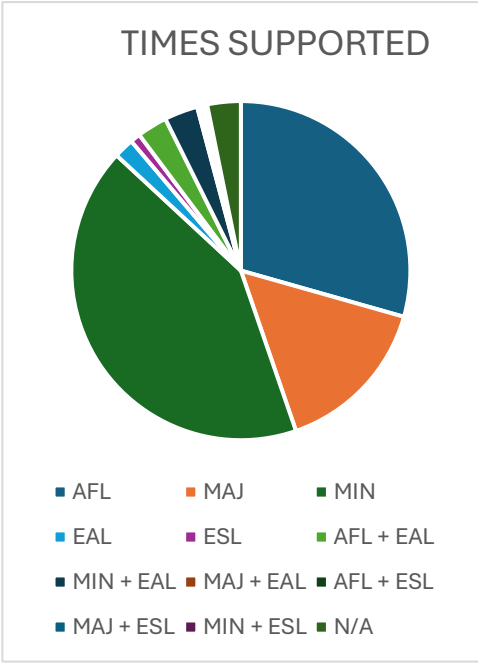
# Appendix E: FLS Master Table

| Participant # | Q1 DS | Q1 WL | Q1F | Q1E | Q1P | Q2 DS | Q2 WL | Q2F | Q2E | Q2P | Q3 DS | Q3 WL | Q3F | Q3E | Q3P | Q4 DS | Q4 WL | Q4F | Q4E | Q4P | Q5 DS | Q5 WL | Q5F | Q5E | Q5P |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 CN | Yes | AFL + EAL | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | AFL + EAL | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | AFL | 3 | 2 | 5 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 RM | Yes | MIN | 3 | 3 | 5 | Yes | MIN | 3 | 2 | 5 | Yes | MIN | 1 | 3 | 1 | Yes | MIN | 2 | 2 | 5 | | | | | |
| 5 IT | Yes | AFL + EAL | 4 | 5 | 5 | Yes | AFL + EAL | 3 | 5 | 5 | Yes | MIN | 3 | 5 | 3 | Yes | MIN | 3 | 5 | 4 | | | | | |
| 6 GT | Yes | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | AFL | 1 | 3 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7 ZP | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Yes | MIN | 2 | 2 | 4 | Yes | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| 8 ED | Yes | MIN | 2 | 3 | 2 | Yes | MIN | 4 | 5 | 5 | | | | | | Yes | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| 9 SH | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Yes | MIN | 2 | 5 | 2 | Yes | MIN | 2 | 5 | 3 |
| 10 CM | Yes | MIN | 3 | 4 | 3 | | | | | | Yes | MIN | 2 | 5 | 2 | Yes | MIN | 4 | 4 | 4 | Yes | MIN | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| 11 KS | Yes | MAJ | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | MAJ | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | AFL | 3 | 3 | 4 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 12 CM | Yes | MIN | 4 | 4 | 4 | Yes | MIN | 4 | 4 | 4 | Yes | MIN | 4 | 3 | 2 | Yes | MIN | 4 | 4 | 4 | | | | | |
| 13 VK | Yes | MIN | 4 | 4 | 5 | Yes | MIN | 4 | 4 | 3 | | | | | | Yes | MIN | 2 | 3 | 3 | | | | | |
| 14 EM | Yes | AFL + EAL | 2 | 4 | 1 | Yes | MIN | 4 | 3 | 3 | Yes | AFL | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | AFL | 3 | 4 | 3 | | | | | |
| 15 ST | Yes | MIN | 3 | 5 | 4 | Yes | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | AFL | 3 | 4 | 4 | Yes | AFL | 3 | 4 | 3 | Yes | MAJ | 3 | 5 | 5 |
| 16 JH | | | | | | | | | | | Yes | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | MIN | 4 | 3 | 4 | | | | | |
| 17 RBP | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Yes | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | MAJ | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| 18 KL | Yes | MIN | 4 | 4 | 4 | Yes | AFL | 3 | 4 | 4 | Yes | AFL | 5 | 5 | 5 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 19 EP | Yes | AFL | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | AFL | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | AFL | 3 | 3 | 2 | Yes | MAJ | 4 | 4 | 4 | | | | | |
| 20 IL | Yes | MAJ + EAL | 1 | 3 | 4 | Yes | MAJ | 2 | 3 | 3 | | | | | | Yes | ESL | 3 | 4 | 3 | | | | | |
| AVERAGE SCORE | | | 3.5714 | 4.2143 | 4.0769 | | | 4.1667 | 4.3333 | 4.5 | | | 3.1667 | 3.8333 | 3.3333 | | | 3.3077 | 3.84615 | 3.84615 | | | 4 | 5 | 4.6667 |
| AVERAGE SCORE PERCENTAGE | | | 67 | 79 | 78.94737 | | | 72.94118 | 80 | 83.52941 | | | 66.31579 | 68.42105 | 62.10526 | | | 65.88235 | 75.555556 | 74.444444 | | | 65.333333 | 80 | 63.75 |
| DONE STRATEGY? | 70 | | | | | 65 | | | | | 60 | | | | | 70 | | | | | 30 | | | | |

| Q6 DS | Q6 WL | Q6F | Q6E | Q6P | Q7 DS | Q7 WL | Q7F | Q7E | Q7P | Q8 DS | Q8 WL | Q8F | Q8E | Q8P | Q9 DS | Q9 WL | Q9F | Q9E | Q9P | Q10 DS | Q10 WL | Q10F | Q10E | Q10P |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Yes | AFL | 4 | 4 | 2 | N | MIN + EAL | 5 | 5 | 1 | | | | | | Yes | AFL | 2 | 3 | 1 | | | | | |
| Yes | MIN | 1 | 2 | 5 | Y/N | MIN | 3 | 5 | 5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | MIN | 3 | 5 | 4 | Y | MIN | 4 | 5 | 5 | | | | | | Yes | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | MIN | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| Yes | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Yes | AFL | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| Yes | MIN + EAL | 2 | 4 | 5 | | | | | | Yes | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 | | | | | | Yes | MIN | 2 | 4 | 4 |
| Yes | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 | | | | | | | | | | | Yes | MIN | 5 | 4 | 4 | Yes | MIN | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| Yes | MIN + ESL | 2 | 5 | 5 | Y | AFL | 4 | 5 | 4 | Yes | MIN | 4 | 5 | 5 | | | | | | Yes | AFL | 3 | 4 | 3 |
| Yes | MIN | 4 | 4 | 4 | Y | MIN | 4 | 5 | 4 | Yes | MIN | 4 | 4 | 3 | Yes | AFL | 4 | 5 | 3 | Yes | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Yes | MAJ | 5 | 5 | 5 | | | | | | | | | | | Yes | AFL | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | AFL | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| | | | | | Y | AFL | 3 | 3 | 2 | Yes | MIN | 5 | 5 | 4 | Yes | MIN | 5 | 4 | 4 | Yes | MIN | 4 | 3 | 3 |
| Yes | MIN | 3 | 4 | 4 | | | | | | | | | | | Yes | AFL | 5 | 3 | 4 | Yes | AFL | 3 | 5 | 4 |
| Yes | AFL + EAL | 3 | 3 | 3 | | | | | | Yes | AFL | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | AFL | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | AFL | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Yes | AFL | 3 | 5 | 3 | Y | AFL | 2 | 4 | 3 | Yes | AFL | 3 | 3 | 3 | Yes | AFL | 2 | 3 | 5 | Yes | AFL | 3 | 5 | 5 |
| Yes | MIN + EAL | 4 | 4 | 4 | Y | MIN + EAL | 4 | 2 | 2 | Yes | AFL | 4 | 4 | 4 | Yes | AFL | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | MIN | 3 | 4 | 3 |
| | | | | | Y | AFL | 4 | 5 | 5 | Yes | AFL | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | AFL | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | AFL | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Yes | AFL | 3 | 3 | 3 | Y | AFL | 4 | 3 | 4 | Yes | AFL | 3 | 4 | 5 | Yes | AFL | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | AFL | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Yes | AFL | 4 | 4 | 3 | Y | AFL + EAL | 3 | 5 | 4 | Yes | MAJ | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | AFL | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| | | | | | Y | MAJ | 4 | 4 | 4 | Yes | MAJ | 5 | 3 | 2 | | | | | | Yes | MIN | 3 | 4 | 4 |
| | | 3.4 | 4.1333 | 4 | | | 3.6364 | 4.2727 | 3.5455 | | | 4.3 | 4.5 | 4.4 | | | 4.4615 | 4.3846 | 4.3077 | | | 3.8667 | 4.5333 | 4.3333 |
| | | 64.21053 | 78.94737 | 75.78947 | | | 76.47059 | 81.11111 | 71.11111 | | | 74.11765 | 72.22222 | 67.77778 | | 100 | 84.70588 | 84.44444 | 82.35294 | | | 73.68421 | 85.26316 | 82.10526 |

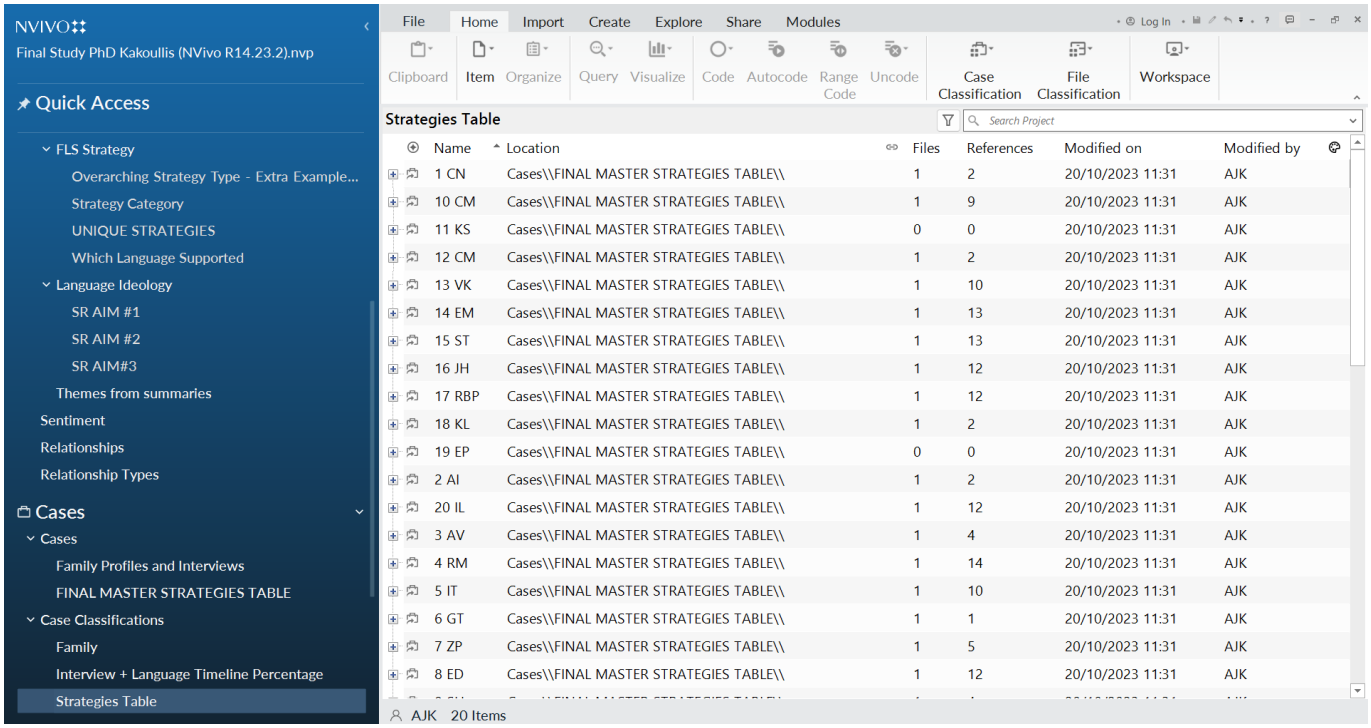
| Q11 DS | Q11 WL | Q11F | Q11E | Q11P | Q12 DS | Q12 WL | Q12F | Q12E | Q12P | Q13 DS | Q13 WL | Q13F | Q13E | Q13P | Q14 DS | Q14 WL | Q14F | Q14E | Q14P | Q15 DS | Q15 WL | Q15F | Q15E | Q15P | Q16 DS | Q16 WL | Q16F | Q16E | Q16P |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Yes | EAL | 3 | 3 | 2 | Yes | AFL | 2 | 3 | 3 | Yes | MIN | 1 | 5 | 1 | | | | | | Yes | AFL | 5 | 5 | 3 | Y | MIN | 5 | 5 | 3 |
| Yes | MIN | 5 | 4 | 5 | Yes | MIN | 2 | 3 | 4 | Yes | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 | | | | | | Yes | MIN | 5 | 5 | 4 | Y | MIN | 5 | 5 | 4 |
| Yes | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | MAJ | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | MIN | 1 | 5 | 5 | Yes | MAJ | 5 | 5 | 5 | Y | MIN | 1 | 5 | 5 |
| Yes | AFL | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | AFL | 3 | 4 | 2 | Yes | AFL | 3 | 5 | 3 | | | | | | Yes | MAJ | 4 | 5 | 5 | | | | | |
| Yes | MIN | 1 | 3 | 3 | Yes | MIN | 1 | 3 | 4 | | | | | | | | | | | Yes | MAJ | 5 | 5 | 5 | Y | MIN | 3 | 4 | 4 |
| Yes | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | AFL | 4 | 4 | 4 | Yes | MAJ | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | MIN | 3 | 3 | 2 | Yes | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 | Y | MIN | Unassigne | Unassigne | Unassigne |
| Yes | AFL | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | AFL | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | MAJ | 1 | 3 | 3 | Yes | MIN | 4 | 4 | 5 | Y | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Yes | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | AFL | 5 | 5 | 5 | | | | | | Yes | MAJ | 4 | 4 | 4 | Y | MIN | 2 | 5 | 3 |
| Yes | MAJ | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | AFL | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | AFL | 5 | 5 | 5 | | | | | | | | | | | Y | MAJ | 1 | 4 | 2 |
| Yes | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | AFL | 5 | 5 | 4 | Yes | MAJ | 2 | 3 | 3 | Yes | MAJ | 4 | 5 | 3 | Y | MIN | 2 | 5 | 5 |
| Yes | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | MAJ | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | MIN | 3 | 3 | 3 | Yes | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 | Y | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Yes | AFL | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | AFL | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | AFL | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | AFL | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | MAJ | 1 | 5 | 5 | Y | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Yes | AFL | 3 | 5 | 5 | Yes | MAJ | 4 | 5 | 3 | Yes | MAJ | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | MIN | 3 | 5 | 4 | Yes | MAJ | 5 | 5 | 5 | Y | MIN | 3 | 5 | 3 |
| Yes | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | MIN | 3 | 4 | 3 | Yes | MAJ | 4 | 5 | 5 | Yes | EAL | 2 | 5 | 5 | Yes | MAJ | 5 | 4 | 5 | Y | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Yes | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | AFL | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | MAJ | 5 | 5 | 5 | | | | | | Yes | ESL | 5 | 5 | 5 | | | | | |
| Yes | AFL | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | AFL | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | AFL | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | AFL | 3 | 5 | 4 | | | | | | Y | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Yes | AFL | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | MAJ | 4 | 5 | 4 | Yes | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | MIN | 4 | 4 | 4 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | MIN | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | MAJ | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | MAJ | 5 | 5 | 5 | Yes | MAJ | 4 | 4 | 4 | Y | MIN + EAL | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| | | 4.5294 | 4.7059 | 4.7059 | | | 4 | 4.4706 | 4.2353 | | | 4.5625 | 5 | 4.5625 | | | 2.7 | 4.1 | 3.8 | | | 4.4286 | 4.7857 | 4.5714 | | | 3.6154 | 4.8462 | 4.1538 |
| | | 89.47368 | 92.63158 | 93.68421 | | | 81.05263 | 89.47368 | 85.26316 | | | 91.76471 | 98.82353 | 90.58824 | | | 72.94118 | 84.21053 | 75.78947 | | | 88.42105 | 93.68421 | 90.52632 | | | 76.66667 | 98.33333 | 86.66667 |
| 90 | | | | | 90 | | | | | 85 | | | | | 55 | | | | | 75 | | | | | 75 | | | | |

| TYPE OF LANGUAGE SUPPORTED | TIMES SUPPORTED |
|---|---|
| AFL | 92 |
| MAJ | 48 |
| MIN | 132 |
| EAL | 6 |
| ESL | 3 |
| AFL + EAL | 9 |
| MIN + EAL | 10 |
| MAJ + EAL | 1 |
| AFL + ESL | 0 |
| MAJ + ESL | 1 |
| MIN + ESL | 1 |
| N/A | 10 |
| TOTAL RESPONSES | 313 |




| Strategy | Average | Average | Average | Averag | Averag | As a pe | Averag |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 70 | 3.35 | 3.95 | 3.9474 | 3.749133 | 74.98267 | 74.474 |
| 2 | 70 | 3.6842 | 3.9474 | 4.1053 | 3.9123 | 78.246 | 76.053 |
| 3 | 70 | 3.3158 | 3.4211 | 3.1053 | 3.280733 | 65.61467 | 66.053 |
| 4 | 75 | 3.2778 | 3.73684 | 3.68421 | 3.566283 | 71.32567 | 74.3421 |
| 5 | 30 | 3.29412 | 4.0556 | 3.2778 | 3.542507 | 70.85013 | 47.778 |
| 6 | 85 | 3.2105 | 3.9474 | 3.7895 | 3.649133 | 72.98267 | 80.395 |
| 7 | 55 | 3.8889 | 3.8947 | 3.4211 | 3.7349 | 74.698 | 61.711 |
| 8 | 60 | 3.7059 | 3.6111 | 3.889 | 3.735333 | 74.70667 | 68.89 |
| 9 | 70 | 4.2778 | 4.1053 | 4 | 4.1277 | 82.554 | 75 |
| 10 | 90 | 3.6842 | 4.2632 | 4.1053 | 4.017567 | 80.35133 | 86.053 |
| 11 | 100 | 4.4737 | 4.6316 | 4.6842 | 4.5965 | 91.93 | 96.842 |
| 12 | 100 | 4.0526 | 4.4737 | 4.2632 | 4.263167 | 85.26333 | 92.632 |
| 13 | 90 | 4.6316 | 4.9474 | 4.5789 | 4.7193 | 94.386 | 90.789 |
| 14 | 65 | 3.5789 | 4.2105 | 3.7895 | 3.859633 | 77.19267 | 70.395 |
| 15 | 85 | 4.4211 | 4.9842 | 4.5263 | 4.643867 | 92.87733 | 87.763 |
| 16 | 75 | 3.6154 | 4.8462 | 4.1538 | 4.205133 | 84.10267 | 79.038 |

# Appendix F: Samples of Collected Family Profile Data on NVivo 14



## Family Profiles: Parent Nationality

| Family | Father Nationality | Mother Nationality |
|---|---|---|
| 3 AV | Greek Cypriot | British |
| 8 ED | Greek Cypriot | British |
| 9 SH | Greek Cypriot | British |
| 10 CM | Greek Cypriot | British |
| 11 KS | Greek Cypriot | British |
| 12 CM | Greek Cypriot | British |
| 1 CN & MR | Greek Cypriot | Russian |
| 15 SE | Greek Cypriot | Russian |
| 20 IL | Greek Cypriot | Russian |
| 16 JH | Greek Cypriot | Hungarian |
| 4 RM | Greek Cypriot | American |
| 18 KL | Greek Cypriot | American |
| 13 VK | Greek Cypriot | Belarussian |
| 2 AI | Greek Cypriot | German |
| 5 IT | Greek Cypriot | Lithuanian |
| 17 RBP | British | Hungarian |
| 6 GT + AT | British | Greek Greek Cypriot |
| 19 EP | Russian | Ukrainian |
| 14 EM | Greek | Hungarian |
| 7 ZP | Serbian | Greek Greek Cypriot |

## Family Profiles: Education Level

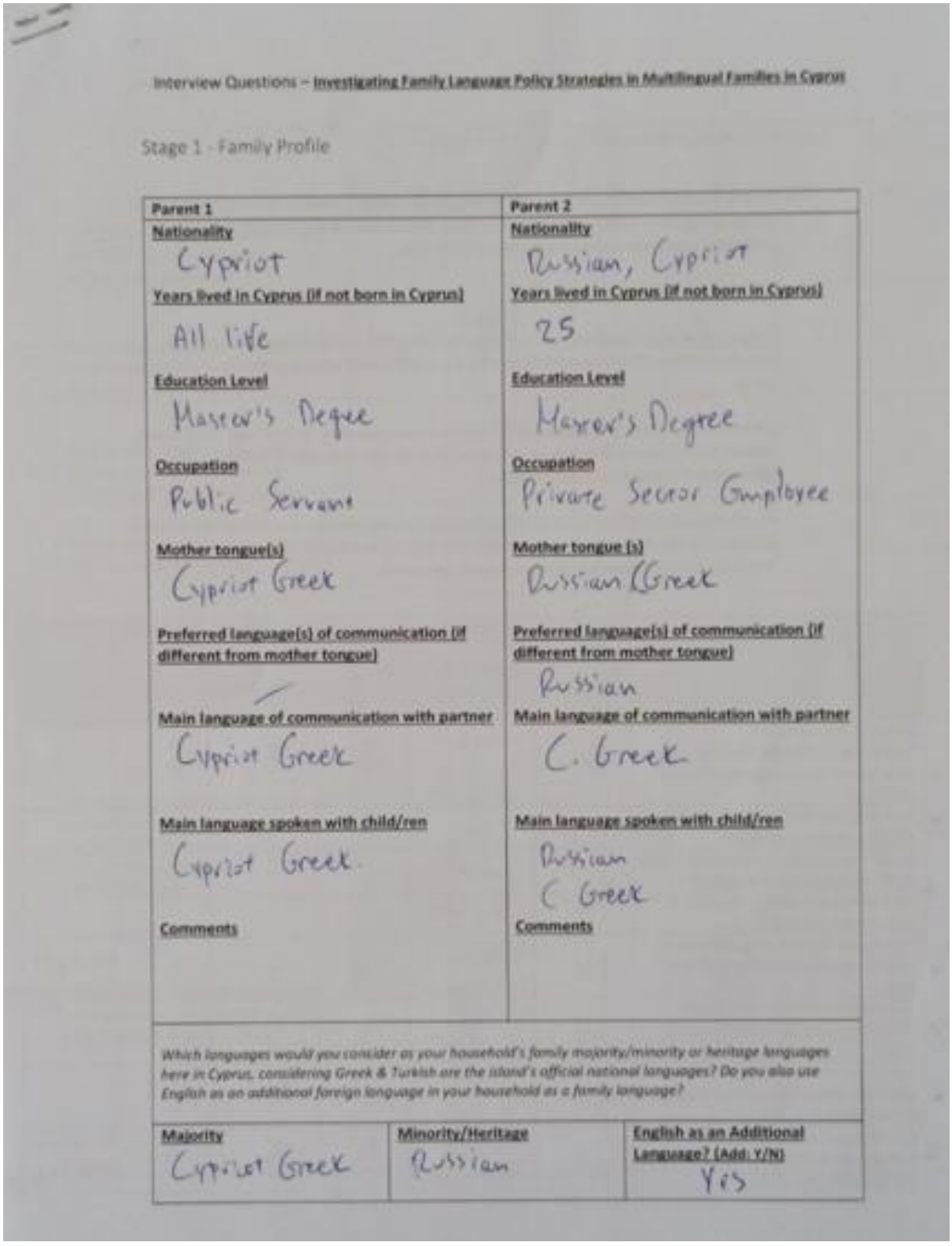
| Family # | Father Education Level | Mother Education Level | Explicit and Planned FLP or Not |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Masters | Masters | FLP Pre-Planned |
| 2 | Bachelors | Bachelors | No Pre-Planned FLP involved |
| 3 | Bachelors | Secondary School Diploma (or equivalent) | No Pre-Planned FLP involved |
| 4 | Secondary School Diploma (or equivalent) | Bachelors | FLP Pre-Planned |
| 5 | Masters | Masters | FLP Pre-Planned |
| 6 | Bachelors | Secondary School Diploma (or equivalent) | FLP Pre-Planned |
| 7 | PhD | Bachelors | No Pre-Planned FLP involved |
| 8 | Bachelors | Masters | No Pre-Planned FLP involved |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 9 | Bachelors | Masters | No Pre-Planned FLP involved |
| 10 | Secondary School Diploma (or equivalent) | Bachelors | FLP Pre-Planned |
| 11 | Secondary School Diploma (or equivalent) | Secondary School Diploma (or equivalent) | No Pre-Planned FLP involved |
| 12 | Secondary School Diploma (or equivalent) | Masters | No Pre-Planned FLP involved |
| 13 | Secondary School Diploma (or equivalent) | Bachelors | No Pre-Planned FLP involved |
| 14 | Masters | Masters | FLP Pre-Planned |
| 15 | Bachelors | Bachelors | No Pre-Planned FLP involved |
| 16 | Secondary School Diploma (or equivalent) | Secondary School Diploma (or equivalent) | No Pre-Planned FLP involved |
| 17 | Secondary School Diploma (or equivalent) | Bachelors | No Pre-Planned FLP involved |
| 18 | PhD | Masters | FLP Pre-Planned |
| 19 | Bachelors | PhD | FLP Pre-Planned |
| 20 | Masters | PhD | FLP Pre-Planned |

## Family Profiles: Languages vs Family Nationalities

| Family | Father Nationality | Mother Nationality | Majority Family Language | Minority Family Language | English as an Additional Language Add Y or N |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 CN & MR | Cypriot | Russian | Greek Cypriot Dialect | Russian | Y |
| 2 AI | Cypriot | German | Greek Cypriot Dialect | German | Y |
| 3 AV | Cypriot | British | Greek Cypriot Dialect | English | Not Applicable |
| 4 RM | Cypriot | American | English | Greek Cypriot Dialect | Not Applicable |
| 5 IT | Cypriot | Lithuanian | Greek Cypriot Dialect | Lithuanian | Y |
| 6 GT + AT | British | Cypriot | Greek Cypriot Dialect | English | Not Applicable |
| 7 ZP | Serbian | Cypriot | Greek Cypriot Dialect | Serbian | Y |
| 8 ED | Cypriot | British | Greek Cypriot Dialect | English | Not Applicable |
| 9 SH | Cypriot | British | English | Greek Cypriot Dialect | French as Additional Language |
| 10 CM | Cypriot | British | Greek Cypriot Dialect | English | Not Applicable |
| 11 KS | Cypriot | British | English | Greek Cypriot Dialect | French as Additional Language |
| 12 CM | Cypriot | British | English | Greek Cypriot Dialect | Not Applicable |
| 13 VK | Cypriot | Belarussian | Greek Cypriot Dialect | Russian | Y |
| 14 EM | Greek | Hungarian | Standard Modern Greek | Hungarian | Y |
| 15 SE | Cypriot | Russian | Greek Cypriot Dialect | Russian | Y |
| 16 JH | Cypriot | Hungarian | Greek Cypriot Dialect | Hungarian | Y |
| 17 RBP | British | Hungarian | English | Hungarian | SMG is used as an additional Language |
| 18 KL | Cypriot | American | Greek Cypriot Dialect | English | Not Applicable |
| 19 EP | Russian | Ukrainian | Russian | Ukrainian | Y |
| 20 IL | Cypriot | Russian | Standard Modern Greek | Russian | Y |

# Appendix G: Sample of Participant Family Profile Data



Interview Questions – Investigating Family Language Policy Strategies in Multilingual Families in Cyprus

Stage 1 - Family Profile

| Parent 1 | Parent 2 |
|---|---|
| **Nationality**<br>Cypriot | **Nationality**<br>Russian, Cypriot |
| **Years lived in Cyprus (if not born in Cyprus)**<br>All life | **Years lived in Cyprus (if not born in Cyprus)**<br>25 |
| **Education Level**<br>Master's Degree | **Education Level**<br>Master's Degree |
| **Occupation**<br>Public Servant | **Occupation**<br>Private Secror Employee |
| **Mother tongue(s)**<br>Cypriot Greek | **Mother tongue (s)**<br>Russian (Greek |
| **Preferred language(s) of communication (if different from mother tongue)** | **Preferred language(s) of communication (if different from mother tongue)**<br>Russian |
| **Main language of communication with partner**<br>Cypriot Greek | **Main language of communication with partner**<br>C. Greek |
| **Main language spoken with child/ren**<br>Cypriot Greek | **Main language spoken with child/ren**<br>Russian<br>( Greek |
| **Comments** | **Comments** |

*Which languages would you consider as your household's family majority/minority or heritage languages here in Cyprus, considering Greek & Turkish are the island's official national languages? Do you also use English as an additional foreign language in your household as a family language?*

| Majority | Minority/Heritage | English as an Additional Language? (Add: Y/N) |
|---|---|---|
| Cypriot Greek | Russian | Yes |

## Appendix H: Sample of Participant Language Timeline

| Time of Activity | Activity | Other people involved in activity | Language(s) used during activity | Further Comments |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 07:00-8:30 | Breakfast/play | Father, Mother | English, Hungarian | Some days Mother is absent during these ours, then communication is purely English |
| 08:45 | School run | Mother | Hungarian | Speaking in Hungarian in the car, in the background Hungarian or English music/podcast |
| 09:00-16:00 | Nursery – playtime and meals | Teachers | Greek | |
| 16:00 | Pick up from nursery | Mother | Hungarian | Only communicating and playing in Hungarian |
| 16:00-18:00 | Afternoon activities | Mother | Hungarian | Playground, house to attend to, cooking, playing, groceries occasionally or meeting up with people (if this happens language maybe changed for a period English). |
| 18:30 | Dinner and bath time | Mother | Hungarian/English | Some evenings Father is at home after 7PM. In this case spoken language is |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | English and assists. |
| 19:30 | Bedtime | Mother | Hungarian | Reading books (either in English or Hungarian) |

# Appendix I: Intended FLS Scores

## Overall Scores of Intended Usage

| Strategy Number | Average percentage count of parents that have explicitly carried out strategy | Average Intended Frequency | Average Intended Effectiveness | Average Intended Practicality | Intended Average of all 3 measurements of efficacy |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 70 | 67 | 79 | 78.948 | 74.98267 |
| 2 | 70 | 73.684 | 78.948 | 82.106 | 78.246 |
| 3 | 70 | 66.316 | 68.422 | 62.106 | 65.61467 |
| 4 | 75 | 65.556 | 74.7368 | 73.6842 | 71.32567 |
| 5 | 30 | 65.8824 | 81.112 | 65.556 | 70.85013 |
| 6 | 85 | 64.21 | 78.948 | 75.79 | 72.98267 |
| 7 | 55 | 77.778 | 77.894 | 68.422 | 74.698 |
| 8 | 60 | 74.118 | 72.222 | 77.78 | 74.70667 |
| 9 | 70 | 85.556 | 82.106 | 80 | 82.554 |
| 10 | 90 | 73.684 | 85.264 | 82.106 | 80.35133 |
| 11 | 100 | 89.474 | 92.632 | 93.684 | 91.93 |
| 12 | 100 | 81.052 | 89.474 | 85.264 | 85.26333 |
| 13 | 90 | 92.632 | 98.948 | 91.578 | 94.386 |
| 14 | 65 | 71.578 | 84.21 | 75.79 | 77.19267 |
| 15 | 85 | 88.422 | 99.684 | 90.526 | 92.87733 |
| 16 | 75 | 72.308 | 96.924 | 83.076 | 84.10267 |

| Strategy Number | Average percentage count of parents that have explicitly carried out strategy | Average Intended Frequency | Average Intended Effectiveness | Average Intended Practicality | Intended Average of all 3 measurements of efficacy |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13 | 90 | 92.632 | 98.948 | 91.578 | 94.386 |
| 15 | 85 | 88.422 | 99.684 | 90.526 | 92.87733 |
| 11 | 100 | 89.474 | 92.632 | 93.684 | 91.93 |
| 12 | 100 | 81.052 | 89.474 | 85.264 | 85.26333 |
| 16 | 75 | 72.308 | 96.924 | 83.076 | 84.10267 |
| 9 | 70 | 85.556 | 82.106 | 80 | 82.554 |
| 10 | 90 | 73.684 | 85.264 | 82.106 | 80.35133 |
| 2 | 70 | 73.684 | 78.948 | 82.106 | 78.246 |
| 14 | 65 | 71.578 | 84.21 | 75.79 | 77.19267 |
| 1 | 70 | 67 | 79 | 78.948 | 74.98267 |
| 8 | 60 | 74.118 | 72.222 | 77.78 | 74.70667 |
| 7 | 55 | 77.778 | 77.894 | 68.422 | 74.698 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6 | 85 | 64.21 | 78.948 | 75.79 | 72.98267 |
| 4 | 75 | 65.556 | 74.7368 | 73.6842 | 71.32567 |
| 5 | 30 | 65.8824 | 81.112 | 65.556 | 70.85013 |
| 3 | 70 | 66.316 | 68.422 | 62.106 | 65.61467 |

## OVERALL RANKINGS OF ALL INTENDED STRATEGIES RECORDED BY ALL PARTICIPANTS IN THE ACTIVITIES PACK WITH ALL CRITERIA FULFILLED.

These scores represent all average values of frequency, effectiveness and practicality given by all 20 participating families, regardless of whether they had explicitly carried out the strategy or not. The actual percentage of participants who had reported to have completed the strategy themselves was given out of 100. Those families who had not completed the strategy in their own lives were requested to give a score on the imaginary basis that they were to implement it themselves. All scores were given out of 5, and then converted into a percentage out of 100.

## Top 3 Intended FLS in Each Category

## Top 3 FLS of Frequent Intended Usage

| Strategy Number | Average percentage count of parents that have explicitly carried out strategy | Average Intended Frequency |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 70 | 67 |
| 2 | 70 | 73.684 |
| 3 | 70 | 66.316 |
| 4 | 75 | 65.556 |
| 5 | 30 | 65.8824 |
| 6 | 85 | 64.21 |
| 7 | 55 | 77.778 |
| 8 | 60 | 74.118 |
| 9 | 70 | 85.556 |
| 10 | 90 | 73.684 |
| 11 | 100 | 89.474 |
| 12 | 100 | 81.052 |
| 13 | 90 | 92.632 |
| 14 | 65 | 71.578 |
| 15 | 85 | 88.422 |
| 16 | 75 | 72.308 |

| Strategy Number | Average percentage count of parents that have explicitly carried out strategy | Average Intended Frequency |
|---|---|---|
| 13 | 90 | 92.632 |
| 11 | 100 | 89.474 |
| 15 | 85 | 88.422 |
| 9 | 70 | 85.556 |
| 12 | 100 | 81.052 |
| 7 | 55 | 77.778 |
| 8 | 60 | 74.118 |
| 2 | 70 | 73.684 |
| 10 | 90 | 73.684 |
| 16 | 75 | 72.308 |
| 14 | 65 | 71.578 |
| 1 | 70 | 67 |
| 3 | 70 | 66.316 |
| 5 | 30 | 65.8824 |
| 4 | 75 | 65.556 |
| 6 | 85 | 64.21 |

OVERALL RANKINGS OF ALL INTENDED STRATEGIES RECORDED BY ALL PARTICIPANTS IN THE ACTIVITIES PACK IN CRITERIA OF FREQUENCY OF USE

In descending order, the top 3 FLS intended to be used the most frequently used were **13 (92.6%) -** *Sending your child to a specific nursery school/primary school/secondary school whether it be a monolingual/international environment*. ,**11 (89.4%)** - *Playing music and singing nursery rhymes/songs in the language of your choice* and **15 (88.4%)-** *Having the child's grandparents look after the child for a portion of the day.*

## Top 3 FLS of Intended Effectiveness in Language Transmission

| Strategy Number | Average percentage count of parents that have explicitly carried out strategy | Average Intended Effectiveness |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 70 | 79 |
| 2 | 70 | 78.948 |
| 3 | 70 | 68.422 |
| 4 | 75 | 74.7368 |
| 5 | 30 | 81.112 |
| 6 | 85 | 78.948 |
| 7 | 55 | 77.894 |
| 8 | 60 | 72.222 |
| 9 | 70 | 82.106 |
| 10 | 90 | 85.264 |
| 11 | 100 | 92.632 |
| 12 | 100 | 89.474 |
| 13 | 90 | 98.948 |
| 14 | 65 | 84.21 |
| 15 | 85 | 99.684 |
| 16 | 75 | 96.924 |

| Strategy Number | Average percentage count of parents that have explicitly carried out strategy | Average Intended Effectiveness |
|---|---|---|
| 15 | 85 | 99.684 |
| 13 | 90 | 98.948 |
| 16 | 75 | 96.924 |
| 11 | 100 | 92.632 |
| 12 | 100 | 89.474 |
| 10 | 90 | 85.264 |
| 14 | 65 | 84.21 |
| 9 | 70 | 82.106 |
| 5 | 30 | 81.112 |
| 1 | 70 | 79 |
| 2 | 70 | 78.948 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 6 | 85 | 78.948 |
| 7 | 55 | 77.894 |
| 4 | 75 | 74.7368 |
| 8 | 60 | 72.222 |
| 3 | 70 | 68.422 |

### OVERALL RANKINGS OF ALL INTENDED STRATEGIES RECORDED BY ALL PARTICIPANTS IN THE ACTIVITIES PACK IN CRITERIA OF EFFECTIVENESS OF USE

In descending order, the top 3 FLS reported to be the most effective were **15 (99.7%) -** *Having the child's grandparents look after the child for a portion of the day.*, **13 (98.9%)** - *Sending your child to a specific nursery school/primary school/secondary school whether it be a monolingual/international environment and* **16 (96.9%)** - ***Other Strategies that you have used that are not on this list?*** (to eliminate bias as these are personally chosen by each family, **11 (92.6%)** - *Playing music and singing nursery rhymes/songs in the language of your choice,* would have been the third highest).

**Having the grandparents look after the child for a portion of the day** (**85%** of participating families have/had the grandparents residing in Cyprus) was viewed as the most effective FLS by nearly all families to foster native language competence, most likely in the Greek Cypriot Dialect, receiving nearly perfect scores by all participants.

## Top 3 FLS of Intended Practicality in a Parent's Daily Life

| Strategy Number | Average percentage count of parents that have explicitly carried out strategy | Average Intended Practicality |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 70 | 78.948 |
| 2 | 70 | 82.106 |
| 3 | 70 | 62.106 |
| 4 | 75 | 73.6842 |
| 5 | 30 | 65.556 |
| 6 | 85 | 75.79 |
| 7 | 55 | 68.422 |
| 8 | 60 | 77.78 |
| 9 | 70 | 80 |
| 10 | 90 | 82.106 |
| 11 | 100 | 93.684 |
| 12 | 100 | 85.264 |
| 13 | 90 | 91.578 |
| 14 | 65 | 75.79 |
| 15 | 85 | 90.526 |
| 16 | 75 | 83.076 |

| Strategy Number | Average percentage count of parents that have explicitly carried out strategy | Average Intended Practicality |
|---|---|---|
| 11 | 100 | 93.684 |
| 13 | 90 | 91.578 |
| 15 | 85 | 90.526 |
| 12 | 100 | 85.264 |
| 16 | 75 | 83.076 |
| 2 | 70 | 82.106 |
| 10 | 90 | 82.106 |
| 9 | 70 | 80 |
| 1 | 70 | 78.948 |
| 8 | 60 | 77.78 |
| 6 | 85 | 75.79 |
| 14 | 65 | 75.79 |
| 4 | 75 | 73.6842 |
| 7 | 55 | 68.422 |
| 5 | 30 | 65.556 |
| 3 | 70 | 62.106 |

OVERALL RANKINGS OF ALL INTENDED STRATEGIES RECORDED BY ALL PARTICIPANTS IN THE ACTIVITIES PACK IN CRITERIA OF EFFECTIVENESS OF USE

In descending order, the top 3 FLS reported to be the most practical were **11 (93.7%) -** *Playing music and singing nursery rhymes/songs in the language of your choice*, **13 (91.6%)** - *Sending your child to a specific nursery school/primary school/secondary school whether it be a monolingual/international environment* **and 15 (90.5%)-** *Having the child's grandparents look after the child for a portion of the day.*

## Top 3 Combined Average Intended Scores – Numerical and Hierarchical

| Strategy Number | Average percentage count of parents that have explicitly carried out strategy | Intended Average of all 3 measurements of efficacy |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 70 | 74.98267 |
| 2 | 70 | 78.246 |
| 3 | 70 | 65.61467 |
| 4 | 75 | 71.32567 |
| 5 | 30 | 70.85013 |
| 6 | 85 | 72.98267 |
| 7 | 55 | 74.698 |
| 8 | 60 | 74.70667 |
| 9 | 70 | 82.554 |
| 10 | 90 | 80.35133 |
| 11 | 100 | 91.93 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 12 | 100 | 85.26333 |
| 13 | 90 | 94.386 |
| 14 | 65 | 77.19267 |
| 15 | 85 | 92.87733 |
| 16 | 75 | 84.10267 |

| Strategy Number | Average percentage count of parents that have explicitly carried out strategy | Intended Average of all 3 measurements of efficacy |
|---|---|---|
| 13 | 90 | 94.386 |
| 15 | 85 | 92.87733 |
| 11 | 100 | 91.93 |
| 12 | 100 | 85.26333 |
| 16 | 75 | 84.10267 |
| 9 | 70 | 82.554 |
| 10 | 90 | 80.35133 |
| 2 | 70 | 78.246 |
| 14 | 65 | 77.19267 |
| 1 | 70 | 74.98267 |
| 8 | 60 | 74.70667 |
| 7 | 55 | 74.698 |
| 6 | 85 | 72.98267 |
| 4 | 75 | 71.32567 |
| 5 | 30 | 70.85013 |
| 3 | 70 | 65.61467 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. iPad (Media Device) | 5. External paid childminder | **9. OPOL from parents** | 13. Schooling Choice |
| 2. YouTube (Streaming) | 6. TV/Films | 10. Flashcards and Numbers | 14. Clubs and Activities |
| 3. Dinner Table Talk | 7. Social Circle | 11. Nursery Rhymes/Songs | 15. Grandparents as babysitters |
| 4. Toys and Games | 8. External family uses OPOL | 12. Fairytales/Books | **16. Other?** |

## NUMERICAL AND HIERARCHICAL TABLE OF AVERAGE COMBINED INTENDED SCORES FROM ALL 20 FAMILIES

In descending order, the top three combined average strategies with all units of frequency, effectiveness and practicality together were strategy **#13**, *Explicit choice of nursery, primary and secondary education as a FLS*, received the highest combined average score **(94.4%)** This was followed by **#15 (92.9%),** *use of grandparents as babysitters*, and **#11 (91.9%)**, *singing monolingual nursery rhymes/songs in the target language*.

## Comparative Hierarchical Separate Rankings of Average Intended Usage vs Implemented Explicit Usage

The table below compares the three separate categories of Frequency, Effectiveness and Practicality from when all 20 participants responded compared to the participants that had explicitly carried out the FLS themselves.

Strategy **#8** reported a **10.01%** decrease in intended versus implemented practicality, whilst Strategy **#15** reported a **6%** decrease in intended versus implemented effectiveness. The possible explanation for such a decrease in expectation versus reality in practicality for **#8** is that such families who instructed external family members to use OPOL noted that explicitly telling another adult out of the immediate parental circle to maintain communication in a language not necessarily native to them may pose communicative difficulties, especially such adults who may not be as well read in current literature, or even share the same ideology as the parents.

The possible explanation for a 6% decline in effectiveness for **#15**, seemingly one of the most '*successful*' FLS, is that grandparents may not be necessarily inclined to maintain constant physical company with the child, or necessarily carry out activities which the parents deem educational, in tandem with their FLP. Naturally, all these results are reported based upon the opinion of the parent and may not necessarily reflect an adequate level of desired versus implemented bilingual competence.

All other FLS did not greatly vary within a 3% margin between intended and implemented scores.

| Strategy Number | Average percentage count of parents that have explicitly carried out strategy | Average Implemented Frequency | Average Implemented Effectiveness | Average Implemented Practicality |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 70 | 67 | 79 | 78.94737 |
| 2 | 70 | 72.94118 | 80 | 83.52941 |
| 3 | 70 | 66.31579 | 68.42105 | 62.10526 |
| 4 | 75 | 65.88235 | 75.55556 | 74.44444 |
| 5 | 30 | 65.33333 | 80 | 63.75 |
| 6 | 85 | 64.21053 | 78.94737 | 75.78947 |
| 7 | 55 | 76.47059 | 81.11111 | 71.11111 |
| 8 | 60 | 74.11765 | 72.22222 | 67.77778 |
| 9 | 70 | 84.70588 | 84.44444 | 82.35294 |
| 10 | 90 | 73.68421 | 85.26316 | 82.10526 |
| 11 | 100 | 89.47368 | 92.63158 | 93.68421 |
| 12 | 100 | 81.05263 | 89.47368 | 85.26316 |
| 13 | 90 | 91.76471 | 98.82353 | 90.58824 |
| 14 | 65 | 72.94118 | 84.21053 | 75.78947 |
| 15 | 85 | 88.42105 | 93.68421 | 90.52632 |
| 16 | 75 | 76.66667 | 98.33333 | 86.66667 |

| Strategy Number | Average percentage count of parents that have explicitly carried out strategy | Average Intended Frequency | Average Intended Effectiveness | Average Intended Practicality |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 70 | 67 | 79 | 78.948 |
| 2 | 70 | 73.684 | 78.948 | 82.106 |
| 3 | 70 | 66.316 | 68.422 | 62.106 |
| 4 | 75 | 65.556 | 74.7368 | 73.6842 |
| 5 | 30 | 65.8824 | 81.112 | 65.556 |
| 6 | 85 | 64.21 | 78.948 | 75.79 |
| 7 | 55 | 77.778 | 77.894 | 68.422 |
| 8 | 60 | 74.118 | 72.222 | 77.78 |
| 9 | 70 | 85.556 | 82.106 | 80 |
| 10 | 90 | 73.684 | 85.264 | 82.106 |
| 11 | 100 | 89.474 | 92.632 | 93.684 |
| 12 | 100 | 81.052 | 89.474 | 85.264 |
| 13 | 90 | 92.632 | 98.948 | 91.578 |
| 14 | 65 | 71.578 | 84.21 | 75.79 |
| 15 | 85 | 88.422 | 99.684 | 90.526 |
| 16 | 75 | 72.308 | 96.924 | 83.076 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. iPad (Media Device) | 5. External paid childminder | **9. OPOL from parents** | 13. Schooling Choice |
| 2. YouTube (Streaming) | 6. TV/Films | 10. Flashcards and Numbers | 14. Clubs and Activities |
| 3. Dinner Table Talk | 7. Social Circle | 11. Nursery Rhymes/Songs | 15. Grandparents as babysitters |
| 4. Toys and Games | 8. External family uses OPOL | 12. Fairytales/Books | **16. Other?** |

## COMPARATIVE VIEW OF INTENDED AND IMPLEMENTED SCORES OF FREQUENCY, EFFECTIVENESS AND PRACTICALITY

## Comparative Hierarchical Combined Rankings of Average Intended Usage vs Implemented Explicit Usage

When comparing the intended average scores against the implemented reported ones, there is no large difference of more than 3% for any one given FLS. In fact, FLS **#1, #3, #6. #10** and **#11** remain identical in terms of results. This allows one to reaffirm the reported answers given from the participants, and that all FLS in this list are believable to be realistically implemented in everyday life.

| Strategy Number | Average percentage count of parents that have explicitly carried out strategy | Intended Average of all 3 measurements of efficacy | Implemented Average of all 3 measurements of efficacy |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 70 | 74.98267 | 74.98246 |
| 2 | 70 | 78.246 | 78.82353 |
| 3 | 70 | 65.61467 | 65.61404 |
| 4 | 75 | 71.32567 | 71.96078 |
| 5 | 30 | 70.85013 | 69.69444 |
| 6 | 85 | 72.98267 | 72.98246 |
| 7 | 55 | 74.698 | 76.23094 |
| 8 | 60 | 74.70667 | 71.37255 |
| 9 | 70 | 82.554 | 83.83442 |
| 10 | 90 | 80.35133 | 80.35088 |
| 11 | 100 | 91.93 | 91.92982 |
| 12 | 100 | 85.26333 | 85.26316 |
| 13 | 90 | 94.386 | 93.72549 |
| 14 | 65 | 77.19267 | 77.64706 |
| 15 | 85 | 92.87733 | 90.87719 |
| 16 | 75 | 84.10267 | 87.22222 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. iPad (Media Device) | 5. External paid childminder | **9. OPOL from parents** | 13. Schooling Choice |
| 2. YouTube (Streaming) | 6. TV/Films | 10. Flashcards and Numbers | 14. Clubs and Activities |
| 3. Dinner Table Talk | 7. Social Circle | 11. Nursery Rhymes/Songs | 15. Grandparents as babysitters |
| 4. Toys and Games | 8. External family uses OPOL | 12. Fairytales/Books | **16. Other?** |

COMPARATIVE VIEW OF AVERAGE INTENDED AND IMPLEMENTED COMBINED SCORES OF FREQUENCY, EFFECTIVENESS AND PRACTICALITY

# Appendix K: Sample of Participant FLS Section Responses

| | Have you ever done this strategy? (Tick Y/N) | Which of your family language (s) was it used for? | Frequency of use (1-5) | Effectiveness (1-5) | Practicality (1-5) | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Allowing the use of an iPad/tablet/media device with apps/games in the language of your choice | Yes | Lithuanian, Greek, English | 4 | 5 | 5 | |
| 2. Allowing YouTube videos exclusively in the language of your choice | Yes | Lithuanian, Greek, English | 3 | 5 | 5 | |
| 3. At the dinner table, each parent would exclusively speak their language to their child and expect a response in that chosen language. | Yes | Lithuanian | 3 | 5 | 3 | Difficult to implement as father does not understand Lithuanian |
| 4. Buy toys and games only available in target language for the child to play with | Yes | Lithuanian | 3 | 5 | 4 | Can buy only in Lithuania |
| 5. Choosing a babysitter based upon which languages that person would speak | No | | | | | |
| 6. Ensure your child only watches television shows/films in the language of your choice | Yes | Lithuanian | 3 | 5 | 4 | No Lithuanian TV channels in Cyprus |
| 7. Ensuring your child's social circle from a young age is with same speakers of the language you choose. | Yes | Lithuanian | 4 | 5 | 5 | |
| 8. Instructing family members to only use one language at a time when communicating with your child. | No | | | | | Everybody speaks his own language to my children |
| 9. **OPOL** ( Having one parent speak their chosen language to their child and the other in theirs in all scenarios) | Yes | Lithuanian | 5 | 5 | 5 | Only when kids were very young like till 5 y.o. |
| 10. Playing educational games, such as flashcards and number training exclusively in your chosen language. | Yes | Lithuanian | 4 | 5 | 5 | |
| 11. Playing music and singing nursery rhymes/songs in the language of your choice | Yes | Lithuanian | 5 | 5 | 5 | Until the age of 6 |
| 12. Reading stories/books to your child in the language of your choice | Yes | Lithuanian | 5 | 5 | 5 | Till the age of 8 reading stories every night before sleep |

# Appendix L: Sample of Summary Created for Each Family (#14)

Family 14 EM:

Language ideology: Both parents have English and German as their lingua franca between themselves. They use English as a secret code in front of the children, but as their daughter began to become trilingual, they use German at times to not be understood. The mother researched during pregnancy as to which FLS would best suit them. OPOL came up through her studies and she rigorously applied it in all circumstances, even not allowing the husband to switch to Hungarian so as to teach the children grammatically correct language from either side and not riddled with errors. This can be classified as double non-dominant home language but with community support, as the father speaks standard modern Greek and not Cypriot. The mother insists on blocking strategies and insisting her children reply in the appropriate language. The mother is impressed that exposing her children to not just fairytales in Hungarian (this is clear IPA she referenced the happy memories she went through as child when being read the exact same stories by her parents), yet media outlets such as YouTube and Netflix have given her children an impressive vocabulary bank to the national Hungarian standard, but also limited profanity unlike other children who would learn from each other in social circles. Mother does not understand why some international parents would never transmit their mother tongue to their offspring and sees it as cutting off further socio-economic opportunities later in life, and ease of communication with extended family.

Explicit FLP: The mother researched CLA when pregnant with her first child and found OPOL. She advises to stick to the plan at all times and never stray off it. She chose OPOL with her husband to develop her children's character and personality to the fullest extent in each language. The children naturally know when to use which language and with whom from the rigidity of using OPOL. Dinner table talk is a rare commodity now that the husband works very late hours, so usually Hungarian is the majority family language until the weekends. Mother is still extremely strict to this day and refuses to answer back to her children until they have used the right language with the right person. She said she would not change her FLP, and believes it has turned out successfully.

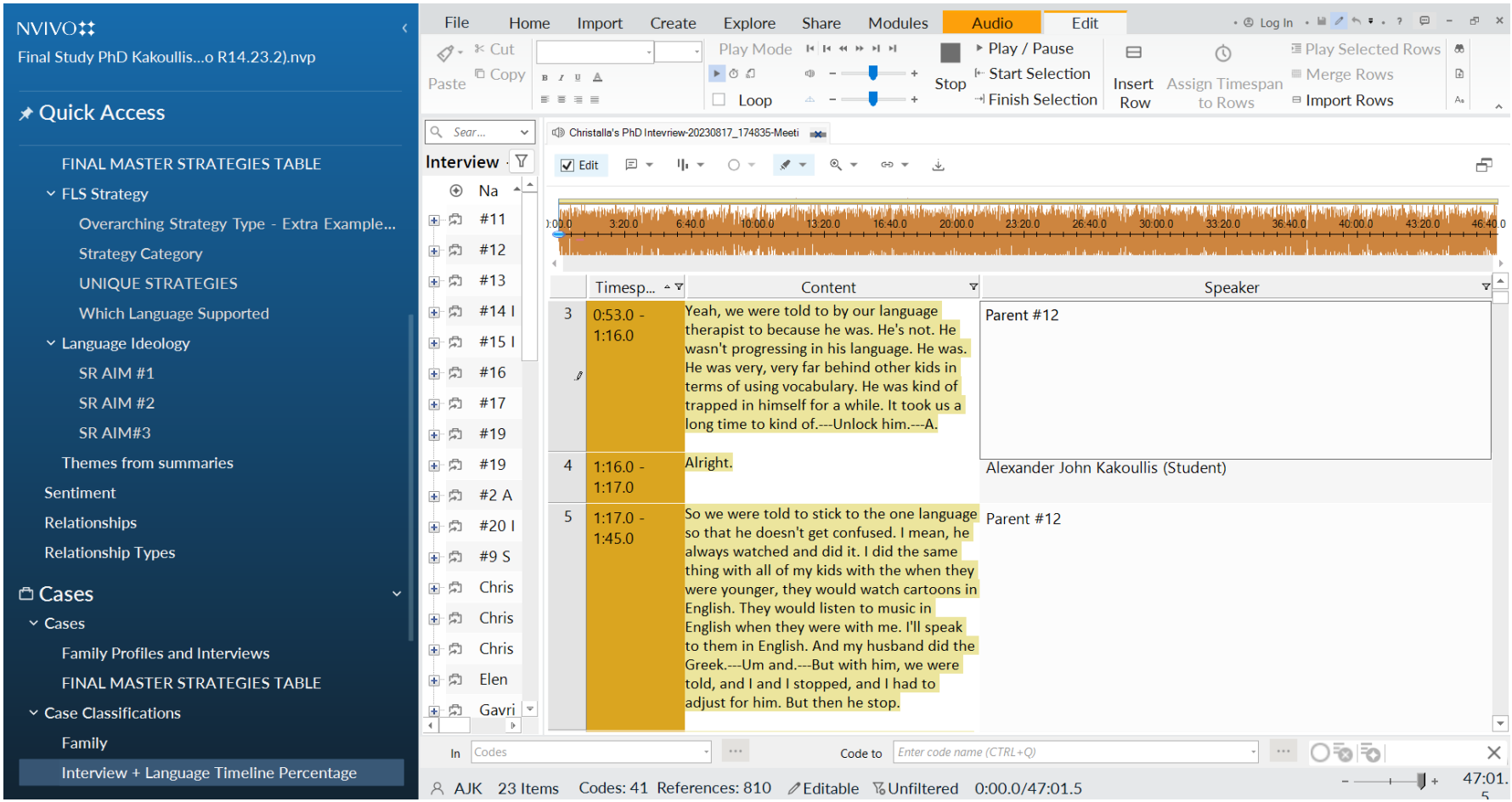
Language and identity: both children identified as solely Hungarian in the beginning, and would even get upset if someone brought up their Greek heritage (this was noticeable when they would be on holiday in Hungary). As they returned to Cyprus, they were clear that they wanted to identify as 50/50, but not Cypriot, Standard Greek. One of the most interesting things the mother brought up was from her IPA, her grandfather told her In Hungarian "*AHàN NYELV ANYI EMBER*". This translates to: "a man is worth as many languages as he speaks". The same phrase was told by participant #16.

Siblings in family: Only the eldest child speaks English learnt through media. The younger son did experience language delay in the critical period, as the 50/50 OPOL balance was disrupted by the eldest sibling also interacting with him very often. He does not speak any English. The mother seems to have gotten tired and does not read as many storybooks to her youngest child as much as she did with the first.

Interesting FLS: The mother is part of an extracurricular non-profit language school in Hungarian organised by a community of Hungarian speakers to promote community support of the minority language in Larnaca.

The children are exposed to Cypriot Greek from primary education, and this was a explicit decision from the parents so that they could find their way growing up in Cyprus and gain the appropriate literacy skills, before proceeding to bilingual secondary education.

# Appendix M: Sample of Interview Coding Through NVivo 14



# Appendix N: Codebook Exported from NVivo 14

Final Study PhD Kakoullis

Codes\\FLS Strategy

Codes\\FLS Strategy\\Overarching Strategy Type - Extra Examples Found

| Name | Description | Files | References |
|---|---|---|---|
| Code-Switching | | 5 | 12 |
| OEOL | | 1 | 1 |
| OPOL | | 7 | 14 |

Codes\\FLS Strategy\\Strategy Category

| Name | Description | Files | References |
|---|---|---|---|
| At home or in Domestic Environment | | 6 | 16 |
| Choice of Education | | 6 | 18 |
| Explicit Instruction | | 5 | 8 |
| Explicit Intervention to promote language use | | 5 | 11 |
| Extra Educational Activity | | 6 | 22 |
| Leisure Activity | | 7 | 23 |
| Natural Interaction | | 6 | 18 |
| Out of home | | 3 | 17 |
| Socialising | | 1 | 4 |

Codes\\FLS Strategy\\UNIQUE STRATEGIES

| Name | Description | Files | References |
|---|---|---|---|
| Interesting FLS strategy | | 7 | 41 |

Codes\\FLS Strategy\\Which Language Supported

| Name | Description | Files | References |
|---|---|---|---|
| English as an extra Prestige Language | | 6 | 32 |
| Majority Language | | 7 | 11 |
| Minority or Heritage Language | | 8 | 34 |

Codes\\Language Ideology

Codes\\Language Ideology\\SR AIM #1

Why have they chosen to go down such a path of CLA

| Name | Description | Files | References |
|---|---|---|---|
| Challenges in CLA Strategies | | 3 | 8 |
| Cultural Pressure of Cyprus | | 3 | 6 |
| Other Factors influencing language transmission | | 8 | 55 |
| Pressure from Families on both sides | | 5 | 13 |
| Disliked Strategies | | 4 | 11 |
| Favourable Strategies | | 8 | 74 |
| Justification of use of a certain strategy | | 9 | 74 |
| Multiple children or siblings | | 3 | 14 |
| Pre-planning involved or not | | 2 | 2 |
| No, they didn't plan | | 7 | 11 |
| Yes, they planned | | 3 | 5 |

Codes\\Language Ideology\\SR AIM #2

The parent's language ideology to transmitting the selected languages

| Name | Description | Files | References |
|---|---|---|---|
| Attitudes towards Bilingualism | | 2 | 3 |
| Negative | | 1 | 1 |
| Neutral | | 1 | 2 |
| Positive | | 8 | 55 |
| Proud of children's bilingualism | | 4 | 32 |
| Cyprus and Heritage Countries influencing ideology | | 1 | 1 |
| Influence of Cyprus | | 4 | 10 |
| Majority Culture Influence | | 6 | 14 |
| Majority Nationality Family Influence | | 3 | 7 |
| Minority Culture Influence | | 6 | 11 |
| Minority Nationality Family Influence | | 6 | 23 |
| Justification of attitudes and ideologies towards transmitting their language | | 3 | 8 |
| Cultural | | 6 | 20 |
| Future chance of studying abroad | | 5 | 43 |
| Future chance to move country | | 5 | 50 |
| Future Job prospects | | 5 | 54 |

| Name | Description | Files | References |
|---|---|---|---|
| Language of natural expression | | 5 | 61 |
| Negative | | 1 | 1 |
| Neutral | | 3 | 5 |
| Positive | | 4 | 40 |
| Preservation of heritage culture | | 6 | 29 |
| Socio-Economic-Political | | 8 | 56 |
| Regrets about their CLA | This can include lack of planning, or how the children have turned out despite FLS and FLP being used | 1 | 1 |

Codes\\Language Ideology\\SR AIM#3

Language identity and ideology in accordance with FLP

| Name | Description | Files | References |
|---|---|---|---|
| Advice on how to facilitate bilingualism | | 7 | 17 |
| Child Language Fluency Level | | 8 | 56 |
| Identification of Child | | 8 | 67 |
| IPA | Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis - Due to participant's lived in experiences, this has had an impact on why this action was carried out | 0 | 0 |
| Parent's Experiences Influencing Their children's Language Choice | | 8 | 75 |
| Parent's own experiences with languages as a child | | 3 | 15 |

| Name | Description | Files | References |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Language and Identity | | 5 | 73 |

# Appendix O: NVivo 14 Autocode Function

## Autocode Sentiment Results

| | Number of instances where sentiment has been recorded |
|---|---|
| 1 : Very negative | 13 |
| 2 : Moderately negative | 18 |
| 3 : Moderately positive | 20 |
| 4 : Very positive | 19 |

## Autocode Lexis Function