Family Language Policy of an English-Turkish Bilingual Family in Northern Cyprus: A Case Study

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the family language policies (henceforth FLP) of an English-Turkish bilingual family in Northern Cyprus. It aims to find out the FLP of this family, and the interrelationships between the three elements of FLP, i.e. parents' language ideologies, parents' language management, and parents' language practice. This is a case study which employs the ethnographic method of inquiry to study the family. There are four data collection instruments: a semi-structured interview, a questionnaire, observation and field notes. The data was analyzed qualitatively in reference to the research questions.

The results show that there are three specific strategies that this family employs to secure the intra family language: (1) In the house we speak English; (2) Switch to Turkish when there is a Turkish guest; (3) Disciplinary house rules and obedience are out of love. The latter two strategies are the unique findings which are not seen in the literature regarding FLP. They are based on parents' ideologies shaped by their socio-cultural background and local social norms and values. They both promote bilingualism – the use of English and Turkish. It is evident that the parents' ideologies play a leading role among the three elements of the FLP, but not without interactions with one another. Based on their own upbringing, parents in this case study purposefully embrace the local language and culture and aim to help their children develop an international identity. Some important implications for bilingual parenting and English teachers in a multilingual classroom are drawn at the end.

ÖZ

Bu çalışma Kuzey Kıbrıs'ta yaşayan İngilizce-Türkçe çiftdilli bir ailenin dil politikalarını (bundan sonra FLP) incelemektedir. Bu ailenin dil politikalarına ek olarak, aile dil politakasının üç etkeni arasındaki ilişkiyi de araştırmayı hedeflemektedir: ebeveynlerin dil ideolojileri; ebeveynlerin dil yönetimi ve uygulamaları. Aileyi inceleyen bu vaka çalışmasında etnografik yöntem kullanılmıştır. Veri toplamak amacıyla dört araç kullanılmıştır: görüşme, anket, gözlem ve alan notları. Veri çözümlemesi araştırma soruları ışığında nitel olarak gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Analiz sonuçları, bu ailenin aile içi dili korumak için üç belirli strateji kullandığını göstermiştir: (1) Ev içinde İngilizce konuşuruz; (2) Türk bir misafir olduğunda Türkçe'ye döneriz; (3) Evdeki disiplin ve bağlılık sevgiden kaynaklı kurallarla elde edilir. Son iki strateji FLP bakımından literatürde rastlanmayan özgün bulgular olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Bunlar, ebeveynlerin sosyo-kültürel özgeçmişleri ve yerel sosyal normlar ve değerler tarafından şekillendirilen ebeveyin ideolojileri üzerine kuruludur. Her iki strateji de çiftdilliliği – İngilizce ve Türkçe kullanımını – desteklemektedir. Ebeveynlerin ideolojilerinin üç FLP unsuru arasında başrolü oynadığı ancak diğer etkenlerle de etkileşim halinde olduğu açıkça ortaya çıkmıştır.Bu vaka çalışmasında yer alan ebeveynler yetiştirilme tarzlarına bağlı olarak yerel dili ve kültürü bilinçli bir biçimde benimseyerek çocuklarının uluslararası bir kimlik edinmelerini amaçlamışlardır. Çalışmanın sonunda ise çiftdilli ebeveynlik ve çokdilli sınıflarda İngilizce öğretmenliğine ilişkin öneriler yer almaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: çiftdillilik, çiftkültürlülük, aile dil politikası, ebeveynlerin ideolojileri, dil yönetimi, dil uygulaması, kimlik

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FLP   Family Language Policy

ELT   English Language Teaching

OPOL   One Parent One Language

HL@H   Heritage Language at Home

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

This chapter firstly provides the background to the study. After that, the statement of the problem and the purpose of the study are presented. Lastly, the research questions are listed, followed by the significance of the study.

1.1 Background to the Study

With the development of the globalization process, bilingualism or multilingualism is becoming more and more popular all over the world. Often people travel from one nation to another due to their occupation, marriage, occupation, and so on. When children grow up in families living in such situations, they often become bilinguals or multilingual. Gradually, parents in these contexts begin to ask questions about how they should raise their children regarding the languages, what kind of family language policy (FLP henceforth) they should employ, how they could control the language environment within and outside of the family, and so forth.

Research about bilingualism and bilinguals dates back to the 17th century, but became a major concern only after the 1970s. Wei (2008) distinguished three main research perspectives in respect to bilingualism/multilingualism: the linguistic perspective, the psycholinguistic perspective, and the sociolinguistic perspective. As it is known, language cannot really go without its context (i.e. culture). In this thesis, bilingualism will be explored from a sociolinguistic perspective through the ethnographic method. Sociolinguistics focuses on the subject area of language in

relationship to society (Hudson, 1996). Likened to the whole hierarchical society structure, family is the most basic unit at the rear of the entire society, and likewise is the sort of community that one soul could find his hand on at the earliest level. Rather than looking into the impact of language policy on society, this thesis will investigate the language policy within the basic unit, one single family. In a nuclear family structure consisting of both parents and children (Murdock, 1968), parents usually take on the character of authority/managers, and then children submit to their parents' instruction or management. With more children being born to the family, parents might have to adjust their policies in order to cater for various needs of more children. To the children, their parents are most probably the very first authority and input of language(s) they have in their entire life, if there is not any caretaker in the scene. Therefore, how parents manage and improvise FLP is vital for children's language development or experience.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Language policy is investigated within the domain of family in the current study. From the literature, it could be found that FLP patterns are explored from three various angles: within family generations (Fishman, 1971, 1991), from the impact of peers or extra-family environment (Harris, 1998; Haugen, 1972), and through Spolsky's FLP model, which includes both intra- and extra-family contributors. Different from Fishman who only focuses on intra-family factors and Harris who only focuses on extra-family factors, Spolsky (2004, 2008) combines both and proposes a more balanced model of FLP which consists of three components: parents' language ideology, language practice and language management. In that respect, there is no family standing alone by itself; consequently, a theory which considers both intra-family and extra-family factors to FLP would be more

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appropriate for the field work. There are various studies conducted to investigate the interplay between those three components mentioned above (Caldas, 2006; De Houwer, 1999; King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008; Kopeliovich, 2009; Lanza and Svendsen, 2007; Schwarts, 2008; Song, 2010; Spolsaky, 2007). Most studies agree that parents' language ideologies are influenced both by their linguistic and non-linguistic background (De Houwer, 1999; Irvine, 1989; Schwarts, 2008). Regarding the parents' family language management, there are two focal points in the field: extra-family language environment control and intra-family language environment control. External family language environment control is more popular in the research field because it is easier to gain access to, and it does not require frequent or repeated visits to participants' homes. Within intra-family language environment control, most studies focus on the linguistic aspect such as what language methods parents employ with their children, i.e. one-parent-one-language (henceforth OPOL) or heritage-language-at-home (henceforth HL@H). There are very few studies about what methods parents use to reinforce their power to maintain the internal management of the FLP (Schwartz, 2013). Kopeliovich (2013) proposes the term "Happylingual" and intend to maximize every source within the family context, including parents' management of the household language environment. Nevertheless, each household is different and possesses its own unique style of being. Hence the current study intends to find out more insight and evidence in this area by investigating one bilingual family in-depth.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

Due to the special characteristics of the research participants, namely children within the family environment, there are several difficulties attached to this research, such as access to regular family visits and to insider observation. If there were more than

one family, as participants, it does not only require lots of time but also a high cost. Hence, due to time constraints and limitation of resources, only one bilingual family participates in this case study. Though there is only one nuclear family involved, the nature of case study allows detailed and in-depth data and opens up a full description of FLP in this family in order to understand its the complexity and dynamic nature (Duff, 2008; Johnson, 1994) The purpose of this study is to find out about the FLP of this family, including parents' ideologies, family language management, and practice. Specifically, it aims to find out the possible interplay among parents' ideologies, language management and practice within the family under investigation; all the more so, to discover the parents' particular way to ensure intra-family management of the FLP.

1.4 Research questions

The present case study aims to answer four main questions:

1. What does the family language policy of this family involve?

   a. What are the parents' perceptions of raising a bilingual child? (parents' language ideologies)

   b. What are the language management strategies that parents employ with their children?

   c. How consistently do parents practice their management strategies?

2. What are the interrelationships among parents' language ideologies, family language management, and practice of FLP within the children's language experience?

1.5 Significance of the Study

As stated in the problem statement, this study aims to make a contribution to the ones who play the role of language managers (parents or teachers) in a multilingual

environment by exploring the possible strategies for maintaining the intra-context language management.

An English language teaching (henceforth ELT) classroom in many ways could be seen as an extended bilingual family, where the English teacher plays the role of language authority like parents, and students play the role of children who are under the teachers' supervision. All three parts of the FLP (parents' language ideologies, management, practice) could be directly utilized in an ELT classroom. Moreover, there are more and more ELT classrooms consisting of students from different linguistic backgrounds, i.e. sharing different native languages. The present study is significant as it offers a link between the FLP and language pedagogy.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter firstly briefly presents different definitions of bilingualism/trilingualism and adopts a working definition to be used within the scope of the thesis. Secondly, it reviews four family language policy theories: three generations theory, ecology theory, group socialization theory and Spolsky's family language policy model. Following such a review, the reasons why Spolsky's model was chosen for the current study are presented.

2.1 Bilingual profile description

Although the popularity of bilingualism phenomenon is increasing all over the world, the definition of bilingualism remains a matter of debate. There are two primary types of definitions of bilingualism: linguistic definitions and non-linguistic definitions. Linguistic definitions refer to the level of the speakers' language proficiency. Bloomfield (1933) insists on "a degree of perfection" or a "native-like control of two languages". Similar to Bloomfield, a bilingual speaker should have "an effectively equal control of two languages" are proposed by Matthews (1997). However, a perfect or balanced bilingual is in fact quite rare, which leads to the definition of bilingualism to the other end of continuum of language competence. Haugen (1969) proposed the ability to produce meaningful utterances in a second language. Within the definition of Haugen, anyone who only knows how to greet and give thanks in a foreign language could be called a bilingual. A decade later, Macnamara (1969) asserts that a bilingual only needs "a minimal competence" in

one of the four language skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing), in a language other than his first language (cited in Hamers & Blanc, 2004). Nearly twenty years later, Saunders (1988) broadens Macnamara's definition to the mastery of some or all of the four skills of two languages.

The non-linguistic definitions of the bilingualism start from Weinreich (1968): "The practice of alternately using two languages will be called bilingualism and the person involved, bilingual" (p. 1). Dimensions other than linguistic are intruded into definitions of bilingualism, especially sociocultural dimensions. For example, Mohanty (1994a) relates bilingualism to social-communicative dimension and Grosjean (1985a) integrates the language behavior into his definition of bilingualism. Mackey (1970) sheds light on more dimensions:

> Bilingualism cannot be described within the science of linguistics; we must go beyond…Psychology has regarded bilingualism as an influence on mental processes. Sociology has treated bilingualism as an element in culture conflict. Pedagogy has been concerned with bilingualism in connection with school organization and media of instruction…What is needed, to begin with, is a perspective in which these interrelationships may be considered. (p. 583)

No language could exist without a specific context, where there are people to speak and use it to communicate. In this thesis, as all the participants acquired their languages simultaneously, a bilingual within the context will be defined as a person who possesses the "native-like control" of two languages both in linguistic and sociolinguistic level. If three languages, trilingual.

Besides a working definition of bilingual or trilingual, a workable list of criteria to establish a bilingual profile is also important. Hoffmann (1991) proposes a list of 9 criteria to set up a bilingual profile from a non-linguistic perspective, which will be

used in the present case study to build profiles of the three children in the family, which will be discussed in Chapter 4:

1. The situation of L1 and L2 development;

2. The order of acquisition of L1 and L2;

3. The degree of language competence in L1 and L2. Are they balanced or dominant bilinguals? A dominant bilingual has better language proficiency in one language over another and a balanced bilingual has more or less equal language proficiency in both (Myers-Scotton, 2008);

4. When and to whom L1 and L2 are used in what situations?

5. Whether or not are there any code-switching or code-mixing?

6. How do they view the language, language users and concepts of bilingual/trilingual?

7. Are there any pressures from parents or peers regarding two languages?

8. What is the language context surrounding the bilinguals?

9. How do they view two cultures?

2.2 Family language policy

2.2.1 Background

"Language policy is all about choices" (Spolsky, 2009, p. 1). A government might face this dilemma when choosing a language(s) as the national official language(s). For example, why are there four official languages in Singapore (English, Malay, Mandarin and Tamil)? How does a family choose between heritage language and local language within family environment? Or how does a second language teaching classroom decide on the amount of L1 used in their class? An English-Spanish bilingual might need to decide what language is used, by whom and in what situation, for example English with the mother, and Spanish with the father. An ELT

teacher could decide to use L2 exclusively in his/her course of study. Choices could be made freely, but when there is a policy involved, it often becomes an outcome of management by an authority (Spolsky, 2009).

In the early 1950s, the term language policy was constantly connected with language planning. Language planning and language policy at this time were usually used from a "top-down" approach and they were discussed from a state or government angle. Not until the end of the 1980s did scholars begin to look into them at a micro level along with macro-level. From then on, language policy has broadened its research area to smaller communities such as schools or churches (Cooper, 1989). Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) define language planning as "a body of ideas, laws and regulations (language policy), change rules, beliefs, and practices intended to achieve a planned change (or to stop change from happening) in language use in one or more communities" (p.3). Here "communities" refer to a speech community, but a speech community can be really difficult to specify precisely; therefore, Spolsky (2004) employs the term "domain" to divide language policy's potential research scope: family, school, religion and religious organizations, the workplace, supra-national groupings, nations and states (polities). This is the first official time that family entered into the language policy research field. Although FLP starts late, it has already been implied in many areas such as sociology (Piller, 2002), education (Dewaele and Stavans, 2012), psychology (Tannenbaum, 2012), and other areas. The principal research focuses on FLP in cross-linguistic immigration families or mixed marriage families, namely bilingual or multilingual families.

2.2.2 Review of family language policy theories

FLP studies are concerned with "how languages are managed, learned and negotiated within families" (King, Fogle, Logan-Terry, 2008, p. 907). Some of the major theories related to FLP are represented by Fishman's three generations theory (1971)[1], Haugen's language ecology theory (1972), Harris' group socialization theory (1998) and Spolsky's language policy theory (2004).

2.2.2.1 Three Generations Theory

According to Fishman (1971), languages within family shift in the following process: (1) First generation of immigrants introduces the local language into their family. For instance, a Chinese couple move to America, and then they begin to speak English and Chinese in the dwelling. (2) The second generation of the immigrants grows up in a bilingual context. The same Chinese couple's children will most likely speak Chinese within the family and English in the community. They grow up speaking two languages at the same time. (3) Third generation might only speak the local language. Depending on proficiency in the homeland language of the second generation, they may or may not speak their homeland language with their children. Hence the third generation of the Chinese immigrant couple will grow up in a monolingual environment, and become a monolingual, using the community language as their first language. Later Fishman (1991) proposes the Reversing Language Shift to save this pattern and attempt to shift the language transmission trend. Fishman's theory emphasizes the importance of family and parents' influence onto the children's language acquisition, especially mother-children relationship**.**

2.2.2.2 Ecology theory

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[1] Later he develops it into Reversing Language Shift Model (Fishman, 1991).

Ecology theory is proposed by Haugen (1972) as the study of the interplay between language and its linguistic and non-linguistic context. Ecology theory studies the language and its environment, believing that no language exists isolated from its socio-political context. A language is to be used in a society and with other language users. The term of ecology makes it so that this field of study could be extended into a broad field, such as psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, and ethnolinguistics, and so on. Ecology of language focuses on languages and their interactions with all users both inside and outside of the family.

2.2.2.3 Group socialization theory

Harris (1998) introduces Group Socialization theory by asking the question: "Why do children turn out the way they do?" In answering that question, Harris emphasizes the importance of peers rather than parents. He confirms the importance of parents onto children's personality development before the age of 5 or 6. After that age, peer influence outweighs the parents' influence. The same theory applies to language development as well. For instance, the children of a Chinese immigrant family living in America, will most likely choose to use English along with all their peers, rather than Chinese which only their parents use.

2.2.2.4 Spolsky's family language policy theory

Spolsky (2004) proposes to divide language policy into three components: language ideology or belief, language practice and language management. Language ideology or belief refers to the attitudes and beliefs of languages that family members choose to put into practice. Language practice refers to habitually what languages family members use. Language management refers to all the efforts that have been or are planned in order to control/modify the language practice (Spolsky, 2004, 2008). In addition, Spolsky also describes three situations when FLP usually gets to work: (1)

when authority of family begins to change other family members' language practice; (2) when family members gradually begin to speak different languages; (3) when a family immigrates to a cross-linguistic place. Different from other domains of language policy, there is not necessarily any written policies/rules within the families, but mostly only language choices based on language ideology and language practice.

2.2.2.4.1 Parent language ideologies and practice

Irvine (1989) defines language ideology as "the cultural (or subcultural) system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests" (p. 255). People act the way they believe about social norms and values. What people believe can often be seen from their actions. For example, in the Turkish culture, hospitality is highly valued. If the immigrant parents valued this social norm, they would act on hospitality towards their guests. If not, they might do whatever their own heritage culture requires them to do. The same is true for the relationship between parent language ideologies and practice. It is often viewed that FLP practice as the direct consequence of their ideologies. Based on De Houwer (1999) and King (et al, 2008), a model could be described to illustrate the relationship between parent language ideologies, practice and their outcome (children's language experience and identity forming):

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┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
│      Parents' language ideologies     │
└─────────────────────────────────────┘
                   ↕
┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
│        Language practice/interaction   │
└─────────────────────────────────────┘
                   ↕
┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
│   Children's language experience and  │
│           identity forming            │
└─────────────────────────────────────┘
```
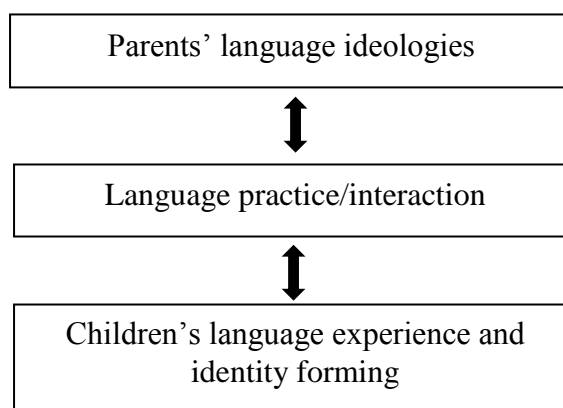
From this model it is clear that those three elements are interactive. Parents' language ideologies strongly direct their language practice and interaction with their children and influence children's language experience (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; De Houwer, 1999; King and Fogle, 2006; Li, 1999; Martinesz-Roldan, 2004; Song, 2010). De Houwer (1999) describes three kinds of parents' attitudes that might influence their FLP: (1) their attitudes towards a specific language, namely their understanding of each language' specific function context; (2) their attitudes towards bilingualism and child bilingualism (a bilingual parent does not necessarily want to raise his/her children as bilinguals); (3) their attitudes towards code-switching (whether or not they mind children switching between different languages). In turn children's reaction will shape and assist parents in adjusting their ideologies and practice (Cruz-Ferreira, 2006; Fogle, 2012; Fogle and King, 2012; Kopeliovich, 2009; Lanza, 1992; Schwartz, 2008; Tuominen, 1999). As a result of different interaction of ideologies and practice, children's language experience and identity forming vary. Song (2010) studies the South Korean immigrant families in America. Because English is seen as a global language by the majority of those immigrant Korean parents, their ideology of Global English motivates them to encourage their children to speak good English, in this way, this ideology "naturalizes the ideology of Korean as a solitary national identity (p. 40)" within their Korean community.

There are various factors that might influence parents' ideologies of the FLP, such as their own language experience (King and Fogle, 2006), their socio-cultural background and immigration experience (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). Furthermore, family structure change might influence parents' ideology and language practice at home as well (Gregory, 2004; Kopeliovich, 2009; Spolsky, 2009). For example,

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when more children are born into the family, OPOL FLP might be challenged, it might survive, or it could actually cause a counter effect (Patterson, 1999; Yamamoto, 2001).

Nevertheless, it is not always the stated ideologies that are put into practice 100 percent (Kasuya, 1998; Schwarts, 2008). Schwartz (2008) found that though most of the parents claimed that they want to promote their L1 Russian, only 27 percent of parents actually put into practice (such as Russian reading instruction). Hence, in the research area, it is important to note whether or not the parents' claims match their actual practice at home.

2.2.2.4.2 Parent Language management and practice

Spolsky (2009) defines family language management as "efforts to control the language of family members, especially children" (p. 430). FLP could be defined as the decisions that are made to manage language practice within the home (Spolsky, 2009). Talking about controlling or training, naturally there should be at least one manager to ensure the relevant policies are being exercised and practiced properly. Also the outcome or harmony of work place of management often results in the authority or power of the manager in the family. Schwartz (2010) group two types of data regarding family language management: external control for FLP and internal control for FLP. External control (Caldas, 2006; Harris, 1998; Lanza & Svendsen, 2007; King & Fogle, 2006; Tuominen, 1999; Wei, 1994; Yarmamoto, 2001; Zentella, 1997), namely parents consciously try to control or create a suitable language environment for their children and also for their convenient management, for example, choosing a proper neighborhood to live in, or a good school to study (Cunningham-Andersson and Andersson, 2004).

Internal control (Kopeliovich, 2009), refers to the control of the family linguistic environment. OPOL and HL@H are two popular FLP that parents employ at home. OPOL, i.e., each parent chooses one language and only speaks that language to their children. It normally occurs in intermarriage families, two spouses from different linguistic background and both parties want their children to acquire their home language. However, reports on the effectiveness of OPOL vary. Döpke (1998) suggests three good reasons to use the OPOL at home: (1) rich language exposure; (children have access to a wide range of linguistic features from both languages); (2) Similar to monolingual family, parents gradually increase the complexity of language input to their children; and (3) It is easier for parents to notice language delay or unbalanced language development through code-switching. Irrespective of those benefits of OPOL, there are many reports pointing out that OPOL does not ensure children's language development (Patterson, 1999; Yamamoto, 2001). First of all, most intermarriage families do not have an equal bilingual environment outside of home, which means that when children reach school age, outside pressure will influence the balance at home to some degree. Secondly, in what language do the parents communicate with each other? Between parents there must be one language they use to communicate with each other, which means there will not be an equal language input at home either. Döpke (1992) argues that lack of the following three FLP management elements might cause the failure of OPOL: parents lack of consistency in OPOL, parents lack of child centered behavior and limited parent-children interaction. Among those three, ''inconsistency'' seems to be more substantial than other two elements. Besides OPOL, HL@H is another popular FLP (Fantini, 1985; Barron-Hauwaert, 2011). Most of the studies so far have been

interested in the outcome of certain factors which cause failure of OPOL, or other FLPs; however, very few studies have looked into how the parent management strategy could serve to reinforce the FLP and yield a satisfying outcome for children (Kasuya, 1998; Lanza, 1997).

From here adding another element management into the diagram of De Houwer (1999) and King (et al, 2008), there the model of Spolsky completes:
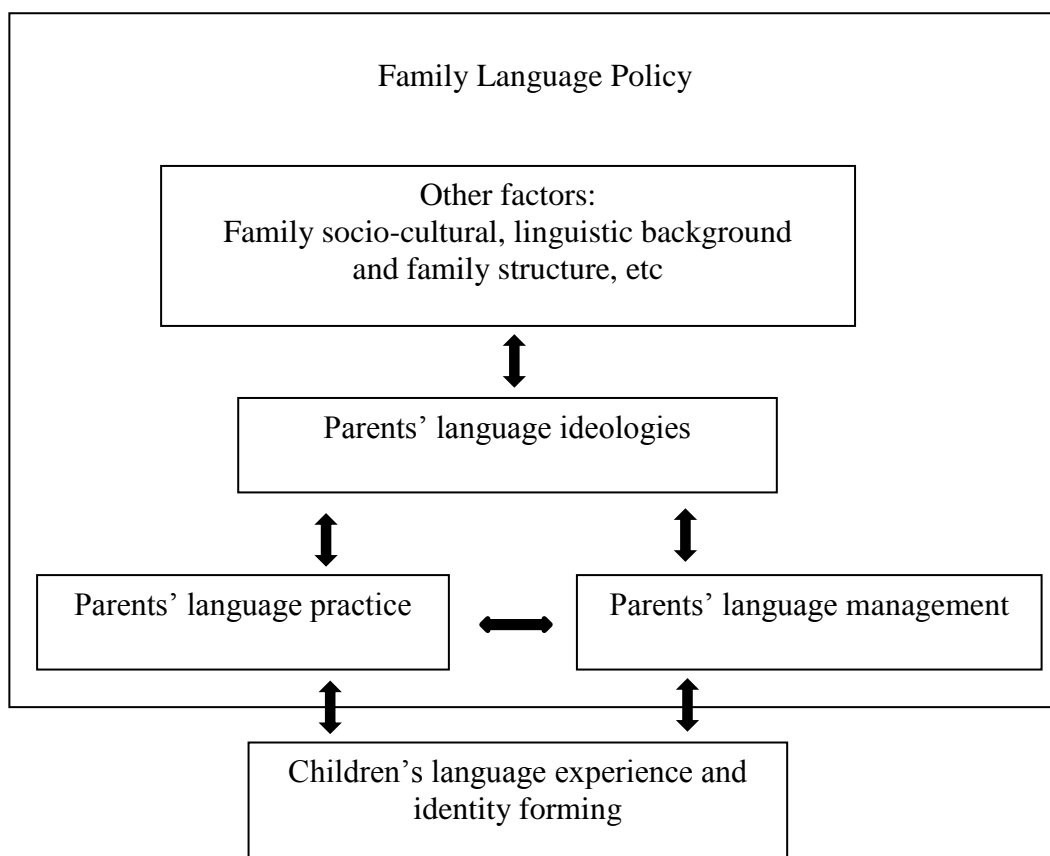
Diagram 1: Framework of Spolsky's FLP

2.2.3 Why Spolsky's family language policy theory?

The FLP theories discussed above could be roughly divided into three groups: pro external family influence upon children's language experience; pro internal family influence upon children's language experience; or pro both. Fishman (1971, 1991)

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focuses on how heritage language(s) pass on to three generations in immigrant families and he thinks mother-children relationship is one of the main critical bond for heritage language maintenance. Contrary to Fishman's emphasizing internal family influence, Harris (1998) claims peers (community socialization) tend to cast more influence on children's language development or choices. Others like Haugen (1972), Spolsky (2004) or Kopeliovich (2009) believe both pressures from inside or outside of the family will affect a child's language development and language choices. No one could live in an entirely isolated family without any outside influence or pressure. Unlike Fishman who only focuses on intra-family factors and Harris, who only focuses on extra-family factors, Haugen and Spolsky overlook neither in their theories. However, compared to Haugen's abstracted theory, Spolsky provides a very workable framework with three concrete components of FLP. Hence, this study will use Spolsky's language policy model as the main research model. The model presented above consists of the basic elements of Spolsky's FLP theory. Under the same broad concepts (parents' language ideologies, language management, and language practice), various researchers could explore different aspects of FLP. Take language management, for example, Schwarts, Moin and Klayle (2013) observe the parents' choice of bilingual education (kindergarten), concentrating on the ways parents control the extra-family language environment. The current study will focus on the way parents secure the intra-family language environment.

This chapter has suggested a working definition of a bilingual and a trilingual, and a basic workable framework for a research model to be followed in the study. The next

chapter will present the methodology employed, including research design, data

collection procedures, and data collection instruments.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the research design of the current study in the beginning, and then explains the data collection procedure. Subsequently, participants who are under investigation are introduced briefly and some ethical issues are discussed. Finally, the four data collection instruments are explained: interviews, a questionnaire, observations and field notes.

3.1 Research design

This case study employs the ethnographic method to closely investigate FLP in two bilingual parents with three children (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, Kulick, 1992, and Macleroy, 2010). The case study provides an in-depth data analysis and detailed description of the context (Duff, 2008). Moreover, it is practical and especially useful in the fields of education, where a problem could be studied. The possible solutions could be examined for their effectiveness (Marriam, 1998). Ethnography is part of qualitative methodology. Clifford Geertz (1973) first describes ethnography as "thick description", providing a detailed, in-depth description of daily life and practice. Within the non-linguistic dimension of the definition of bilingualism and within the framework of this thesis, bilingualism is viewed under a social construct. Ethnography takes the "interpretivist stance", which means ethnography views bilingualism as "an element of the social and cultural practices of sets of speakers, rather than a fixed object existing in nature" (Heller, 2008, p. 249). The ethnographic approach usually acquires some time for the researcher to live within or blend in the

context, to tell the story from an insider's rather than an outsider's perspective. It focuses on the whole picture, the picture as it appears in real life.

A basic working framework is drawn at the end of Chapter 2 Literature Review. It consists of the basic components of FLP and its impact on children's language experience. Most previous research has focused on FLP from the perspective of how parents manage extra-family language, such as the choice of monolingual school or bilingual school. It has concentrated on how parents want to secure their children's language environment outside of family (Schwarts, Moin, and Klayle, 2013; Moin, Protassova, Lukkari and Schwarts, 2013). Unlike previous research, the present case study focuses on methods which parents employ to secure their intra-family language environment. The present research module collects information from the following aspects:

1. Family socio-cultural and linguistic background: parents' education background, ethnic and religion background, family structure and each family bilingual profile.

2. Three components of FLP: (a) Parents' language ideologies regarding the language, bilingualism, and identity. (b) Parents' language management: linguistic strategies they employ to control the internal home language environment (i.e. OPOL, HL@H, rules to control code-switching, etc.) and non-linguistic strategies they use to ensure the linguistic management. (c) Parents' language practice at home: how consistently parents practice their language rules at home, and how they react if children break the rules.

3. Outcomes of FLP in reality: all three children's real language competence and identity, and their attitudes towards their FLP.

3.2 Data collection procedure

There are five family members involved in this case study, two parents and three children. The data source heavily relies on observation, casual conversations and family interviews. The present case study started out with semi-constructed interviews with parents and a proficiency questionnaire of all family members, aiming to establish a basic language profile of all family members' individual language experiences (Marian, Blumenfeld, and Kaushanskaya, 2007). After building up this profile, a 6-month observation period followed. The family was visited at least once or twice a week during those 6 months. Each week the researcher met with the mother and talked about the children's language experience or observed the children. Some recordings were made after the researcher built up a good rapport with the family. The conversations were recorded either at the dinner table or during family game nights, mostly without the researcher's presence. In total, there are about 6 hours' recording of interaction between parents and children, and 1 hour recording of last family interviews. The transcriptions of recordings were done selectively through content method. Because the researcher has very little knowledge of Turkish, the primary focus of the transcriptions was not the linguistic aspect but the authentic interaction between parents and children. The content of the conversations formed the primary focus of this case study. There were large portions of singing, story reading, game playing on the recording. Those incidents were not transcribed. The researcher would listen to recordings, several times and then went to transcribe them selectively according to the content of the discourse. At the end of the 6-month period, another semi-constructed interview was conducted and recorded to complete the language profile, and to attempt to seek the causes of the unexpected phenomena observed during the observation period. The last family interviews were

the main data source of the present case study, which went through a word-for-word transcription. Similarly, it was subjected to qualitative analysis.

3.3 Participants

The participants were selected based on the priority of convenience sampling, but purposeful at the same time. It needed to be an English-Turkish bilingual family, and it should provide easy access for researcher to do home visits regularly. Founded on these two causes, the current family was selected as they were a bilingual family and friends to the researcher. Under those circumstances, it would be easier to build up a rapport with the children, do home visits and observation. Moreover, the participants would be more likely to reflect their true ideas and feelings, and behave the way they would normally do. The selected family is an American Christian family living in Turkish-speaking countries (12 years in Turkey and 2 years in Northern Cyprus). There are five family members. Both parents are English-Spanish-Turkish trilinguals and the three children are English-Turkish bilinguals. In this thesis, the father is referred to as Mike, the mother as Lily, the first born child as Lucy, the second born child as Mary, and the youngest as Henry. More details will be discussed in Chapter 4.

3.4 Ethical issues

Because there are three children involved in the research, the informed consent of parents and parental consent for the children are signed by parents to ensure voluntariness and confidentiality. In order to protect the family and the children, all names are replaced with pseudonyms. All children are under 16 years old, and the family are given the right to refuse to answer any question or withdraw from the study at any time.

3.5 Data collection instruments

3.5.1 Interviews

Parents were interviewed twice in the whole data collection process. One was conducted at the beginning and the other at the end. They are used to collect data regarding family language profile, family socio-cultural and linguistic background, parents' language ideology and their strategies to control family language environment.

Parents were first interviewed at the beginning of the data collection period. It was a semi-structured interview, which aimed to elicit from the parents as much information as possible in a more or less spontaneous conversation. This interview set up the starting point of the present case study.

Parents were interviewed again at the end of observation period. This time it was also a semi-constructed interviewed, they were asked to answer specific questions either from research questions (Question 1-4 in the following list) or emerging questions from the observation period (Questions 5 and 6 in the following list).

These are the interview questions used at the end of the observation period for the parents

1. What kind of identity would you like your children to develop?

2. What languages would you like your children to develop?

3. What are the language policies (guidelines) you employ with your children?

4. How does your own bilingual experience influence your policy of bilingualism in the family?

5. Could you further explain the meaning of the family policy "you love me so you obey me"?

6. What expressions would you use to express your anger when you're upset with your children, and in what language would you express it?

Children were only interviewed at the end of the observation period for the purpose of collecting data about their attitudes towards their parents' FLP and their awareness of bilingualism.

These are the interview questions used at the end of the observation period for children. Because birth order is different, three children share some common questions and some specifically designed questions according to their birth order:

Common questions

1. What languages do you speak? (Order of language)

2. Which language would you prefer to use with your siblings (with your brother or with your sister)?

3. Do your parents expect you to use a certain language(s) with your brother or sister?

4. What language reflects your identity?

5. What language is more like you?

6. What languages do you feel most comfortable speaking?

7. What language(s) would you prefer to express your emotions/feelings? (Happiness, sadness, anger, and frustration)

8. Do you switch between languages you speak sometimes? In what situations? Why?

9. How do you think of your parents' language policy at home? Do you like it, why? If you could change something, what would you like to change and why?

Specifically designed questions to Lucy, first born:

1. Did you used to speak Spanish when you were little? And how did your language develop before your two siblings were born?

2. What happened after Mary joined the family? What changed in the family regarding languages? How did this affect you regarding languages?

3. What happened when Henry joined the family? How did this affect you again regarding languages?

Specifically designed questions to Mary, second born

1. Who do you take as your language model in the family?

2. What happened when Henry joined the family? How did this affect you again regarding languages?

3. What language do you prefer to speak to your siblings? Any changes and why?

Specifically designed questions to Henry, last born

1. Do you find speaking languages difficult? And why? Which language(s) are most difficult for you to speak?

2. Who do you take as a language model in the family?

3. How do your sisters influence/affect your language experience?

4. What language do you prefer to speak to your siblings? Any changes and why?

3.5.2 The language experience and proficiency questionnaire

All family members were asked to fill in a self-language experience and proficiency questionnaire (Marian, Blumenfeld, and Kaushanskaya, 2007). The questionnaire was designed to collect data about all family members' language competence and self-bilingualism awareness. Their competence was further judged through real life observation and family visits.

3.5.3 Observations

The whole family was observed once a week, and the mother was visited separately once a week. The observation was participant observation. The researcher participated in family worship nights, game nights, dinners, and so on. Sometimes the researcher was asked to look after the children when parents were out at night. Therefore, the researcher gradually built up a sound rapport with all family members. Children were shy at the beginning, but with the passing of time they began to talk more and act completely naturally, especially towards the later time of observation.

3.5.4 Field notes

Field notes were kept in two ways: mental notes and written notes (Bryman & Bell, 2003). Mental notes were kept when it was not appropriate to write things down. It occurred often during child observation. Sometimes there simply was no time for it or it might distract children from what they were doing or speaking. Written notes were taken mostly during home visits or interviews, as both parents and children felt more comfortable when the researcher was taking notes.

Chapter 4

DATA ANAYLYSIS

This chapter has two major parts: pre-analysis and qualitative analysis. The pre-analysis part includes the life stories of all family members and their bilingual profiles. The qualitative analysis part involves the main categories used to analyze the data.

4.1 Pre-analysis

The data were collected through four types of instruments: semi-structured interview, questionnaire, observation and field notes. The collected data was prepared for qualitative analysis in the light of research questions. Prior to this analysis, the bilingual profiles are set up based on the data sources. The participants' bilingual profiles outlined in this chapter will build a foundation for data analysis and a reference for the interpretation of the results in the next chapter.

4.1.1 Family bilingual profiles

4.1.1.1 Life story of each family member

A general language life story could be ascertained for each family member from the interviews, questionnaires about their language experience and proficiency, observation and field notes:

The father of the children, Mike, aged 36, has a Bachelor's degree in Bible studies and is currently taking Master's courses. He was born and raised in South America. He is a balanced Spanish-English bilingual. He is from an American family who

lives in South America, and he experienced HL@H (English) approach while growing up. English was required to use at home and Spanish was used outside of the family context. His order of language acquisition is Spanish, English. He left South America for America when he was 17. Nonetheless, he considers Spanish to be the first language to him. Even after many years of not using it, he can still speak Spanish fluently. After living in America for 6 years, he moved to Turkey with his wife and lived there for 12 years. He learned Turkish during this time, and became almost a native-like speaker of Turkish in the second or third year of his stay in Turkey. In his language proficiency questionnaire, he rated that only about 20% of time people could recognize his foreign accent in Turkish. In real observation, people are usually surprised when he introduces himself as an American after a while of conversation in Turkish. One Cypriot commented: "when he talked Turkish, his facial expressions and body language are just like a Turk's. I can hardly believe that he is not a Turk and his accent is really good." Mike's explanation for that is: "after all I lived in Turkey over 12 years. And I like the Turkish culture very much. It is close to my native culture." After adding Turkish to his language list, he could actually be described as a Balanced English-Spanish-Turkish trilingual.

The mother of the family, Lily, aged 37, has a Bachelor degree in Elementary Education. She was born and raised in America and later moved to Central America when she was 8 years old. She is a dominant English-Spanish bilingual, and her dominant language is English. Like Mike, she experienced the HL@H (English) approach while growing up. However, she always felt more comfortable with English, rather than Spanish. She would consider Spanish her second language. Her order of language acquisition is English, then Spanish. After many years of not using

Spanish, she found her Spanish competence decreasing. However, she is still fluent; she just needs time to polish it up. She moved to Turkey together with her husband Mike, and lived there for 12 years. Her Turkish is almost native-like. Similar to Mike, she became fluent in the third year of staying in Turkey. According to her self-rating, half of the time people might identify her foreign accent in Turkish. Similarly, when Turkish is added into the scene, Lily could be described as a dominant English-Turkish-Spanish trilingual.

The first born child is a girl, Lucy. She is 13 years old. She was born and raised in Turkey, and she is a balanced English-Turkish bilingual. She was English-Spanish-Turkish trilingual when she was 3 years old, and later became an English-Turkish bilingual when other siblings joined the family. Before the second daughter Mary, Mike and Lily employed OPOL policy at home. Mike strictly spoke only Spanish at home and Lily only English. When Lucy was close to 15 months, she began to speak English mixed with Turkish and Spanish. Up to the age of 3.0-3.5, Lucy was able to make clear language choices accordingly. She knew that she had to speak Spanish to her father, English to her mother and Turkish to the neighbors. She had no problem in developing three languages at the same time. However, with the second born Mary joining the family, the family language approach switched to HL@H because Mary did not seem to be able to catch up in her language development with OPOL approach. Mary could not speak until she was almost two years old. As a result of the change in FLP, Lucy lost the source of Spanish input. She can barely remember any Spanish now that she has grown up. If Spanish is taken out of Lucy's language repertoire, according to her language proficiency questionnaire, her order of language acquisition is English and then Turkish, but in the interview when she was asked

what languages she spoke, she said: "Turkish and English." Turkish appeared in the first place. She is a balanced bilingual in both languages now, but according to her, her English was not that good during the time when she lived in Turkey. The whole family moved to the States for a few months before they moved to Northern Cyprus, which helped her greatly in English. Moreover, according to her, school in Northern Cyprus provides more English teaching and learning environment so her English is developing much better.

The second born child, Mary, is 11 years old, a dominant bilingual and her dominant language is Turkish. The gap of competence between two languages is not very big at the moment. She could not speak until she was almost 2 years old. Mike and Lily wondered three languages was a bit too much for Mary to cope with, so Mike stopped speaking Spanish at home. They switched from OPOL approach to HL@H approach. After that, Mary gradually began to speak English and Turkish. Her Turkish was stronger than her English in general, because the mother, Lily, became busy with Turkish friends and Mary was exposed to the Turkish-speaking environment more often. Five years ago, when Mary and Lucy were together, they spoke Turkish more often than English, as they both went to a Turkish primary school. After living 12 years in Turkey, the whole family moved back the America for about 3-4 months and later moved to Northern Cyprus. The two girls again go to a local Turkish school. According to her language proficiency questionnaire, Mary's order of language acquisition is Turkish and English. When she was asked in the interview what languages she spoke, she answered:

> Like easy to speak? It is easy to speak Turkish, it is much better. Because like I was born in Diyarbakir, Turkey. And English is a little difficult. And in Turkish I learn much better and I go to school in Turkish. It is not difficult, English, but a little bit more than Turkish.

The last born child is Henry, an 8-year-old boy. He is a dominant Turkish-English bilingual and his dominant language is Turkish. He has more struggles in language acquisition than his older sisters. He could not speak until he was almost 4 years old. At 4, he could only speak phrases. Parents were worried so they took him to a professional speech therapist in America. After examining Henry's hearing and vocal organs, the speech therapist concluded that he was a perfectly normal child. The speech therapist suggested a few possible reasons for Henry's situation: firstly, he was the youngest in the family. More than often he did not have the need to speak as the older sisters did it for him; secondly, he was a boy, and was diagnosed as hyperactive. He cared less and did not want to speak; thirdly, he was exposed to more than one language at the same time, which might have confused him. Bilingual children might have the tendency to speak later than the monolingual child (Perozzi & Sanchez, 1992; Petitto & Holowka, 2002). Some or all of these reasons combined together might have caused Henry's language delay. The therapist also commented that Henry might just do not care to speak. When Lily was asked about Henry, she commented that Henry is independent and very social at the same time. When he plays with his friend, he does not really need any languages. They wrestle or run. Henry's playmates are usually older than him, and he is very good at body languages. He could make himself understood without speaking. He went to a Turkish kindergarten for one and half years in Turkey, so he is better at Turkish even though his Turkish is still slightly behind that of a normal kid. Later, when the entire family moved to America, he could hardly communicate in English to people. Half way during the time when the family stayed in America, Henry suddenly began to speak English. But he almost forgot how to speak Turkish when they moved to

Northern Cyprus. At the early stay in Northern Cyprus, Henry could understand Turkish but could only respond in English, which often frustrated him. However, this only lasted a week or so. After some time, Henry could speak Turkish like before. He goes to a Turkish primary school now. When he was asked which one he liked more between English and Turkish, he prefers English because "English, English's better, çünkü (English: Because) I can't talk that much in Turkish." But according to Lily, Henry speaks better Turkish than his English.

4.1.2 Hoffman's nine bilingual profile criteria

The main focus of this case study is children and their language development. Hence, Hoffmann's 9 bilingual profile criteria will be used to take a closer look at the three children only and provide a brief summary from the life stories:

1. The situation of L1 and L2 development;

   Except the first born Lucy, second born Mary and last born Henry have a different degree of delay in the beginning of language acquisition. Mary began to talk at the age of 2 and Henry at the age of 4. Because all the children are still very young, it is hard to discuss the issue of maintenance or loss of any languages. From the current observation, Mary and Henry are catching up quickly. Mary is good at both, but sometimes might forget words in English regarding some school subjects, which is very normal in these kinds of bilinguals. Henry still portrayed a relatively obvious lack in language competence compared to same age children in both languages, but he has improved his language ability quickly within a 6-month period experience. He is only 8 years old, so he has great potential to advance his language competence in the near future.

2. The order of acquisition of L1 and L2;

They all acquired two languages simultaneously, but the development of two languages varies in three children. First born Lucy acquired both languages more or less at the same time. Second born Mary and last born Henry appear more advanced in Turkish than English from the very beginning.

3. The degree of language competence in L1 and L2;

First born Lucy is more or less equally balanced in both languages.

Second born Mary is slightly more advanced in Turkish than English.

Last born Henry is more advanced in Turkish than English.

4. When and to whom L1 and L2 are used in what situations?

They are only allowed to use English at home. They are trained to do so. But when there are Turkish visitors at home, they all switch to Turkish. That is the only situation they could speak Turkish at home. They know they are supposed to speak English to people who only know English and Turkish to those who only know Turkish. But in the case of a person who knows both, there are chances that they will switch between both.

According to the interview results, all children report that they use English when they are happy and sad, Turkish when they are angry or frustrated. Only Henry said he would use both English and Turkish when he is happy.

5. Whether or not there is any code-switching or code-mixing?

Though they are asked to speak only English at home, in reality, all children switch between two languages from time to time according to the parents. Because the researcher is only advanced in English and not able to use Turkish in a communicative level, observing code-switching and code-mixing is a difficult task. Moreover, all children are trained to use English to English speaking guests, Turkish to Turkish guests, but otherwise only English.

Hence, code-switching and code-mixing occur rarely in the researcher's presence or absence.

According to casual conversations with parents during home visits, Lily commented that her youngest son did code-mixing more often than other girls. In the past year he always used the Turkish word "çünkü" instead of "because" in an English sentence. For example, when he was asked which language was easier for him, he said "English's better, çünkü [Eng. because] I can't talk that much in Turkish." It improved slightly in 6 months, but he sometimes still used it. According to Lily, all except Henry switch at the sentence level from time to time, Lucy and Mary mostly remain at lexical level.

6. How do they view the language, language users and concepts of bilingual/trilingual?

They all are aware of their own bilingualism. They know that they do speak two different languages and have the ability to use them accordingly.

When three children were asked which language is their language, they all gave their own unique answers. First born Lucy thinks English is more her language. She commented on her feelings toward both languages:

> I guess I just talk more emotional when I talk in English. It is more soft language. When I talked Turkish, when I have Cypriot accent now, I do not know, it is more hard language. I do not know, English has all that accent, it just feels better. When I pray, I usually pray in English because it is more emotional, it flows better I guess. I do not know, it just feels like that. I understand the bible in Turkish, but I'd rather read it in English.

Second born Mary takes both languages as her languages. She said when she was really emotional, she would scream hard in Turkish.

Last born Henry also takes both languages as his languages, and he preferred English but thought he could not speak English as well as Turkish. But Lily commented that it was actually the other way around in reality, Henry's Turkish is better than English.

7. Are there any pressures from parents or peers regarding the two languages?

Their home language is English, a language that is regarded as a global language. Compared to their home language, their community language Turkish is relatively less influential in their future because parents plan to send them back to the United States for university so parents want them to have good English for the instrumental motivation. But parents also want them to feel like they belong to the community. According to Lily, Henry suffers a little in his school because his Turkish is a little behind than that of other kids and kids could be mean to him sometimes, so he is taking extra tutoring for his school in order to catch up.

8. What is the language context surrounding the bilinguals?

After parents switch from OPOL to HL@H, they only speak English at home and they require all children do the same. Parents are truly consistent in their behavior and parentingbecause they believe a good modeling could speak for them. Outside of home, it is mostly a Turkish-speaking environment either in Turkey or in Northern Cyprus.

9. How do they view two cultures?

All children recognize and appreciate that they have two cultures in them, the American and Turkish cultures.

In summary, the family structure and each member's bilingual competence could be seen in the following table:

Table 1: Table of each member's bilingual competence

Name	Role in family	Type of bilinguals	Dominant language(s)	Order of language acquisition
Mike	Father (36 years old)	Balanced English-Spanish-Turkish trilingual	all	Spanish, English, Turkish
Lily	Mother (37 years old)	Dominant English-Turkish-Spanish trilingual	English and Turkish	English, Spanish, Turkish
Lucy	First born (13 years old; girl)	Balanced English-Turkish bilingual	Both	English, Turkish (almost simultaneously)
Mary	Second born (11 years old; girl)	Dominant Turkish-English bilingual	Turkish	Turkish, English
Henry	Last born (8 years old; boy)	Dominant Turkish-English bilingual	Turkish	Turkish, English

From Hoffman's nine bilingual profile criteria, it is seen that Lucy, Mary and Henry became bilingual at different rates. Lucy gets the best competence, then Mary, and Henry performance least well among three siblings. Lucy first acquired heritage language and then local language. But Mary and Henry first acquired local language and then heritage language. This could result in their birth order. According to Lacovou (2008), the oldest child usually receives a few more years' solo attention from the parents. Therefore, they get more language input of heritage language than

their latter born siblings. This case could be an evidence for the effect of birth order on children's language development.

4.2 Qualitative analysis

In the pre-analysis stage, the language profiles of the whole family were established vividly. Each family member was described using their language history. In the data analysis stage, the data was analyzed qualitatively according to two research questions. There are three main categories guided by research question 1: (1), parents' language ideologies; (2) parents' language management; (3) parents' language practice; and another two categories derive from research question 2: (1) factors influencing parents' language ideologies; (2) interrelationships among parents' language ideologies, management and practice. Following the analysis stage, the results and discussions will be presented in next chapter.

Chapter 5

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

This chapter presents the results and discussions regarding the two research questions of the current case study: what is the family language policy of this family and the interrelationships between the three components of family language policy.

5.1 Research question 1: What is the family language policy of this family?

5.1.1 Parents' language ideologies

This component of FLP is answered through 3 specific questions, which were used in the last family interview. Parents were interviewed separately:

5.1.1.1 What kind of identity do parents want their children to develop?

(1) Parents' upbringing and children's identity: bilingualism as a heritage

The results indicate that there is a connection between parents' upbringing and the idealized identity of the children (Amberg, 1987; Harding-Esch and Riley, 2003). Lily stresses that it is her upbringing, rather than her nationality, that defines her identity. She explains:

> I think that the fact that my husband and I both grew up not in America, despite of being Americans, we do not tend to be very nationalistic. And we find that our identity is not in our nationalism or nationality, or our language, but just who we are, and whatever we are supposed to.

Likewise, by reflecting on his own upbringing, Mike perceives his bilingual background as "a gift" which he wants to impart to his kids. Precisely, this metaphor refers to the significance of "an international identity":

But ultimately it would be, a truly an international identity where they can relate to, interact with all kinds of people from all over the world, I think that's a wonderful heritage, we can give to our children, the ability to work well with people from all over the world and whatever context they live in.

Moreover, he would like all his children to grow into "a citizen of the world" like himself:

I think it helps me, the fact that I'd be able to live in different cultures, and it helps me to appreciate more different cultures, international nature of the world and to be you know a citizen of the world. You know, to be the one that appreciates all kinds of different cultures.

He adds that he witnessed other bilinguals who "fall between the cracks and having a lot of identity crisis" in his own words, which could be confirmed in other studies (Schecter and Beyley, 1997). Therefore, this perception is suggested as a strategy for avoiding such an identity crisis:

But it is important for me to feel I belong there (local identity). Otherwise, what happened is you grow up your whole life and feel that you do not belong to a certain place even if you live there. And then you go back to the supposedly country where you're from, and you still do not feel like you belong there, because you never live there. So you kind of get caught between, you know, not feeling you belong anywhere. That's what many third culture kids like myself, you know, tend to fall between the cracks, have a lot of identity crisis.

(2) It is important to develop a sense of belonging and open up one's horizon

As in the previous quotation from Mike, he believes a sense of belonging is what helps him to avoid "falling between the cracks". The answer indicates that both Mike and Lily encourage their children to engage in the local language and identity. The children do not have to only belong to one side, but they are encouraged to be both and even more. For this Lily explains:

I don't really want them to develop anything necessary whether Turkish or American. I find that it's best for them to discover their own identity. And that might be they have a mixed culture and that's ok. I don't feel that they

have to be just American or just a Turk. I think they can be a mixture and realize that they are special because they have a mixed culture in them.

Moreover, Mike encourages them to appreciate all cultures and eventually possess "an international identity":

> When we raise them to allow them to take local identity to a degree, to allow them to feel like they are Turks to a degree, to understand that they're also Americans, but ultimately it would be, a truly an international identity where they can relate to, interact with all kinds of people from all over the world.

It is clear in the quotations above that parents identify culture(s) with identity and consciously target a blended culture which will not only provide a sense of belonging but also offer some kind of "an international identity" which they will "discover" for themselves.

5.1.1.2 What languages do parents want their children to develop?

(1) English

Naturally the results show that both parents set English as the priority, which is based on instrumental motivation rather than English being a heritage language. Regarding the future education of the children, Lily explains why English is the priority:

> Probably at this stage English is more important because ultimately for their future it's more important. They're going to study in the States for universities. They need to have a good handle of the English language.

As for Mike, he considers the importance of the English in the world, so he also prioritizes the English in the family in the interview: "Naturally English is a priority, because it's kind of the global language." Therefore, English takes priority because the parents not only see it as a key to higher education in the United States, but also as "the global language".

(2) Turkish

The outcome proves that they also devote heavy attention to Turkish as well, but it is prompted by the intrinsic motivations, such as acquiring the sense of identity. Mike comments: "we really want them to develop Turkish well for their own sense of identity, friendship and for whatever in the future, whatever opportunities."

(3) Spanish

From the life stories of Mike and Lily, it is known that they are both only fluent in Spanish. So initially they did have a plan to include Spanish. But as there was barely any opportunity to use it and their second daughter seemed to have problem handling three languages at the same time, they stopped providing any input in Spanish when their second daughter was around 2 years old.

The priorities of three languages according to parents are first English and then Turkish. Spanish was out of the scenario over a decade ago. Apart from English being their heritage language, it is seen, more importantly,as a "global lingua franca" (Wardhaugh, 2010). For the children's future sake, parents put English on the top of priorities because it also plays an instrumental role. At the same time, as a result of intrinsic motivation, the parents emphasize Turkish because they want their children to develop a sense of belonging to the country where they live.

5.1.1.3 How does parents' own bilingual experience influence their policy of bilingualism in the family?

This question is asked separately from the question "what kind of identity do parents want their children to develop?" Interestingly the responses indicate that instead of directly answering the influence on their FLP, both Mike and Lily continue

commenting on the influence on identity issues. Lily explains how her multilingual

upbringing helps her to perceive the world differently:

> That I actually tend to look at the world a lot differently, clearer not just through one pair of eyes, I can see things differently. And I think that's what I want for my children too. I know my husband would say the same thing.

As Lily predicts, Mike agrees with her. Further, he explains how his own upbringing

helped him avoid being lost and struggling with his identities:

> So my own experience, feeling like my real home is XXX (where he was born), not feeling like I'm a foreigner, but really become a part of society, making friends, learning the language, being one of them, was significant and allowing me to feel like home and feel at ease, not feel like a foreigner until I finally went back to States. Because ultimately when I went back to States, I still felt like a foreigner. So being able to appreciate that really helped me to adjust and operate well in both worlds.

5.1.2 Parents' language management

This component of FLP is answered through the observation and interviews. The

results indicate that there are four main strategies Mike and Lily employ in their

family:

(1) From OPOL to HL@H

From the data, it is found out that parents switched from OPOL to HL@H when the

second born Mary came along and have practiced it since then. When they only had

Lucy, Mike only spoke Spanish at home, Lily only spoke English and the local

community language was Turkish. Lucy was learning to speak English, Turkish and

Spanish when she was around three years old. And yet, when the second daughter

Mary was born, they noticed that Mary could not really speak any languages until the

age of two. This forced them to confront the reality that OPOL worked for Lucy but

it did not work in the same way for Mary. Hence, Mike stopped speaking Spanish

and spoke only English at home. After that, Mary slowly began to talk Turkish and

English. This finding confirms that OPOL could not warrant the outcomes of children's language development (Patterson, 1999; Yamamoto, 2001). As seen in this case, it worked for Lucy but did not work for Mary. Based on the previous literature, there are a few possible causes such as lacking consistent practice or limited parent-children interaction (Döpke, 1992). Hence, consistency of FLP practice is another major observational point in this case study, which will be discussed in detail in research question 2.

(2) In the house we speak English

This is actually the HL@H type of FLP. Without knowing the term HL@H, Mike and Lily consciously created this for all children when they discovered that children began to speak Turkish to each other rather than English at home: "In the house we speak English". But this pattern has been a challenge, particularly when kids first started school. When they arrived home, they would still want to speak Turkish. It took a while for the parents to train the children to have the mentality that in the house everyone speaks English to each other:

> Our basic guideline, if you will, is that in the house we speak English. And sometimes that's been a challenge, especially when the kids first started school, and they were constantly speaking Turkish. They came home and they wanted to keep speaking Turkish, but it took some time and patience to train them that when you get into our house we speak English…yet that time when we see that developed (children speak Turkish), we always said you are in the house; it's going to be English. It's not like we discipline them for it, but we train them to get used to that mentality.

This finding indicates that the parents were consistent in applying the HL@H policy despite the challenge and they describe the process as a matter of "training" rather "disciplining" the children.

(3) Switching to Turkish when there is a Turkish guest

This is one of the unique findings of this household. Because they have always lived in the Turkish-speaking countries, from time to time, there are Turkish guests around. As a sign of respect to their guests and appreciation of the local social norms and values of the host society, Mike and Lily train their children to switch to Turkish when there are Turkish guests in the house. They have to speak Turkish to their guests and to their own family members. Mike provides the reason to do so:

> We explain and teach them that out of respect for these people, it is never fun to be left out of a conversation, or to have people talk in a language you do not understand in your presence. So whenever there are Turkish people in our presence, we automatically switch to Turkish because we are fluent in both.

The outcome proves that when parents' modeling in language and actions and willingness to fit in and appreciate local language and cultural traits, it provides more chances for their children to practice Turkish. In addition, the warm and healthy environment they create for guests will in turn help the children to become more sensitized towards the local culture. Such a positive attitude has been found useful in previous literature (Li, 1999). More specifically, parents' conscious decision to employ such a strategy will aid the children in preparing "an international identity" as proposed by Mike: "… a truly international identity where they can connect to, interact with all kinds of people from all over the globe". Switching to Turkish seems to be an exception to the 'In the house we speak English' rule above, but the benefits are well justified. Despite this exceptional situation, the HL@H policy is still firm and in place.

(4) 10 disciplinary house rules

In addition to the language management rules discussed above, he results show that there are 10 disciplinary house rules in the family observe to maintain discipline. Mike and Lily have a written form of 10 house rules. They are printed and pinned to the fridge so that all children are aware of how they are expected to behave. These are the ten house rules: no lying; no disobeying; no disrespect; no hitting; no bad words; no yelling; no being mean; no tattle telling; no being rude; and no selfishness. Regarding the house rules, Mark explains:

> One of our very important family policies is our discipline; we want to, they understand what the rules at home are. There is no hidden agenda, at the same time, what is going to be punishable at our home. It's important for them to know ahead of time, so as they grow up, we've taught them and even written them out, and put it on the fridge, on a piece of paper, these are, you know, things that we will not tolerate in our home, and these are going to be the punishments.

There are correspondent disciplines with house rules. Mike and Lily do not simply require three children to obey, but always first explain to them the reasons why they were forbidden in any situation. They want them to understand why these behaviors are not tolerable or inappropriate. If the children have any inappropriate behavior that is not explicitly explained and emphasized before, parents will not discipline them at the first time. They would tell them this is not appropriate or even harmful. For example, spitting in the street or destroying others' belongings is not appropriate. If the children behave in this way, they might have a time out or lose the privilege of watching TV. While exercising discipline, parents consciously choose to practice them while they are not angry because they believe that the reason to discipline is not to express anger, but rather to teach the children a lesson:

> We've been very careful not to do this out of anger, you know, a sense of frustration. If they've done something that's upset us, we try to calm down first, not to exercise the discipline right away. We do it in a calm manner, in a controlled manner. And in a way that they should understand, that we are not doing it because we are angry. We're doing this because what they've done

was wrong. This is only after we explain to them why any particular behavior is wrong. Once we explain to them, make that clear to them, and yet they continue to do what's wrong, and then obviously, we fulfill the punishment we threaten.

Although there is no direct evidence from the data about how parents exercise their disciplines, there is some evidence of the children's responses towards this. In a non-recorded casual conversation, the researcher was talking with Mike and Lucy about the disciplines within the family. Lucy agreed with the fact that his father disciplined them. She used the example of her school. She said if a teacher in her school practices necessary discipline methods to students, students actually learn to behave better. Lucy added: "more so disciplines shouldn't be just for punishment, but always with explanation and cool speech about life lessons." From Lucy's observation, she commented that all her siblings respect and love her parents very much. They know their parents only want the best for them and practice discipline out of love.

10 disciplinary house rules are not direct evidence of the FLP, but they are a means that this family used to ensure the obedience of the children and to modify their behaviors. In turn, this helps to secure parents' authority in managing their intra-family language environment. Even though parents never discipline children for breaking their FLP, i.e. "In the house we speak English" and "switching to Turkish when there is a Turkish guest", children learn to obey the parents.

Out of the 10 disciplinary house rules discussed above, the following two (one is stated, the other is implied) will be explored further because they appear to be more relevant to attitudes towards language.

(a) One of disciplinary house rules: no bad words

This is the only house rule that is related to language. No one is allowed to use bad words or foul language in any situation. During the observation period, there were all kinds of occasions that the researcher shared with the family and their friends, e.g. dinner, games, barbecues and so on. There was not one time, parents ever used bad words, cursing, or foul language themselves. There was one incident in the recording without the researcher's presence that Mike got very upset when Mary told him that Henry got into her room and looked for money. Henry argued that it was just "şakacı". In Turkish "şaka" is a joke; "şakacı" is a joker; "şakacıktan" means I was pretending or I did not actually mean it. According to the context, Henry probably wanted to say "şakacıktan" or "şaka". In the recording, Mike's voice is obviously louder than usual and the tone was very firm and strict, and everyone was absolutely quiet when he was speaking.

> Mary: Henry got into our rooms today, and he was looking for money, and…
> Henry: no, I'm not looking for money...It's just a şakacı
> Mary: yes, you were!
> Mother: he was looking…
> Father: Do we have any business in their room? We talked about this, haven't we? It's got to stop! You have no business in their room! You have no business looking for their money! Not even şakacı. Is that clear? Ok? Finish your food right now.

This is the only incident that Mike was recorded mixing a Turkish word in an English sentence, because Henry was using the Turkish word "şakacı". Later, when Mike was asked about this incident, he could not remember much, but he confirmed that the only incidents that he would use Turkish would be to emphasize or explain the meanings to the children. Parents are convinced that bad words and foul languages are not appropriate in their family and for their children. Not only do they

avoid using such words themselves, but also strictly forbid their children from doing so.

(b) A hidden house rule: "You love me so you obey me"

"You love me so you obey me." This is another unique finding from the data. It is a paraphrase of the Bible verse "if you love me, and you will keep my commandments."[2] Mike simplified for his children with the following reason:

> So if someone truly claims to love each other as a family, and truly appreciate each other, and I think our children do, as we all have a true bond of love and affection, and thus need to be represented in unconditional obedience. So we just try to emphasize that to our children based on a biblical precedent.

Mike and Lily are the managers of the home. They are the first authorities children have had in their lifetime. All realization of their house rules or FLP management will result from the efficiency of their authority over children, i.e. How much children respect and are obedient to them (Davis and Greenstein, 2009). There are studies (Armstrong, 2013; Spolsky, 2012) which found that disobedience of children is often the obstacles of parents practice their language management. Mike and Lily emphasize obedience out of love, and teaching children love is with actions, which downplays the tension between parenting and children's' disobedience (Cline and Fay, 2014). Disciplines are means to help them understand as they are children now. Lily explains:

> Well, we believe that if we truly love someone, like if our children truly love us, they'll respect us and obey us. Because people can say that they love you, but if they do not respect you… More so we believe that children are to obey parents and listen to us. And they do, they are showing their love for us.

The results show that the children are satisfied with Mike and Lily's parenting and FLP. house rules and love out of obedience in this case help to reinforce the

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[2] John 14:15, English Standard Version of Holy Bible

efficiency of children's obedience. When children obey the parents, any rule or policy can be carried out in a more effective way.

5.1.3 Parents' language practice

This component of FLP is to look into the consistency of parents' practice at home. The results show that the parents are fairly consistent with their house rules and the FLP stated above. In total, there are three language rules that this family practices to control intra-family language environment: (1) In the house we speak English; (2) Switching to Turkish when there is a Turkish guest; (3) No Bad words.

The first two are not to do with discipline while the last one is related to discipline. Based on their own upbringing, parents understand that code-switching is a stage of learning, so they consciously aim to help their children separate the two languages:

> In our experience with our own children was that at the early stages of learning, they don't yet comprehend that they're learning two languages. They saw it as one language as far as they were concerned... Of course, when they just learn to speak, we are not correcting them for everything, but over time we try to help them to understand that these are actually two languages, and they need to be kept separately. So when they do mix the words, we often, we even get so used to, sometimes forget to correct them. We try the best we can to always remind them

Apart from wanting to help children distinguish two languages, parents want to help them establish a good habit of communicating as well. Mike explains that mixing languages could break down communication:

> We would discourage them from mixing the languages. They are at school, throwing in English words, that's not going to help them with communication. Or when they are with their grandparents, who don't know Turkish, and they throw in Turkish words, which happened when grandparents came to visit. They keep throwing in Turkish words when they are explaining something, especially when there is something to do with school… Doesn't help communication. Doesn't help them present themselves effectively.

In the above quotation, there is the evidence that shows why there are not many instances of code-mixing. Parents intentionally train their children to separate two languages and not to mix them. The results indicate that children rarely switch between two languages, and occasionally mixewords.

Different from their approach to mixing or switching languages, Mike and Lily are very strict in carrying out "no bad words" at home, which is included in 10 house rules along with discipline. More so, they consciously control the input from all sorts of media such as books or movies. They make themselves as examples in life for their children, to behave with integrity, which is a result of their deep conviction and religious beliefs. Because of this deep conviction, they try to be firm and consistent in their parenting. There are certain aspects regarding FLP that are not negotiable with the children's language experience, and some are negotiable. They believe out of the same mouth should not come both praise and curse, hence cursing is strictly forbidden and non-negotiable. When their OPOL was challenged by the second born child, they did not adhere to the original design. They modified their FLP according to children's real language experience and children's actual response to their FLP management and practice.

The data analysis has produced some interesting findings regarding FLP of the family under investigation. One interesting finding is concerned with parents' ideologies. Parents see bilingualism and biculturalism as a heritage for their children, and consciously want them to get a sense of belonging in the country which they actually live in. By doing this, parents intend to help their children avoid identity crisis and produce an international identity in order to equip the children better in the

time to come. Furthermore, parents' personal convictions such as obedience out of love strongly emphasized in forming and practicing the house rules. This rule help rainforce children's obedience to parents' authority and in turn ensure parents' FLP. Another interesting finding is concerned with parents' language management. This family provides strong evidence regarding the types of internal control that a parent may employ regarding the rules they have adapted for intra-family language control, such as speaking Turkish while there are Turkish guests at home, and consciously forming house rules and carrying them out with consistency. Additionally, parents also emphasize no code-swithching and code-mixing because they believe this does not help communication.

5.2 Research question 2: What are the interrelationships among parents' language ideologies, family language management, and practice within the children's language experience?

5.2.1 Factors that influence parents' language ideologies

(1) Parents' own socio-cultural background

From previous results and discussion, it is clear that parents' own socio-cultural background had a major impact on their language ideologies adjustment. Because both parents are bilinguals themselves, they could sympathize with what their children are going to confront in their life. They want to offer bilingualism and biculturalism as a gift to their children and help them to become citizens of the world.

(2) Parents' faith background

A religious factor in FLP can play a substantial part in securing the heritage family language (Spolsky, 2009; Woods 2002). Because of parents' deep convictions based

on their religious beliefs, there are some important principles in this family that are non-negotiable. They believe in love and respect, but love is not without actions[3]. Love does not mean letting children have whatever they want. The parents carefully select the most important morality rules for their children and supplement them with necessary disciplines. Mike commented on how they drew up those house rules:

> Generally obviously for us the Biblical principles, Biblical teachings are essential. But in many ways these are commonsensical, you know, not lying, not stealing, not hitting each other, not using foul languages, these are generally the rules that are going to be on our list. You might draw some parallel with Ten Commandments, but they are just common sense, these are basic expectations parents would have with their children.

According to Mike, not lying is the most important rule for all his children. Regarding this, he said:

> One of the most important, on the top of our list is that we will not tolerate any kind of lying. And that is just simply because lying is so destructive. If we cannot trust the word of our children what they are saying, this, really breaks the communication. Trust breaks down. These are things we taught them all the time, we continue to reinforce them even as they grow up.

Because of these beliefs, parents practice love and respect with integrity. Children learn obedience out of love and respect. Built on these foundations, FLP will work out better and is more likely to produce positive results. Children are still children; they have not yet fulfilled their parents' expectations. There may be times when they are mean to each other, incidents where they call each other selfish. But in any circumstances, it is obvious from the observation or recordings that they never cursed each other.

(3) The surrounding environment

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[3] 1 John 3:18, Holy Bible

Their living environment determines that it is very difficult for parents to teach Spanish to their children, simply because there is not any Spanish speaker around them. Since Turkish is to be used outside of family, parents use the FLP "in this house we speak English", in order to keep the priority of English in children's language development.

(4) Children's language experience

Children's own capability also plays a key role. Parents do not just cling to their own rules, but also are flexible because they care about their children. Ultimately, the policies are for the benefit of the children. They switched from OPOL to HL@H because their second daughter couldn't seem to take three languages at the same time. Parents also put the children's welfare in the center of their FLP formation.

5.2.2 Ideologies play a leading role

From the findings of research question 1, it is clear that parents' ideologies, language management, and practice are interacting with one another. But the parents' ideologies play the leading role overall in this family (King and Fogle, 2006; Song, 2010). What parents believe about identity, about language, about strategies to manage the household, about the local social norms and values, strongly influence this family's FLP formation and practice. Because parents believe bilingualism is a heritage and also a means to avoid identity crisis, they encourage children to develop a sense of belonging with the local language and culture. Because they believe English is good for the children's future, they prioritize the use of the English and then Turkish. Because they believe love and respect are the biggest themes of family and life, they love each other with words and actions. No one is allowed to use bad languages, yell or hit each other. More so, due to respect for local social norms and

values, guests' feelings are to be given serious considerations, i.e. "switching to Turkish when there is a Turkish guest".

5.2.3 Management, children's language experience, and ideology

Different from the previous research, "speaking the local language when there are local guests" and "disciplinary house rules" emerge from the data as strategies of internal control in parents' language management. Rather than leaving the intra-family language management to take care of itself, Mike and Lily have a very clear idea about what they want for their children and consciously form their house rules and language management strategies at home. Especially the language management strategies This family's language management approach as a whole is quite unique. Especially the practiced house rules together with the language management strategies noted are new in the present literature. No previous research has provided evidence of parents constructing and applying their FLP in such a systematic manner and with such clear, consistent and well-justified principles. Besides, they carefully modify their FLP according to their children's language experience in reality. For instance, they speak the local language when there are local guests. When they practice this strategy, not only the guests' feelings and local norms and values are taken into consideration, but also the children have the opportunity to practice their languages, to observe their parents' positive attitudes towards the local-language and culture, which eventually helps them to develop an international identity. The result of the warmth and openness from the guests and children in turn encourages parents to continue practicing this rule.

In summary, the results of this case provide strong evidence that both parents' own socio-cultural background, the surrounding environment and children's language

experience could influence parents' language ideologies. These ideologies interact with parents' intra-family language control and practice (Spolsky, 2007). The major findings of this case study are highlighted in the following diagram.

Compared to the Diagram 1, which is the summary of the Spolsky' FLP theory, this Dagram 2 specifies the items that could go with each element of FLP. In Spolsky's FLP theory, the elements such as "parents' ideologies and language management" have so far been presented as broad categories and is not clear what exactly they consist of. This case study yielded specific intra-language stratigies which go under the element of "language management", which provides a more specific direction for future research.

Family Language Policy

Factors:
- Parents' socio-cultural background;
- Surrounding environment;
- Children's language experience
- Family structure

Parents' language ideologies:
- **International identity;**
- **Sense of belonging to local community**;
- **Obedience out of love;**
- **No code-swithcing/code-mixing;**
- English has priority;
- Taboo language;

Parents' language practice:
- Practice with consistency

Parents' language management:
- Intra-family language control strategies:
  - Minority/heritage language at home;
  - **Speak local languages when there are local guests around;**
  - **Disciplinary house rules**
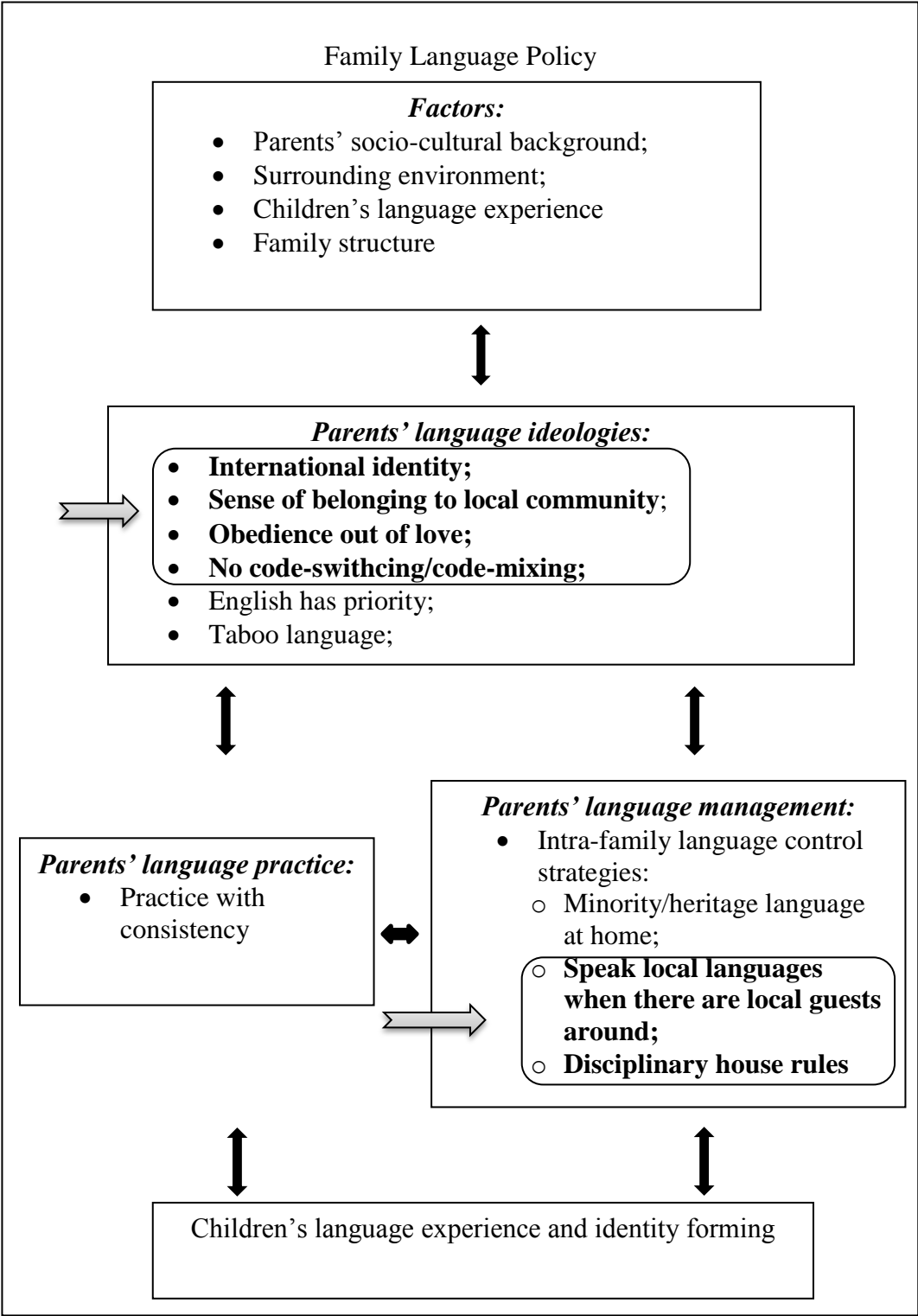
Children's language experience and identity forming

Diagram 2: Adapted working framework of Spolsky's FLP

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

This chapter firstly summarizes the FLP of this family, and then highlights the unique findings in the conclusions. Furthermore, it provides some implications for bilingual parents and English teachers. Finally, it discusses some limitations of the current study and suggests some recommendations for further research.

6.1 The summary of this family's family language policy

Parents' ideologies play a leading role among the three FLP elements. The major parents' ideologies that emerged from the data will be summarized here. Both parents, Mike and Lily, were raised in a bilingual environment. According to their own upbringing, they have the following ideologies: Firstly, they both believe that it is beneficial to bring the positive side of bilingualism to their children and it is best to let children develop both of them, which is a heritage parents should pass onto their children. Secondly, they want to help their children to develop an international identity to be more tolerant towards cultural differences and have the ability to live in any culture with ease. Thirdly, the parents also want children to develop good English for their future career and good Turkish for their own sense of belonging. Finally, based on their own experience, parents do not want their children to mix two languages. Besides their upbringing, the parents' socio-cultural background guides them in setting the type of rules children are supposed to obey.

Language management is a broad concept. As discussed in Chapter 2, there are two main areas in language management in FLP, extra-family language control and intra-family language control. The extra-family language control mostly relates to the choices of the schools, Compared to extra-family language control, parents have more influence within the family range, which makes intra-family language control more effective and practical. Based on the previous chapter, the present case study found that there are three main strategies that this family uses to secure the language environment they want to provide for their children:

(1) In the house we speak English (HL@H). Parents switch to it from OPOL after the second child, Mary, turned 2 years old;

(2) Switching to local language when there are local guests around;

(3) Disciplinary House Rules.

The first strategy is fairly common among different studies (Gregory, 2004; Kopeliovich, 2009). Both OPOL and HL@H are popular strategies parents employ to control the intra-family language environment. This family first employed OPOL. Mike spoke Spanish and Lily spoke English. It only worked for the first daughter Lucy, but not the latter one, Mary. Hence, parents changed it to HL@H. All children went to Turkish school and Turkish was used almost exclusively when they stayed in Turkey for twelve years. Later, even when they moved to Northern Cyprus, Turkish is still the mother tongue of the majority of local community. Therefore, the children are not allowed to use Turkish but only English at home, except the occasions when there are Turkish guests visiting. The reason why OPOL was successful with the first born and failure with the second born remained uncertain. It could be due to individuality or birth order (Barron-Hauwaert, 2011). The parents would consciously

prioritize English (i.e. In the house we speak English) and deliberately discourage the children from code-switching and code-mixing during training. As a consequence of this approach, the instances of code-switching and code-mixing in the data are rare. The latter two strategies are original and specific to the case studied in this thesis. As discussed in Chapter 5, this case study contributes these two specific strategies under language management of FLP. Firstly, out respect to the local social norms and values, parents draw the rule "switching to Turkish when there is a Turkish guest". But this rule in fact helps children to embrace the local language and culture, and help them to develop an international identity and a sense of belonging to the local community. Secondly, this family emphasizes the necessity of obedience to parents[4] and the motive for this obedience is the strong love bond between them. The parents of this family created a healthy and loving environment for their FLP and their children. This echoes the "happylingual approach" from Kopeliovich (2013). Instead of emphasizing the charm of the languages themselves, the present case study highlighted another factor: "obedience out of love". Without obedience, there would be no authority. Naturally without authority, there would be no basis for rules or policies. Hence "obedience out of love" is the essential ideology that this family's FLP is based upon, and the essential foundation of their means to secure their intra-family language environment. It seems that "obedience out of love" is specific to Mike and Lily's social norms and values; however, it should be noted that it is not necessarily the only approach to keeping up authority in order to secure the intra-family language environment. Besides, this particular approach may not be appropriate for all families regardless of their socio-cultural backgrounds. What is more significant here is that some form of rule-setting and conformity to these rules

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[4] Ephesians 6:1-3, Holy Bible

seem to foster bilingualism in the form of HL@H (i.e. English) and of "Switching to local language when there are are local guests around" (i.e. Turkish) strategy. All the above strategies work well for this family, but do they also apply to other families from different socio-cultural backgrounds? Are "switching to local language when there are local guests" and "disciplinary house rules" also practical for other families? These questions call for further research.

6.2 Conclusion

Every bilingual family is complex in nature and full of complicated dynamics. This case study provides a unique picture of the three components of FLP, parents' language ideologies, language management, and language practice interacting with one another. They are not isolated or standing alone, but rather intertwined with each other. In this case study, the ideologies are the main foundation of all other FLP, but not without interactions. In this single case study, the aim is not to draw any generalizations, but rather shed light on related subjects and explore new realizations of the FLP. The findings from this family are significant because they suggest that parents' authority could be greatly enhanced by appropriate and loving behavior (Kopeliovich, 2013). Moreover, it contributes two specific and practical strategies regarding intra-family language control under the FLP element of language management, which are not found in previous literature: "switch to local language when there are local guests around" and "disciplinary house rules". Additionally, the ideologies of parents such as "obedience out of love" in this case proves to enhance authority and leads to a healthy relationship and interaction between parents and their children in regards to FLP.

6.3 Implications

This case study has provided some valuable implications for bilingual parents, and English teachers who teach in a multilingual classroom. For bilingual parents, the results of this case provide two specific and practical strategies to adopt accordingly: speaking local languages when there are local guests and disciplinary house rules. Additionally, helping children produce an international identity and allowing them to take local identity to a degree both prove to be positive for children in this case. With the rapid development of globalization, English gradually becomes an international language (Sharifian, 2009). More and more English teachers are confronting an English classroom consisting of international students. In such context, identity issues within international students attract more attention (Le Ha, 2003 & 2009). The results of this case study indicate that it would be beneficial for teachers to have an international perspective and to help students develop an international identity so that they can integrate with the internationalizing world.

6.4 Limitations and recommendations for further research

There are a few limitations of the study, and solutions that the researcher developed for the further research:

Firstly, time constraint. 6 months is not a very ideal time for ethnographic method. Some ethnographic studies entail years of observation. However, children's language development is not the focus of this case study; hence time constraint is relatively minor.

Secondly, research design. It is a family case study, so there are only five participants. A case study is to offer evidence rather than draw generalizations

(Stenhouse, 1999). Therefore, there are "limitations in the generalizability of the conclusions" (Hua, and David, 2008, p. 100). Regardless of its drawbacks, a case study has positive sides, too. A case study could provide an in-depth study that large group study could not cover.

Thirdly, the researcher. There are a few limitations regarding the researcher in this case study. First of all, the interpretation of the qualitative research method depends on the researcher's knowledge of the subject, experience, and understanding. Naturally, it would be fairly subjective. On the other hand, taken the close relationship between the researcher and the participants, it would be much easier to elicit authentic, natural data. But there is likewise the potential danger that the participants might unconsciously cater to the researcher's interests and research instruction. In order to minimize these limitations, the researcher used various instruments to collect data, so that the data could be triangulated and thus those possible weaknesses could be eliminated.

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APPENDIX

Appendix A: Last family interview transcription

This is a plain transcription without any special notification, because the content is the main focus.

Father:

1. **What kind of identity would you like your children to develop?**

   I think as far as feelings belong to a place, because I was born and raised in a country that is not the country of my parents. I was born and raised in Bolivia. I always thought it's significant and important that my parents allowed me to feel that I'm Bolivian, which I was; I was born there and had citizenship there. But it's important for me to feel I belong there. Otherwise, what happens is you grow up your whole life and feel that you don't belong to a certain place even if you live there. And then you go back to the supposedly country where you're from, and you still don't feel like you belong there, because you never live there. So you kind of get caught between, you know, not feeling you belong anywhere. That's what many third culture kids like myself, you know, tend to fall between the cracks, have a lot of identity crisis. Because they've never felt that they belong to any one particular place. Now, as a Christian, I find that the greatest identity for me is feeling like I belong in Heaven, I belong in my relationship with God and my eternal hope of salvation that one day live with Him eternally in Heaven, is the greatest source of hope. And so that I see myself as a citizen of Heaven if you will. But if we put that aside and think more in terms of the world, I think it helps me, the fact that I'd be able to live in different cultures, and it helps me to appreciate more different cultures, international nature of the world and

to be you know a citizen of the world. You know to be the one that appreciates all kinds of different cultures and so my desire would be for our children, even as when we raise them to allow them to take local identity to a degree, to allow them to feel like they are Turks to a degree, to understand that they're also Americans, but ultimately it would be, a truly an international identity where they can relate to, interact with all kinds of people from all over the world, I think that's a wonderful heritage we can give to our children, the ability to work well with people from all over the world and whatever context they live in.

2. **What languages would you like your children to develop?**

Naturally English is priority, because it's kind of the global language, we really want them to develop Turkish well for their own sense of identity, friendship and for whatever in the future, whatever opportunities. I'd love them to learn Spanish as well, but that's a little more difficult since there is not enough opportunity to speak it and use it around here.

3. **What are the language policies (guide lines) you employ with your children? (eg. Forbid them to speak Turkish at home, and change language policy when new child join the family…)**

Our basic guideline, if you will, is that in the house we speak English. And sometimes that's been a challenge, especially when the kids first started school, and they were constantly speaking Turkish. They came home and they wanted to keep speaking Turkish, but it took some time and patience to train them that when you get into our house we speak English. It's important because otherwise they're not going to get a good English. But when they go to school, playing with their friends, we want them to freely use Turkish. At

the same time, if we have Turkish people in our house, Turkish guests in our house, we train them to use Turkish at that time. We explain and teach them that out of respect for these people, it's never fun to be left out of a conversation, or to have people talk in a language you don't understand in your presence. So whenever there are Turkish people in our presence, we automatically switch to Turkish because we are fluent to both.

What about within siblings:

There is time when they might want to switch to Turkish, especially when they get excited or when they're playing a particular game, and yet that time when we see that developed, we always said you are in the house; it's going to be English. It's not like we discipline them for, but we train them to get use to that mentality.

Where did you get these polices?

I supposed my own upbringing. It was very similar in our house. We always spoke English and my mom was always very careful to correct us, to help us to use it properly. And we were not always cooperative, but she was very patient. And of course in the street, in school we always spoke Spanish. So this is more or less the way we grew up as well. And originally when the kid was first born, we were hoping we could teach them Spanish as well, as part of goal was that I would speak with them in Spanish, my wife in English, kids would learn Turkish at school, but we found that that was a little bit over load for our second daughter in particular. I think it was probably possible, it would be feasible for our first daughter, who had more capacity to handle that. But there is no body who necessary taught us that, so much as our

experience with our parents seems fairly logical and straight forward, and right thing to do.

4. How does your own bilingual experience influence your policy of bilingualism in the family?

Because I was raised in a bilingual, multi-cultural setting, I have the sense of what's the important for them, what challenges they're gonna face. You know I've seen many third culture kids go back to the United States, and they're really struggling with their identities, just because they feel like they don't belong anywhere, they don't belong to where they grew up, they don't belong to where they're from. They feel lost. And this drives some of them to all kinds of bad habits, likes drags, or poor relationships, poor choices. That's because identity is important, we need to know where we came from, where we are going, who we belong to. So my own experience, feeling like my real home is Bolivia, not feeling like I'm a foreigner, but really become a part of society, making friends, learning the language, being one of them, was significant and allowing me to feel like home and feel at ease, not feel like a foreigner until I finally went back to the States. Because ultimately when I went back to the States, I still felt like a foreigner. So being able to appreciate that really helped me to adjust and operate well in both worlds.

Because I grow up and appreciating two cultures and two languages, I see this as a wonderful heritage, a wonderful experience, treasure if you will, that's incredibly valuable. Because some people see growing up two cultures as being somehow a misfortune, I see it as a great source of cultural wealth, and just because you are so much enriched by these different cultural

experiences. So frankly, sometimes people might say it's unfair for your kids to have to grow up in a different country... it's a great thing in my life and it's a gift that I want to give to them, the privilege and the ability to grow up in a multi-cultural setting, to equip them better for life in the future.

5. **Could you further explain the meaning of the family policy "you love me so you obey me"?**

That was actually our children, we encourage them to memorize certain verses from the Bible that we think they're going to be helpful in forming their character positively. So often, sometimes we would give them a verse each week, to memorize. And if they successfully memorize it, we give them their allowance. It's usually very simply verse from their age, that verse particular was for Henry, which was just a paraphrase from a verse from New Testament. That verse says "if you love me, and follow my comments". So that was just a paraphrase of that, emphases the fact that true love is represented by full obedience. So if someone truly claims to love each other as a family, and truly appreciate each other, and I think our children do, as we all have a true bond of love and affection, and this need to be represented in unconditional obedience. So we just try to emphases that to our children base on a biblical precedent.

6. **What expressions would you use to express your anger when you're upset with your children, and in what language would you express it?**

English. Only English. Rarely mixed with Turkish, unless the subject matter is something about Turkish. That would be very much exception.

We were framed from doing that, we don't use cursing or foul language in our house, we discipline them for it. We don't use them ourselves; we don't allow them to use it either. It's one of the main rules in our house, we don't speak foul languages.

Other information from the father's interview:

Family discipline:

One of our very important family policies is our disciplines, we want to, they understand what are the rules at home. There is no hidden agenda, at the same time, what is going to be punishable at our home. It's important for them to know ahead of time, so as they grow up, we've taught them and even written them out, and put it on the fridge, on a piece of paper, these are, you know, things that we will not tolerate in our home, and these are going to be the punishments. One of the most important, on the top of our list is that we will not tolerate any kind of lying. And that's just simply because lying is so destructive. If we can't trust the word our children what they are saying , then, really breaks the communication, trust breaks down, these are things we taught them all the time, we continue to reinforce even as they grow up, depend on accordance to their age.

We've been very careful not to do this out of anger, you know, a sense of frustration. If they've done something that's upset us, we try to calm down first, not to exercise the discipline right away. We do it in a calm manner, in a controlled manner. And in a way that they understand that we are not doing it because we are angry. We're doing this because what they've done was wrong. This is only after we explain to them why any particular behavior is wrong. Once we explain to them, make that clear to them, and yet they

continue to do what's wrong, and then obviously, we fulfill the punishment we threaten.

Where did parents draw rules:

Depending on their age, it changes, depending on what things we see are not good in their behavior. Generally obviously for us the Biblical principles, Biblical teachings are essential. But in many ways these are commonsensical, you know, not lying, not stealing, not hitting each other, not using foul languages, these are generally the rules that are going to be in our list. You might draw some parallel with Ten Commandments, but they are just common sense, theses are basic expectations parents would have with their children.

Code-switch

We totally understand that, because I did the same thing when I grew up. It was constant, my parents, my mom, particular trying to always get us switch back to English, or not mix them, either says it in one langue, or the other. In our experience with our own children was that at the early stages of learning, they don't yet comprehend that they're learning two languages. They saw it as one language as far as they were concerned. And so, it given a point, whatever word or expression is easier to say, or shorter to say, or more convenient to say, or more to the point, or more X to that particular moment, is what they use. You know, they just kind of jump it out. Of course, when they just learn to speak, we are not correcting them for everything, but over time we try to help them to understand that these are actually two languages, and they need to be kept separately. So when they do mix the words, we often, we even get so used to, sometimes forget to correct them. We try best

we can to always remind them to. We would discourage them from mixing the languages. If they are at school, speaking in English, that's not going to help them in communication. Or when they are with their grandparents, who don't know Turkish, and they throwing in Turkish words, which happened when grandparents came to visit. They keep throwing in Turkish words when they are explaining something, especially when it is something to do with school. And their vocabulary about school is much easier. Doesn't help communication. Doesn't help them present themselves effectively.

Mother:

1. **What kind of identity would you like your children to develop?**

I don't really want them to develop anything necessary whether Turkish or American. I find that it's best for them to discover their own identity. And that might be they have a mixed culture and that's ok. I don't feel that they have to be just American or just a Turk. I think they can be a mixture and realize that they are special because they have a mixed culture in them. We never have them have to choose between one culture and another or one language and another. We just teach them both at the same time and appreciate both. And say that we can be both and it's ok to be both. We don't have to have our identities in one or another. I think that's a big thing. Because lots of foreigners don't necessarily do that. They really want their children to grow up, like Chinese. The Chinese Americans that I know, they really want their children just to be Chinese. They teach them language; they teach them language, teach them, we are Chinese or Korean. You know, there are a lot of Americans are the same way. I think that the fact that my husband

and I both grew up not in America, despite of being Americans, we do not tend to be very nationalistic. And we find that our identity is not in our nationalism or nationality, or our language, but just who we are, and whatever we are supposed to.

We tell them they are Americans, daddy and mommy are from America. We tell them that they were born in turkey, because of that they are very special. They have American in them and they also have Turkish in them. If you do it from a negative perspective, and obviously they'll feel negative about their up bring. For us, we just focus on the good things they're getting out of it. And it shapes their characters, I think.

2. **What languages would you like your children to develop?**

I want them to develop both. Probably at this stage English is more important because ultimately for their future it's more important. They're going to study in the States for universities. They need to have a good handle of the English language.

Spanish is only important for my siblings, who do not go overseas, like the ones who live in America. Like my brother speaks Spanish with his kids. But that's because they are in America. They speak Spanish and English, whereas we are overseas, they already have another language, so it's more important for them (Spanish to my brother) I think.

3. **What are the language policies (guide lines)   you employ with your children? (eg. Forbid them to speak Turkish at home, and change language policy when a new child joins the family…)**

The rule is at home we always speak English together. And at home we only speak English unless there is a Turkish speaker then we switch to Turkish so that they can understand us. That's the policy.

It's not forbidden for children to speak Turkish to each other necessary. But I get after them if they do. I say speak English with each other.

4. **How does your own bilingual experience influence your policy of bilingualism in the family?**

I think my parents want me more to be an American because that's the first time they were overseas in a different country. With time they realized that it's actually very valuable that I didn't. Because I am not just an American or I'm not just a Mexican. And of course now I have the Turkish culture in me. That I actually tend to look at the world a lot differently, clearer not just through one pair of eyes, I can see things differently. And I think that's what I want for my children too. I know my husband would say the same thing.

Whether or not she did any research for her family language policy?

No, I may have done a little bit research when Lucy was younger, and how fast children learn another language, just stuff like that. It's because we already did this in our own home. It's pretty everything I've already done with my own parents. And my husband is the same.

The major things she employs from her own bilingual experience": pretty much just to allow the children to be completely immerse to the culture they live in and then at the same time teach them culture that we originally come from. So they learn two cultures and two languages at once. (As for Turkish culture) that's easy, they go to a Turkish school and all of our friends are

Turkish, and their friends are Turkish. So we are always in that sense in the culture. And in our own home, you know, we are teaching them, our own culture. Not necessary teaching lessons, but just living it out.

5. **Could you further explain the meaning of the family policy "you love me so you obey me"?**

    Well, we believe that if we truly love someone, like if our children truly love us, they'll respect us and obey us. Because people can say that they love you, but if they don't respect you… more so we believe that children are to obey parents and listen to us. And they do, they are showing their love for us.

6. **What expressions would you use to express your anger when you're upset with your children, and in what language would you express it?**

    Depends on what they do, I guess. English only. I rarely use in Turkish. If I do, it's usually one word in Turkish. For instance like "yaramaz" that means bad boy or bad girl. I might use that by accident. Other than that it's always use English.

To Lucy–first born

4. **What languages do you speak? (Order of language)**

    Turkish and English, a little bit German

5. **Which language would you prefer to use with your siblings? (With your brother or with your sister)**

    Prefer to use English, but when I get mad, I use Turkish.

6. **Do your parents expect you to use a certain language(s) with your brother or sister?**

No, but because we live in a Turkish place, they prefer for me to talk English with them, to practice better English since there is no English people around here.

7. **What language reflects your identity?**

English does.

8. **What language (color) is more like you?**

English

9. **What languages do you feel most comfortable speaking?**

English

10. **What language(s) would you prefer to express your emotions/feelings?**

(If children couldn't understand, get the questions close down to the language they want to use to express their emotions, happiness, angry, upset, frustration…)

(When do they use what language under what situation? Are they aware of their code switching)

Happy: English

Sad/upset: English

Mad: Turkish (never heard parents use bad words, and some words in Turkish they don't have in English.

Frustration: Turkish

I guess I just talk more emotional when I talk in English. It's more soft language. When I talked Turkish, when I have Cypriot accent now, I don't know, it's more hard language. I don't know, English has all that accent, it just feels better. When I pray, I usually pray in English because it's more

emotional, it flows better I guess. I don't know, it just feels like that. I understand the bible in Turkish, but I'd rather read it in English.

In Turkish my English wasn't that good because the English I learnt at school, like the grammar and all wasn't that good. And my mom didn't have enough time for me after my brother and sister were born. So I wasn't this good. So that time I would actually be better at Turkish. But here I'm both equal, because I learn better English at school. (Mom added: and also we spent some times at States. That helps) yea, at States. It really helps. In the states I forgot my Turkish.

When the mother was asked about softness / emotional aspects of Turkish language, she said: "I felt different when Lucy said it's not emotional, it' actually a very emotional language, when you get down to it. I mean, you can use it very emotionally. But it depends, for instance, say Iseal, all her spiritual education is English, it's not like she's receiving spiritual input outside. And family devotional and everything is English. The spiritual thing tends to be more English.

11. **Do you switch between languages you speak sometimes? In what situations? Why?**

Yes, in the sentence we mix them up sometimes. Sometimes we forget the word in English; we just say it in Turkish instead when we eat at dinner or in different place, mostly nouns and adjective, I don't think so verbs. Whenever we talk about what we are doing, or like objects we are talking about, sometimes we forget about the name of objects, and we just say it in Turkish.

12. **How do you think of your parents' language policy at home? Do you like it, why? If you could change something, what would you like to change and why?**

I think it's good, because we most talk Turkish outside, so they just ask us to talk English in the house. That's good, I like it.

I've always wanted to talk Spanish with the family, but we could never really learn Spanish.

13. **Did you used to speak Spanish when you were little? And how did your language develop before your two siblings were born?**

I do, but I don't remember much of it.

14. **What happened after Mary joined the family? What changed in the family regarding languages? How did this affect you regarding languages?**

I remembered putting her sleep and changed her diaper sometimes. She's very calm so I don't have to deal with her that much. I think I talked to her in Turkish, right? (She turned to her mother, her mother added: "probably mixture. She was two, and she spoke both Turkish and English, she'd mixed both them up, so she probably spoke both to Mary.

15. **What happened when Henry joined the family? How did this affect you again regarding languages?**

I think I used English, right mom? Well, yeah, when Mary was born, my parents talked to us in Spanish, especially my dad. He would try to teach me Spanish. When Henry was born, we just stopped doing that. So we just forgot Spanish.

I don't know, I think maybe it's hard for them to teach children three languages at once. We just learn Turkish around us, and they teach English to us. More siblings, er, children make it difficult, I guess.

To Mary-second born

4. **What languages do you speak? (Order of language)**

English and Turkish

5. **Which language would you prefer to use with your siblings? (With your brother or with your sister)**

English, Turkish with friends.

6. **Do your parents expect you to use a certain language(s) with your brother or sister?**

No.

7. **What language reflects your identity?**

Both

8. **What language (color) is more like you?**

Both of them.

9. **What languages do you feel most comfortable speaking?**

Like easy to speak? It's easy to speak Turkish, it's much better. Because like I was born in Diyarbakir, Turkey. And English is little difficult. And in Turkish I learn much better and I go to school in Turkish. It's not difficult English, but a little bit more (compared to Turkish).

10. **What language(s) would you prefer to express your emotions/feelings?**

(If children couldn't understand, get the questions close down to the language they want to use to express their emotions, happiness, angry, upset, frustration…)

(When do they use what language under what situation? Are they aware of their code witching)

Happy: English

Sad: English

Mad: Turkish (when asked why, she said: I just keep telling myself wired staff in Turkish, but in English I can't find anything. Like I just said I'm a weird person

Frustration: both

When asked which language is a more emotional language for her,

She said: "English is much more hard for me, Turkish is really easy. When I'm emotion, in Turkish I screamed so hard, so emotion.

11. **Do you switch between languages you speak sometimes? In what situations? Why?**

Yes. I do that sometimes. School subject I talked in Turkish. But when all my family, like, English, if my friends talk English I talk English. But if my friends are Turkish and they know English, that's why I switch Turkish.

12. **How do you think of your parents' language policy at home? Do you like it, why?** If you could change something, what would you like to change and why?

English at home. I don't know.

13. **Who do you take as your language model in the family?**

British English accent. I don't like Iseal, because sometimes she's mean. I don't like henry, because he's always mean. I like my mom. She's always sweet.

14. **What happened when Henry joined the family? How did this affect you again regarding languages?**

Turkish and English. When we have lots of people in our house, I speak with them Turkish. But at home always English.

15. **What language do you prefer to speak to your siblings? Any changes and why?**

Yes, we have another language called Kuş Dili. If it's really important, we speak that language.

To Henry-last born

5. **What languages do you speak? (Order of language)**

Turkish and English

6. **Which language would you prefer to use with your siblings? (With your brother or with your sister)**

English

7. **Do your parents expect you to use a certain language(s) with your brother or sister?**

Turkish (just at school, because it's a Turkish school) and English.

8. **What language reflects your identity?**

English and Turkish.

9. **What language (color) is more like you?**

English and Turkish, but when ask which one he liked more, he prefers English because "English, English's better, çünku I can't talk that much in Turkish)

10. **What languages do you feel most comfortable speaking?**

English

11. What language(s) would you prefer to express your emotions/feelings?

(If children couldn't understand, get the questions close down to the language they want to use to express their emotions, happiness, angry, upset, frustration…)

(When do they use what language under what situation? Are they aware of their code watching?)

Happy: English and Turkish;

Angry: Turkish ("If I use English, my sisters will be mad at me." mother explains: "because they are in school, they have to use Turkish in school." Continue he said: "English (at home), when we have Turkish meeting, we do Turkish.)

12. **How do you think of your parents' language policy at home? Do you like it, why?** If you could change something, what would you like to change and why?

No

13. **Do you find speaking languages difficult? And why? Which language(s) are most difficult for you to speak?**

No, he doesn't know which one is more difficult. The child got a bit bored so mother was asked to repeat in Turkish to this child, he answered: "English".