CHAPTER

21 Family Language Policy 🔓

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Abstract

The family is a social unit which has its norms for speaking, viewing, acting, and believing, thus providing a cornerstone for language socialisation and language development. This chapter begins with a brief introduction to the theoretical conceptualisation of family language policy (FLP) currently used by most researchers. It then provides a discussion of the major contributions to the field by focusing on three major themes: FLP and language-in-education policy; FLP and language ideology; and linguistic practices and the processes of language change. This discussion is followed by an overview of recent developments in research methodology employed in the field. Finally, future directions in research resulting from increasing transnational migration and evolving political environments are outlined.

Keywords: family language policy, language-in-education policy, language ideology, language practices, language socialisation, research methodology, transnational migration

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FAMILY language policy (FLP) is defined as explicit and overt as well as implicit and covert language planning by family members in relation to language choice and literacy practices within home domains and among family members (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008; Spolsky, 2012). Explicit and overt FLP refers to the deliberate and observable efforts made by adults and their conscious involvement and investment in providing linguistic conditions and context for language learning and literacy development. Implicit and covert FLP refers to the default language practices in a family as a consequence of ideological beliefs. Bridging the gaps between studies of child language acquisition and the field of language policy research, the study of FLP thus seeks to understand, inter alia: why (and how) members of some transnational families maintain their language while members of other families lose theirs; in what ways some children, growing up in a largely monolingual society, become bilingual while other children, growing up in a bilingual environment, become monolingual; what language planning and decisions caregivers make to support or discourage the use and practice of particular languages; and how

these decisions and practices interact with broader language ideologies and educational policies (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013a; Fishman, 1991; Spolsky, 2012).

While focusing on close analysis of face-to-face interaction and social life within the family (Gafaranga, 2010; Lanza, 2004 [1997]; 2007; Li Wei, 1994), the study of FLP also takes into consideration external influences, such as public discourse as ↳ well as socioeconomic and political forces affecting families and contributing to the (dis)continuity of intergenerational transmission. As Curdt-Christiansen (2013a, p. 1) observes, "the study of FLP not only contributes to our understanding of the processes of language shift and change, it also sheds light on broader language policy issues at the societal levels. Most importantly, the study of FLP can make visible the relationships between private domains and public spheres."

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This chapter starts with a brief introduction to the theoretical conceptualisation of FLP currently used by most researchers. It then provides a discussion of the major contributions to the field by focusing on three major themes: FLP and language-in-education policy; FLP and language ideology; and linguistic practices and the processes of language change. This is followed by an overview of recent developments in research methodology employed in the field. Finally, future directions in research resulting from increasing transnational migration and evolving political environments are outlined.

Conceptualising Family Language Policy

FLP is informed primarily by theories of language policy and language socialisation within the discipline of sociolinguistics. Much research in FLP draws on Spolsky's (2004, 2009) theoretical model, which consists of three interrelated components: language ideology—how family members perceive particular languages; language practices—de facto language use, what people actually do with language; and language management—what efforts they make to maintain language. Language socialisation theory is concerned with how children and other novices acquire sociocultural knowledge through language use and how they are socialised to use language through participation in social interactions (Duranti, Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011). The two theories combined can broadly provide theoretical understanding of the dynamic relationship between FLP and its wider sociolinguistic and sociocultural contexts. Figure 21.1 is a graphic representation of the interdisciplinary conceptual framework of FLP, illustrating how FLP is shaping and is being shaped by the external environments through language socialisation.

The inner circle represents the three core components of FLP. Within a family, there are rules and norms for speaking, viewing, acting, and believing. As such, FLP provides a cornerstone for language socialisation and language development (Duranti, Ochs, & Schieffelin, 2011; Lanza, 2007). Making decisions on what language(s) to practice and encourage or to discourage or abandon depends largely on the values that family members ascribe to certain languages. Curdt-Christiansen ↳ (2009, 2012) contends that this decision-making process is also related to parental beliefs and goals for their children's multilingual development and educational success. Therefore, FLP decisions are influenced by the nature of intergenerational speech resources, parents' educational background, their own language learning experience, their migration experience, and the family's economic condition, in particular with regard to providing linguistic resources.

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Figure 21.1.
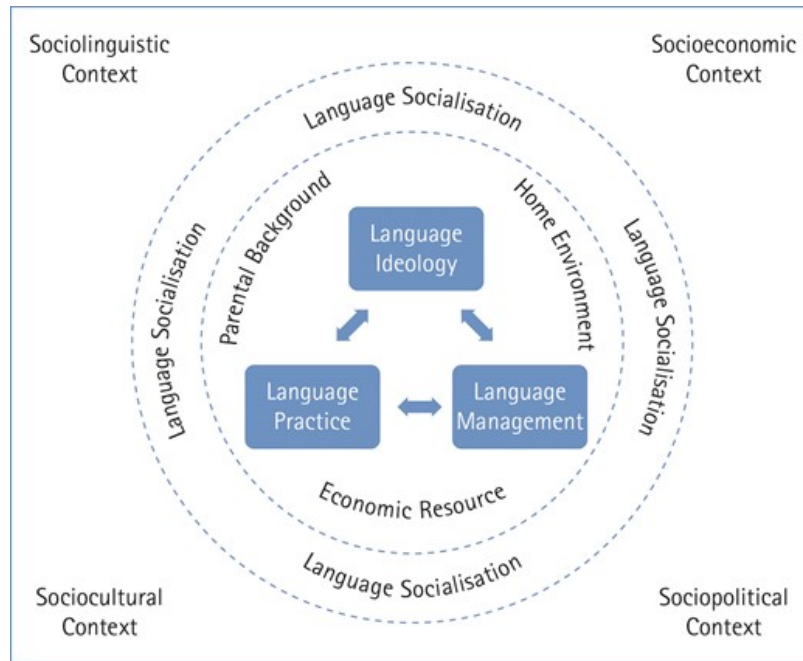
The interdisciplinary framework of family language policy (FLP).

Adapted from Curdt-Christiansen (2014).

However tightly knit, families do not live in a vacuum, isolated from the larger sociocultural environment. On the contrary, they constantly interact with others in sociolinguistic, sociocultural, socioeconomic, and sociopolitical contexts (Spolsky, 2004, 2012). Such interaction takes place through the mediational means of language in the process of language socialisation. The dotted lines encircling the inner components of FLP and the outer settings of multiple social contexts act as walls, separating families from the outside world. They act, however, more like semi-permeable membranes, which allow external forces to penetrate, through language socialisation, into the family domain and, at the same time and to a certain degree, allow inner forces of FLP to pass in the opposite direction into the society.

In this regard, FLP is shaped by two types of forces: internal forces and external forces. The two types of forces, closely related and sometimes blurred together, form the ideological underpinnings of language choices, linguistic practices, and language investments at home (see Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, 2014). Because of the social nature of families, the study of FLP goes beyond parenting at home to encompass

different domains related to family decisions, such as education, religion, and ↳ public linguistic space (Spolsky, 2009), as well as many different aspects of individual family members' everyday life, including emotions, identity, and cultural and political allegiances (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, 2014, 2016; King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008; King & Logan-Terry, 2008; Pavlenko, 2004; Piller, 2002; Tannenbaum, 2012).

The development of FLP as a field of enquiry has undergone different phases, from viewing language acquisition as an uncontested state of private affairs in the early period to a broader view of language development as ideologically shaped social practices in recent years. This evolving development has advanced our understanding of FLP as a complex web, nested in a wide range of sociohistorical, political, cultural, and linguistic environments. But before moving on to the major recent contributions to the field, a review of the early developments will be presented in the following section.

Early Developments in Family Language Policy

Many of the early studies in FLP were centred on Western middle-class bilingual families. Those early works tended to focus on language input, parental discourse strategies, parents' language experiences, and their knowledge about bilingualism, with the purpose of achieving balanced bilinguals in intermarried families.

De Houwer (1990), for example, studied a bilingual Dutch-English child with regard to her morpho-syntactic development in the two languages. Using a naturalistic approach, she examined the effect of linguistic exposure from each parent on the child's language development in general. In this case study, the child was exposed to both languages from birth (bilingual first language learner) and the parents employed the One-Parent-One-Language (OPOL) approach. Analysing the child's utterances in Dutch and English, De Houwer found that the child's speech production resembled her monolingual peers in both languages. She concluded that the two separate linguistic input systems (OPOL) accounted for the child's language development in two separate languages.

Linguistic input thus motivated researchers to look at the different types of bilingual models/strategies that parents follow in raising bilingual children. Piller (2002), for instance, studied German and English élite bilingual couples to understand how and why parents undertook particular private language planning. Collecting her data from online newsletters and conversations between couples, she found that the majority of parents chose to raise their children by adopting the OPOL strategy (Ronjat, 1913), followed by the "home language versus community language" (hothouse strategy). Only a few couples acknowledged that they

adopted a "mixed ↳ language and code-switching strategy" (see Romaine, 1995, for a full list of parental strategies).

While these communicative strategies provide essential means for parents to plan their FLP, two questions emerge as particularly relevant at this point: What types of linguistic input strategy have they actually adopted in their daily interactions with their children? Did these strategies lead to more efficient bilingual development? Drawing on language socialisation theory, Lanza (2004 [1997]) analysed parent-child interactions of bilingual English-Norwegian families. She identified five types of discourse strategy used by parents to socialise their children into a particular linguistic behavior: *minimal grasp, expressed guess, repetition, move on*, and *code-switching.* In *minimal grasp strategy,* adults pretend not to understand the children's language of choice in A (in a situation where the choice of the child's language is A and the parents' choice is B); the *expressed guess strategy* is used by adults posing yes/no questions in language B and accepting simple confirmation as answer; the *repetition strategy* means that adults repeat children's utterance in language B; the *move-on strategy* is employed by adults indicating comprehension and acceptance of children's language choice in A, so that a conversation continues without any disruptions; with *code-switching*, adults either switch over completely to language A or use intra-sentential change of language. These strategies demonstrate parental efforts in their conscious or unconscious private language planning, when children take an active role in making language choice decisions.

These early studies in FLP shed much light on language input and the linguistic conditions that parents provide in order to raise balanced bilingual children, yet making language choices and practising bilingual childrearing is not an easy journey. Okita's (2002) study of bilingual Japanese and English intermarried families in England illustrated that there were contextual demands and situational pressures that Japanese mothers had to face in their everyday lives when raising bilingual children. These pressures included parents' conflicting cultural values, mothers' conflicting feelings about using Japanese when children started school education in English, and language choice when other family members were involved. By interviewing twenty-eight families, Okita concluded that raising children bilingually was an emotionally demanding and "invisible" task, because mothers, largely by themselves, had to deal with matters that

require "simultaneous accommodation of demands and goals, some of which may be diametrically opposed" (2002, p. 5).

Despite the difficulties parents encounter, some hold strong positive beliefs about raising additive bilingual children. This is evidenced from studies conducted by Caldas (2006), King and Fogle (2006), and Piller (2002), where parents strongly believed that bilingualism was an investment and asset. In his book entitled *Raising ↳ Bilingual and Biliterate Children in Monolingual Cultures*, Caldas (2006) described how his three children grew up learning English and French in the United States. Caldas and his wife battled with peer influence and societal pressures to raise their three children not only orally, but also literately, in two languages. Also located in the United States, King and Fogle (2006) interviewed twenty-four middle-class families with regard to their beliefs about languages and parenting that framed their FLPs. Their findings revealed that parents' positive perception of additive bilingualism in Spanish and English was influenced by their own personal experiences in language learning. In addition to the asset perception of bilingualism, these parents also believed that raising bilingual children was related to notions of good parenting identity.

In sum, these important studies revealed how FLP was established and what linguistic mechanisms were used in Western middle-class bilingual families. As evidenced in this review, this line of work focused primarily on internal linguistic conditions involving two high-status European languages. Few early studies took into consideration the external social forces that shape FLP decisions in immigrant families and communities that speak a low-status or endangered language. The following section moves into more recent developments in the field, with a focus on understudied families in diasporic communities and in endangered language contexts.

Recent Research on Families in Transnational and Endangered Language Contexts

In recent years, studies into FLP have given greater attention to why different values are ascribed to different languages and how parents view bilingual development from sociopolitical and emotional perspectives. This has led to the expansion of FLP to include non-Western, non-middle-class, socioculturally and socioeconomically marginalised, and understudied transnational families, as well as those in indigenous and endangered language communities. Emphasising matters of language attitudes, language replacement, and language endangerment, the following discussion provides a review of FLP development in transnational immigrant families. This is followed by a critical discussion of language loss in intergenerational transmission in endangered language communities.

Family Language Policy Developments in Transnational Families in Diasporic Communities

As researchers seek to understand why so many transnational families lose their home language within three generations while others are able to maintain their heritage language, the study of FLP has expanded its focus of attention to include migrant and transnational families across different geopolitical contexts (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, 2014, 2016; Fogle, 2012; Gafaranga, 2010; He, 2016; Kang, 2015; King, 2013; Li Wei, 2011; Pérez Baés, 2013; Schwartz & Verschic, 2013; Sevinç, 2016; Tannenbaum, 2012; Tuominen, 1999; Wang, 2017; Zhu Hua & Li Wei, 2016).

Curdt-Christiansen (2009), for instance, studied a group of ten Chinese immigrant families in Quebec with regard to their children's language and literacy education in three languages, Chinese, English, and French. In this ethnographic study, Curdt-Christiansen focused on how multilingualism is perceived and valued,

and how these three languages, seen from the parents' perspective, are linked to particular linguistic markets. Viewing FLP as "invisible" work, in contrast to "visible" language planning from governments or other authorities, she provided a detailed analysis of the ideological factors and the formation of ideologies underlying their FLPs. Looking into the influence of broader sociopolitical forces, she concluded that FLP in those immigrant families was established in relation to parents' educational background, their immigration experiences, the status of the minority and majority language, and their cultural disposition.

Exploring contextual factors involved in the processes of language shift and change, Seloni and Sarfati (2013) also studied Judeo-Spanish speakers in Turkey. They provided an account of how family members surrendered to external forces by ceasing the cultural and linguistic practices of the Sephardic Jewish community that settled during the fifteenth century around Ottoman Anatolia. Based on eighty-eight interviews found in historic archives, they documented the Turkish-Jewish community members' lived experiences in Turkey, and identified the factors that contributed to the decay of Judeo-Spanish.

Moving back to the contemporary context of intergenerational transmission, scholars have also engaged in studies focusing on families that travel back and forth between country of residence and home country. Pérez Baéz (2013), for example, studied a group of indigenous speakers of Zapotec (an Otomanguean language) from San Lucas in the state of Oaxaca, Mexico, who resided in Los Angeles, California. When looking at the processes of language shift in the families, she found that the shift in the diasporic community not only took place from Zapotec to Spanish and from Spanish to English; the shift was also "exported back" to the San Lucas home ↳ community as a consequence of intensified transnational movement of the family members back and forth between California and Oaxaca.

Transnational families can be complex in their composition, as many families live under the same roof together with grandparents, uncles, and aunts. In this regard, research into FLP has paid attention to such large families as well (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013b; He, 2016; Zhu & Li, 2016). Li Wei's (1994) study of *Three Generations, Two Languages, and One Family* in the United Kingdom illustrated how FLP was negotiated between family members (see also Li Wei, Chapter 29 in this volume). Also looking at three-generation families, Curdt-Christiansen (2016) located her study within the context of Singapore. By studying a trilingual Chinese family, a bilingual Malay family, and a bilingual Indian family, she showed how parents and other caregivers, including grandparents, perceived their languages differently, thus leading to conflicting language ideologies and contradictory language practices within the same family.

Family Language Policy Development in Endangered Language Communities

The analysis of FLP has also expanded to endangered language communities, where scholars have studied the processes of language change and FLP's function in language revitalisation (Ó hIfearnáin, 2013, 2015; Patrick, Budach, & Muckpaloo, 2013; Simpson, 2013; Smith-Christmas, 2016). Smith-Christmas's (2016) study was based on an eight-year-long ethnography during which she lived and observed the language practices of an extended family of three generations on the Isle of Skye in Scotland. The family consisted of grandmother (first generation), parents/uncles/aunts (second generation), and Maggie/Jacob (the third generation). Through analysing interactions between the children and adults, and interviews with different family members, she found that despite the adults' best efforts to use Gaelic with them, the children did not often speak Gaelic.

Similarly, Ó hIfearnáin (2013) studied an endangered language—Irish spoken by first-language Irish speakers in the southwest of Ireland, where "bilingualism is under great pressure from English monolingualism" (Ó hIfearnáin, 2013, p. 351). Unlike Smith-Christmas, Ó hIfearnáin used a quantitative

survey and follow-up interviews to collect data on the attitudes and practices of first-language Irish speakers in Gaeltacht communities in relation to home language use and intergenerational transmission. He confirmed that, in order to persuade Irish-speaking parents to maintain their language, it is necessary to involve these speakers in government language policy decisions.

Patrick et al. (2013) studied FLP in an urban Inuit community in Ottawa, Canada. Through participant observation, participatory literacy activity, and interviews, the authors showed how literacy activities in the community centre can facilitate cultural and language learning at home. The study also showed that state-driven language policies can open up spaces for developing indigenous-defined language and literacy activities. Such activities, when brought back into the families, can provide opportunities for intergenerational sharing of Inuit experiences, cultural memory, and traditional storytelling.

As evidenced from this review of the different types of transnational families being researched across different parts of the world, studies of FLP continue to advance our understanding of language development, shift, loss, and change. While this review provides a glimpse of the historical trajectories of the cultural and linguistic development of non-middle-class families, the ways in which mobility and ongoing changes in sociocultural contexts as well as politico-economic accessibility impact FLP have also attracted the attention of many researchers. The following section will review major thematic contributions in the field.

Major Themes

As the field of FLP has steadily developed in recent years, contributions to the field have examined various aspects of FLP, including why different values are ascribed to different languages, how parents view bilingualism from sociocultural, emotional, and cognitive perspectives (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; Fogle, 2012; King et al., 2008; Pavlenko, 2004; Tannenbaum, 2012), and what kinds of family literacy environment and what forms of parental capital are likely to promote bilingualism (Curdt-Christiansen, 2012; Li, 2007; Ren & Hu, 2013; Stavans, 2012). Importantly, these studies have expanded the inner working of the home domain into the domain of school to understand the conflicting demands of state-controlled education, on the one hand, and the intergenerational transmission of a heritage language, on the other (Curdt-Christiansen, 2012; Stavans, 2012; Spolsky, 2012; Wang, 2017). The following subsections bring into focus three major themes in the recent development of FLP: FLP, state language policy, and language in education policy; FLP, language ideology, and language hierarchies; and linguistic practices and the processes of language change.

Family Language Policy, State Language Policy, and Language in Education Policy

To understand how external influences underlie the formation of FLP, researchers are beginning to pay attention to how macro-level policies, such as government ↳ policy and school language policy, interfere with and support heritage language development or bilingual development (Curdt-Christiansen, 2014, 2015, 2016; Lane, 2010; Ren & Hu, 2013; Seloni & Sarfati, 2013).

Lane (2010) has studied a group of Kven (a Finnic language) speakers in northern Norway. The project, lasting eleven years, aimed to understand the macro-micro connections contributing to the massive language shift in this ethnic minority group. Using sociolinguistic interviews, participant observation, and feedback discussion with participants as the tools of enquiry, she collected data from forty-five participants from twenty to eighty-five years of age. Her study was situated within the context of the official Norwegianisation Policy of the 1970s; the long-lasting effect of the policy had coerced the Kven speakers to

cease using Kven with their children, as the government had implemented a Norwegian-only language policy in all schools. The entire process of Norwegianisation had imparted a sense of inferiority and shame to the Kven speakers, who had little choice but to stop language transmission. In their words, "We did what we thought was best for our children" (Lane, 2010, p. 63). Similar findings have also been reported by Seloni and Sarfati (2013) in their study of Judeo-Spanish speakers in Turkey.

Shaming is not an unusual government strategy to convince people to change their language behaviour. Li Wei, Saravanan, and Ng (1997) have reported a visible language shift in the Chinese community in Singapore, where the government persuaded the speakers of so-called Chinese dialects to abandon their languages by openly stating that the dialects were underdeveloped varieties that had little value and could prevent their children from learning.

Also situated in Singapore, Curdt-Christiansen (2014, 2015, 2016) has demonstrated how state language policy and language-in-education policy affects FLP. Although the state language policy recognises four official languages—English, Mandarin, Malay, and Tamil (designated official mother tongues[1])—the language-in-education policy has promoted English as the language of instruction across all subjects in all schools at all levels. This political decision has resulted in much less curriculum time allocated to the teaching of mother tongue as a subject. In her study of bilingual Chinese families, Curdt-Christiansen found that there are competing ideologies with regard to developing Chinese and English simultaneously. Concerned about "losing out to English in a competitive society and a meritocratic educational system" that emphasises high proficiency in English, the parents had little choice other than to place Chinese and English in opposing positions (Curdt-Christiansen, 2014, p. 48). This has resulted in their lower expectations for their children's Chinese proficiency and less sufficient provision of Chinese literacy resources.

The preceding studies demonstrate clearly that decision-making is not a neutral private family matter. It is highly related to language status, language prestige, educational possibilities, and expectations of future socioeconomic gains. As Tollefson ↳ (2002, 2013) noted, language policies in schools can create inequalities and provide access to resources, which may lead to rapid erosion of minority languages.

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Family Language Policy, Language Ideology, and Language Hierarchies

Language ideology has been a recurring theme in many of the FLP studies, because it reflects "language users' evaluative perceptions and conceptions of language and language practices" (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016, p. 695). As language ideologies are socially constructed, they are typically associated with economic values, political power, historical roles, and social utilities (Blommaert, 2006; King, 2000; Kroskrity, 2010). In any given multilingual or monolingual society, languages are hierarchically ordered. An example of such ordering process is seen in the global spread of English as lingua franca and the associated hierarchies that come with it, as has been widely addressed in FLP research (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, 2016; Garrett, 2011; Kirsch, 2012; Simpson, 2013; Wang, 2017).

Wang (2017) has examined Hakka Chinese families in Malaysia with regard to their FLP management. Because the Hakka community in Malaysia is situated within a complex sociolinguistic and political context, families must deal with daily discourses and ideologies that place English, Mandarin, Malay, Hokkien, and Hakka as tokens of global, regional, national, local, and home languages, respectively. These languages are thus hierarchically ordered, based on the family members' evaluation of their different values, including so-called communicative (Hokkien, Mandarin), instrumental (Hokkien, Malay, English) and sentimental (Hakka, Mandarin). In other words, although these languages play important roles in the family members' lives, they are ranked in terms of their importance in the socioeconomic and sociolinguistic market, as well as the scope of usage. In this regard, Wang concluded that despite the emotional role of Hakka in the private family domain, Hakka speakers are now slowly shifting to Mandarin. Likewise, although Hokkien is still a

strong local variety of wider communication in the Penang area, it too has a tendency to give way to Mandarin because of the international prestige of the latter.

Similarly, in Curdt-Christiansen's (2016) study of three Singaporean families, there is a clear indication of language ordering in the families' management activities. The Indian family, for example, sent their son and daughter to a bilingual English-Chinese preschool to learn Mandarin and English, despite their Indian heritage and their heritage Tamil language. The Malay family adopted English-only practices in their daily communication, despite their pro-Malay ideology. The Chinese family is in the process of losing their heritage language, Hokkien, while adopting Mandarin as their family language because of its wider communicative and economic value in Asia. In their linguistic repertoire, English, Mandarin, and Hokkien are ranked differently because of different values ascribed to these languages by the family members.

p. 431 These examples illustrate that in multilingual societies, language ranking and ideological conflicts can invoke complex systems of power relations that can inhibit intergenerational language transmission. Such hierarchical linguistic orders are particularly critical for minority language maintenance in societies with monolingual-dominant language settings, such as the United States and the United Kingdom. Kirsch's (2012) study of Luxembourgish families in Britain, for instance, shows the power relationship between English, the dominant societal and powerful global language, and Luxembourgish, the non-dominant European family language. Despite the prestige of its European origin, Luxembourgish has a difficult fight in the linguistic battleground of the United Kingdom. The case of Luxembourgish is not unique in that many migrant families, as reviewed earlier, have encountered the same issues when they struggled to fight against public discourse, school policy, and peer and political pressures in order to raise multilingual children in a largely monolingual society (Canagarajah, 2011).

Linguistic Practices and the Processes of Language Change

The third theme in the field of FLP concerns language practices at home, as scholars seek to understand the processes of language shift, language change, and language development. Gafaranga (2010) argues that research in language maintenance and shift should go beyond the analysis of language attitudes and ideology to actually describe everyday interactions between adults and children. The studies around this thematic category typically examine language exchanges among family members (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013b; Gafaranga, 2010), parental discourse models (Piller, 2002; Palvianinen & Boyd, 2013), and parental discourse strategies (Lanza, 2007; Meyer Pitton, 2013; Zhu Hua, 2008). Scholars look into how FLP is negotiated among family members, how parents and children translate their family language policies into everyday face-to-face interactions, what language input parents provide for their children, and how children comply with or reject parents' language choice.

Building on Lanza's (2007) discourse strategy framework, Gafaranga (2010) studied the language shift of Rwandan children in Belgium. He found that Kinyarwanda-French bilingual children constantly use *medium request* to ask for medium-switch from Kinyarwanda to French when speaking with adults. Describing the strategies that adults used to accommodate children's medium request, he showed how language policy was negotiated through face-to-face interactions, and how adults often accommodated to children's requests through medium negotiation. During the process of medium request, children's language production in Kinyarwanda began to decrease and French was used in almost all situations, thus leading to language shift.

Also studying language maintenance, Meyer Pitton (2013) reported a case study of Russian-French-
p. 432 speaking couples with young children living in Switzerland. ↳ Observing interactions between parents and children, she focused specifically on their negotiating behaviour and language choice at the dinner table. Using language socialisation as her theoretical framework, she confirmed that language maintenance involving more than one language is often accompanied by language meshing and code-switching. In this

regard, language maintenance through conversation in two or more languages during dinner table negotiation is not the primary concern of the families; rather, languages are used to socialise children into a particular behaviour.

Highlighting the role of linguistic practices in everyday interactions, Li Wei (2011) states that identity, attitudes, and relationships can be accepted and rejected, all in the process of interaction. Zhu Hua's (2008) work on bilingual intergenerational talk illustrated that conflictual sociocultural values and identities are intensely negotiated, mediated, and evaluated in bilingual interactions. Curdt-Christiansen (2013b), basing her work on discourse analysis of family talk in homework sessions, demonstrated that a range of FLPs are established and enacted in Singaporean Chinese bilingual families through parental discourse strategies, from highly organised and overt policies to unreflective, laissez-faire attitudes.

These interactional studies have also addressed an important topic—translanguaging (Garcia & Li Wei, 2014; see also Li Wei, Chapter 29 in this volume). They showed that in the process of language negotiation, language users rely on a linguistic theory of social relevance to index their beliefs. This is demonstrated by caregivers' intention to maintain heritage languages and children's agentive role to use new codes. In choosing a code, a bilingual speaker assesses the potential power of his or her choice, depending on the social situation in a given community. In Gafaranga's case, the Rwandan children used French as their choice to negotiate their rights and obligations in the processes of constructing FLP.

The previously mentioned studies, as well as others not included in this review, demonstrate that face-to-face interactional studies can enhance our understanding of how language practices are negotiated, in what ways cultural and linguistic values are transmitted, and why language and cultural practices are changed or abandoned. I will now turn to a more explicit account of methods used in FLP research.

Methods in Family Language Policy Research

The interdisciplinary nature of FLP research has generated diverse methodological approaches to the study of language maintenance, multilingual development, and social cohesion. While these diversified research perspectives contribute a variety of new insights to the fields of bilingual education, multilingualism, and language ↳ policy, they can be generally grouped into three major approaches: quantitative, qualitative/interpretive, and sociolinguistic ethnographic. I address each of them in the following, in turn.

Quantitative Approach

De Houwer's (2007) study of 1,899 bilingual families in Flanders is one of most influential and representative quantitative studies of FLP. In this study, she examined the relationship between parental language input patterns and children's minority-language use. Using a one-page questionnaire, she collected data across Dutch-medium primary schools throughout Flanders. The questionnaire consisted of three questions: (1) Where is the family residence? (2) What are the languages spoken by the mother, the father, and each child? (3) What are the family members' ages and citizenships? All families spoke a variety of a minority language X and Dutch, but the language-use pattern involving the two types of language by family members varied. Using factor analysis, she was able to establish from this intergenerational transmission study that the OPOL strategy did not produce child language use in X language. The most successful parental input patterns that have an effect on children's use of language X were those where both parents used X, or one parent used only X and the other used X + Dutch. Her study showed that parents play an important role in their children's bilingual experiences.

In a more recent study, Kang (2015) investigated 480 Korean families in the United States about their FLPs. Using a web-based survey, she aimed to examine what types of FLP and demographic variables predict maintenance of the home language. The survey included five variables: (1) background information, including length of residence in the United States, mother's education, age of the parents and their children; (2) language practice, including eleven survey items on parents' language use during a twenty-four-hour period, covering Korean only, English only, or both Korean and English, as well as language-use patterns between family members; (3) language management, including five items concerning reading practice at home, TV watching, and attending heritage language school; (4) language ideology, including ten statements; (5) parents' assessment of children's skills in Korean. The results indicate that demographic variables, such as immigration status and the mother's education level, were not strong predictors of home language maintenance. Parental attitudes towards early bilingualism and parental management strategies strongly predicted the development of literacy skills in the home language. She concluded that simple exposure to authentic input at home may not be sufficient for developing literacy in the heritage language.

Similar quantitative studies using language surveys to explore parental language attitudes, language practices, and children's heritage language development have also been carried out in different parts of the

world, such as Ó hIfearnáin (2013) in ↳ Ireland, Sevinç's (2016) study of Turkish children in The Netherlands, Duursma et al.'s (2007) study of Spanish-English bilingual children in the United States, and Schwartz's (2008) study of second-generation Russian-Jewish children in Israel. These quantitative studies, however, tend to rely on parents' self-reports. What exactly happens at home needs to be examined through other measures and from children's perspective. For example, how do children perceive parental language input? In what ways do language practice patterns vary between family members? And how do language practice patterns index family members' ideologies and language beliefs?

Other types of quantitative studies are beginning to emerge, using longitudinal data collected across different periods in children's lives (Byers-Heinlein, 2013; De Houwer & Bornstein, 2016). This type of research still focuses on parental language input patterns and their effect on children's language production. These studies do not, however, consider the sociocultural environment factors that influence parental decisions about raising bi/multilingual children.

Qualitative and Interpretive Approach

Many FLP studies concerning language ideology are qualitative, in that researchers use interview and narrative inquiry to capture participants' lived experiences of raising multilingual children. Such approaches to studying FLP take into account the ways in which parents and children construct their intergenerational transmission experiences in relation to the broader sociocultural contexts.

One of the early studies in the field was conducted by Touminen (1999), who interviewed migrant parents in Seattle. The interviews were carried out either with the parents alone or in pairs, sometimes with their children present. Although she indicated that she also asked some children questions during the interview, the data and analysis of the conversations did not include the children's views on the matter of language transmission. Focusing on parents' deliberate actions of "creating language situations that allow and encourage the children to use that [minority] language" (Touminen, 1999, p. 60), she concluded that children were often the ones who decided what the family's language would be.

Interpretive enquiry through interviews and life history have contributed to our understanding of the role of FLP in minority/endangered language maintenance. Studies that I have reviewed earlier, such as Curdt-Christiansen (2009, 2014, 2015), Lane (2010) and Wang (2017), as well as those I have not reviewed here, such as Armstrong (2014), Chatzidaki and Maligkoudi (2013), and Simpson (2013), all employed these tools of enquiry to enhance our understanding of the interplay between language practice and language ideology.

Contributing to the ongoing investigation of the relationship between language and power, a special issue of *Language Policy*, dedicated to FLP and edited by ↳ Curdt-Christiansen (2013a), has a particular focus on narrative and ethnographic data. Contributors to this thematic issue used life history (Seloni & Sarfati, 2013), interview and participant observation (Patrick et al., 2013; Pérez Baéz, 2013; Ren & Hu, 2013), and interview and ethno-theories (Fogle, 2013; Harkness & Super, 2006) to capture the multidimensional characteristics of FLP and the complex relationship between ideology and language practice. The articles in this special issue provide a different lens from that of quantitative methods to look at how parents make use of linguistic and cultural resources to facilitate, revitalise, and enrich minority-language practices at home (Patrick et al., 2013; Ren & Hu, 2013), and why and how family members surrender to external forces by ceasing the cultural and linguistic practices of their heritage language (Pérez Baéz, 2013; Seloni & Sarfati, 2013). These studies provide varied ways of conceptualising and analysing multilingual development and language shift phenomena, yet they still focus largely on parental experiences and perspectives.

Sociolinguistic Ethnography

The third major methodological approach to studying FLP includes audio- and videorecorded family interactional data, accompanied by texts and artifacts used in family activities. It is typically examined by interaction analysis and discourse analysis. The most representative works of this kind include Lanza's (2004 [1997], 2007) parental discourse strategies, Gafaranga's (2010) study of Kinyarwanda-French bilingual children in Belgium, and Li Wei's (1994) work on a three-generation Chinese family in the United Kingdom. These studies focused mainly on the processes of language shift and on the language experiences of multilingual families. As Li Wei (2011) states, this approach allows us to capture the moment-to-moment moves and the subtlety of translanguaging that contribute to language maintenance or language change among family members.

This approach to studying FLP has been emerging in recent years. In a special issue of the *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, edited by Lanza and Li Wei (2016), contributors enriched the pool of data on FLP development. Drawing from this perspective, Curdt-Christiansen (2014, 2016) reported how Singaporean families' language practices are contradictory to their claimed beliefs, while Zhu Hua and Li Wei (2016) looked at how family members experience the gradual changes in languages in the United Kingdom. Also in this volume, Agnes He (2016) described how child and adult speakers construct meaning through repair and reformulation.

In sum, this review of methodological approaches to FLP illustrates the dynamic characteristics of FLP as an interdisciplinary enquiry. The data collected by using quantitative, qualitative, and interpretive as well as ethnolinguistic tools have extended our knowledge of the impact of parental language input on children's language output, have enriched our understanding of the powerful role of language ↳ socialisation in FLP, and have enhanced our awareness of the changing social and educational policies that influence family language decisions. Despite the vigorous approaches employed by researchers, the field can be further advanced by examining the essential interplay between macro-, meso- and micro-levels of linguistic practices and policy decisions. New ways of looking into FLP and new measures of examining FLP entail a critical understanding of family language planning as dynamic, fluid, and changeable in the life span of a given family.

It is particularly important to understand how families respond to constant social and political changes, make sense of educational policy initiatives, and reshape family language policies accordingly. These and other future research directions are discussed in the following section in more detail.

Future Directions

The study of FLP is focused on the role of language practice and language management in the family, both for intergenerational transmission and for developing multilingual speakers. Over the years, FLP research has moved beyond the notion that FLP is a private family matter to a broader sociopolitical concern that emphasises sociocultural values and power relationships among speakers of different language varieties. From this perspective, the study of FLP in recent years has given increased attention to language ideology and the sociopolitical contexts in which families are situated. Our understanding of the role of FLP in a given society can only be enhanced by interdisciplinary methods that examine the hybridity of language practices within the broader processes of language change and multilingual development.

Tollefson (2013) points out that intensified transnational migration and global flow of people entail "important social changes" (p. 22) during which "intense competition for places in schools and for the new jobs that require literacy and varying levels of fluency in English and other colonial and regional languages often leads to violence and the repression of minorities" (p. 23). Thus, interdisciplinary research into how family members continue or discontinue their family language practices in relation to the broader social and educational policy will continue to be welcome.

Ethnographic studies, for example, can reveal not only how individuals mobilise and react to different ideological perspectives in society, but also how they shape the language varieties used outside their home. In this respect, children's role in shaping FLP should be an important research focus, as Tuominen (1999) pointed out more than a decade ago in her study of "who decides the home language?." As children are p. 437 agents of change, understanding ideologically shaped linguistic experiences from ↳ their perspective will shed important light on "how power is represented and reflected in and through languages" (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013a, p. 5). Home language observations across different communities and across different types of families will yield important insights into the social, cultural, and political complexities of family members' everyday experiences of migration and social changes.

Finally, constant changes in technology and their impact on children, parents, and extended family members require researchers to look beyond the confines of the home domain to include communications with family members living far away, sometimes across huge geographic distance. There is an urgent need for researchers to look into how these new technologies intervene in and facilitate intergenerational transmission and language development.

Note

1.	The three official mother tongues are not necessarily the home languages for the three major ethnic groups. Singapore is a multi-ethnic and multilingual society in which each ethnic group speaks multiple varieties of their ethnic language. The Chinese community, for example, speaks eleven "dialects," including Hokkien, Teochew, and Cantonese; the Indians speak Punjabi, Malayalam, and several other languages; and the Malays' repertoire includes Bazaar Malay, Javanese, Buginese, and more. In order to manage this vast variety of language groups, the government decided that each ethnic group should have an official common mother tongue, which was also taught in schools.

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