Family multilingualism

Language practices and ideologies of Brazilian-Norwegian families in Norway

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For my parents

Abstract

This thesis examines the interconnections between language practices and ideologies of Brazilian-Norwegian families in Oslo, Norway. Resulting from a three-year ethnographically oriented sociolinguistic project (2017-2019), the thesis is based on data generated through the employment of various methods: online questionnaire, semi-structured interview, self-recording, and participant observation. Contributions to research on multilingual families are as follows:

First, I claim that certain parental discourse strategies might, contrary to parental expectations, restrict the child's use of their emerging linguistic repertoire. I also suggest that a translanguaging lens is helpful to problematise the notion of *one-person-one-language*, typically conceived of as a *strategy* employed by parents. Instead, the notion of *one-person-one-language-one-nation* is put forth as an *ideology* that might inform parental language practices.

Moreover, I suggest that drawing on a revisited notion of linguistic repertoire can be helpful to understand the role of affect in parent-child multilingual interactions. It also elucidates the discursive positioning of children by parents in expected social roles as family members mind mundane tasks and familial bonds are interactionally constructed.

Finally, I argue that drawing on a southern perspective provides robust theoretical grounding to examine the material and discursive structures of differentiation parents have to navigate in intercultural encounters. I then discuss the implications of the processes to language practices in the home.

Drawing on recent conceptualisations of language and on a southern perspective reframes debates about how transnational practices, identity construction, and family-making can shape the language practices of families. In particular, it attends to issues concerning the hierarchisation of social class, gender and race/ethnicity, and advances knowledge in the direction of understanding language as a socio-historical construct.

Sammendrag

Denne avhandlingen utforsker sammenhengene mellom språkpraksiser og –ideologier hos brasiliansk-norske familier i Oslo. Som resultat av et treårig, etnografisk orientert, sosiolingvistisk prosjekt (2017–2019), er avhandlingen basert på data generert ved hjelp av ulike metoder: nettbasert spørreundersøkelse, semistrukturerte intervju, selvopptak og deltakerobservasjon. Bidragene til forskningen om flerspråklige familier er som følger:

For det første viser jeg at enkelte diskursstrategier hos foreldre, i motsetning til det foreldrene forventer, kan begrense barnsbruk av sine framvoksende språklige repertoar. Jeg foreslår også at et transspråklig perspektiv kan bidra til å problematisere ideen om *én person – ett språk,* typisk ansett som en *strategi* brukt av foreldre. I stedet introduserer konseptet *én person – ett språk – én nasjon* som en *ideologi* som kan påvirke foreldres språkpraksiser.

Videre foreslår jeg at det kan være nyttig å legge til grunn en revurdert forståelse av språklig repertoar, for å forstå rollen affekt har i flerspråklig kommunikasjon mellom foreldre og barn. Dette belyser også foreldres diskursive posisjonering av sine barn i forventede sosiale roller mens familiemedlemmene er opptatt med hverdagslige sysler og konstruerer familiebånd gjennom interaksjon.

Til slutt argumenterer jeg for at et sørlig perspektiv kan bidra til et robust teoretisk grunnlag for å undersøke de materielle og diskursive differensieringsstrukturene som foreldre må navigere i interkulturelle møter. Deretter diskuterer jeg konsekvensene av disse prosessene for språkpraksiser i hjemmet.

Å ta utgangspunkt i nyere konseptualiseringer av språk og et sørlig perspektiv, gir en annen ramme til debatten om hvordan transnasjonale praksiser og identitets– og familiekonstruksjon kan forme familiers språkpraksiser. Dette dreier seg særlig om hierarkiseringen av samfunnsklasse, kjønn og rase/etnisitet, og utvikler kunnskapsgrunnlaget i retning en forståelse av språk som en sosiohistorisk konstruksjon.

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Working long hours, dealing with the insecurities of being on a fixed-term contract, making sense of impenetrable theoretical texts, planning fieldwork; these were all challenges I had to overcome. Some of these challenges were overcome more successfully than others. But none of them compare to the challenge of living away from my loved ones. I thank my friends Fernando Burgés, Franco Chiarello, Fabiana Cury, Alessandro D'Angelo, Henrique Fazzio, Gustavo Freitas, Thiago Martinez, Heidi Cristina Martins França de Oliveira, João Paulo Paiva, Rafael Parra, Bruno Pessoa, Marcelo Quevedo, and Camila Tuboi for being there. And I thank, Pedro Mendonça, my partner, for his unsurpassed patience and unconditional support.

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1 Introduction

This thesis sets out to investigate the language practices of Brazilian-Norwegian families raising their children multilingually in Norway. The South-North transnational trajectories of members of these families as well as their lived experiences in Norway raise important questions that tap into areas of research such as multilingualism; language practices and ideologies; and identity construction, negotiation, and enactment. For instance, what can the ways Brazilian parents living in Norway make sense of their South-North migration trajectories reveal about their language ideologies and language practices? What ideologies inform the decisions parents make in relation to which languages to use in the home? Why are certain language practices in the home encouraged while others are sanctioned? In what ways can current understandings of language and affect shed light on parent-child multilingual interactions?

The prevailing focus of family multilingualism research has traditionally been on understanding the extent to which language practices in the home contribute to processes of language maintenance or shift, and which language practices lead to successful multilingual upbringing. In line with recent approaches to family multilingualism research, finding answers to the empirical questions above shifts the focus to investigating how familial bonds are forged in multilingual interactions in the home, and to the ways in which family members' multilingual linguistic repertoires are contextually drawn upon as parents and children go about mundane tasks.

The particularities of the South-North transnational lived experiences of the focal participants (presented in 4.3.3) reveal an extant limitation of sociolinguistic scholarship, namely, the lack of approaches that expressly engage with southern voices, experiences and epistemologies. In order to overcome this limitation, I draw on approaches akin to what can be thought of as *southern theories* in order to develop an analytical vantage point, namely, a *southern perspective*—explained in detail in Chapter 3 and drawn upon in Article 2 "Family multilingualism from a southern perspective: Language ideologies and practices of Brazilian parents in Norway". Drawing on this perspective can help us better understand how Brazilian parents make sense of their multilingual, transnational selves in intercultural encounters in Norway, and of their language practices in the home.

Yet another area in family multilingualism research explored in this thesis concerns debates promoted by recent conceptualisations of language such as *translingual practices* (Canagarajah 2013), *polylingual languaging* (Jørgensen 2008), *metrolingualism* (Otsuji and Pennycook 2010), *translanguaging* (García and Li Wei 2014; Li Wei 2018), and Busch's (2012, 2017) revisiting the notion of *linguistic repertoire*. One point generally highlighted in these

debates is that conceiving of language as an abstract, self-contained system that can be separated, counted, and labelled does not capture well the communicative practices people engage in as they go about their everyday lives. This thesis advances research on family multilingualism in this direction by drawing on the notions of translanguaging (Li Wei 2018; Otheguy, García, and Reid 2019) and of linguistic repertoire, as revisited by Busch (2012, 2017).

The directions taken in each of the three articles mentioned above are sketched in the first article written as part of this thesis, entitled "Family Language Policy ten years on: A critical approach to family multilingualism" (Lomeu Gomes 2018). In this article, I review literature in family language policy (FLP) published between 2008 and 2017, highlight contributions made to the field, and point to some ways research on family multilingualism could benefit from engaging with theoretical developments in sociolinguistics and applied linguistics and, more broadly, in social sciences.

Specifically, I suggest that drawing on debates promoted by recent conceptualisations of language can shed new light on analyses of multilingual parent-child interactions. I advance this argument in different directions in Articles 3 and 4. Likewise, I propose that forging a southern perspective from which to analyse the participants' making sense of their intercultural encounters taps into particularities of the lived experiences of those engaged in South-North migratory trajectories that other approaches might overlook. This is the overarching argument developed in Article 2.

As noted, this thesis is composed of a series of individual sub-studies that investigate the language practices and ideologies of Brazilian-Norwegian families raising their children multilingually in Oslo, Norway. The focus on this specific group offers insights into issues that are relevant for sociolinguistic investigations of multilingual families more broadly. For example, it allows us to consider the interconnections between language practices in the home and the material and discursive structures of inequality families have to navigate in their South-North migration trajectories. It also points to the importance of examining how social categorisations are discursively transposed and (re)semiotised across contexts as parents make sense of their transnational, multilingual selves in the global North. Furthermore, it underlines the need for broadening the analytical scope of family multilingualism in order to take into account the extent to which these experiences shape parental language practices in the home. Finally, it contributes to advancing our understanding of the different ways family members may draw on their multilingual linguistic repertoire in order to construct, negotiate, and enact national affiliations and identities in everyday interactions. The context in which this project was conducted is discussed, at different levels of detail, in each of the three empirical articles. In the following sections, I point out relevant information to contextualise the whole thesis.

1.1 Context of the study

In this section, I present demographic data and discuss some issues related to immigration in Norway. More closely related to this thesis, I outline the main findings of previous studies that have examined social practices and lived experiences of Brazilians in Norway. Finally, I discuss some caveats concerning the employment of terms such as "immigrants" and "Brazilians", and highlight the epistemological assumptions underpinning my terminological choices.

1.1.1 Immigration in Norway

In line with the assumption that localised social processes are embedded in broader social, economic, cultural, and political processes, it is important to outline the structural conditions that shape transnational flows of people, as well as the discursive circulation of ideologies related to these flows.

As of 2019, 765,108 immigrants live in Norway, a country whose overall population is 5,356,789 (Statistics Norway 2019a). Since the end of the 1960s, more people have moved to Norway than have moved out of Norway (Eriksen 2013). As Eriksen (2013) points out, two important events related to immigration regulations took place within this period. In 1975, the government imposed a general ban on immigration, except for those coming from the neighbouring Nordic countries, or for those who came through family reunification or as refugees. This ban was lifted nearly thirty years later, in 2004, with the expansion of the European Union, which led to an increase in the number of Europeans residing in Norway.[1] In Figure 1 (Statistics Norway 2019b), we note a constant increase in the number of immigrants in Norway over the past three decades, and a steep rise from 2004 to 2019.

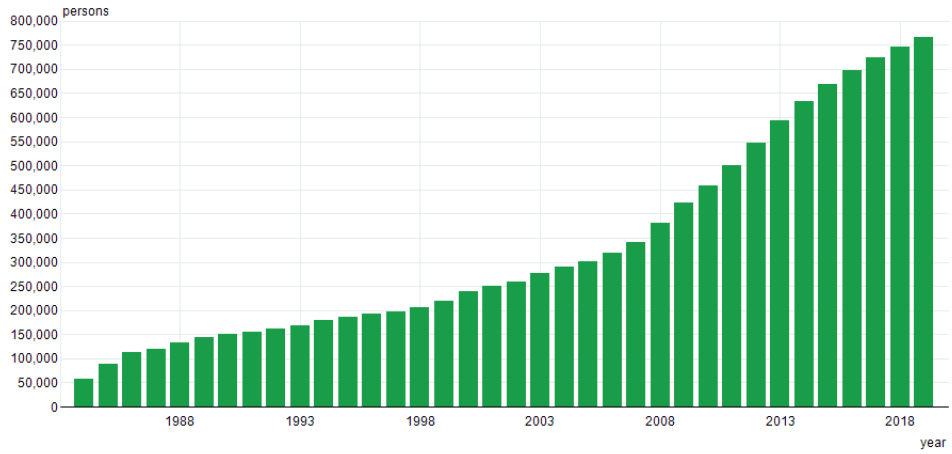

Figure 1. Immigrants by year in Norway: 1983 – 2019.

[1] Although Norway is not a member state of the European Union, it is one of the members of the European Economic Area, whose rules enable free labour movement between member states.

While the number of immigrants more than doubled from just below 300,000 in 2004 to over 750,000 in 2019, the overall population growth had a more modest increase from just over 4.5 to just over 5.3 million people, or 16%, in the same period of time. This means that, in the past fifteen years, the demographic makeup of Norway has been significantly impacted by immigration.

In parallel with the Norwegian shifting demography marked by increased immigration in recent decades, Eriksen (2017) also notes changes in the public discourse about immigrants in Norway. In an analysis of how the engagement of anthropologists in the media was received by the public from 1970s onwards, he points out that, up to the late 1990s, the public seemed welcoming to anthropological analyses circulating beyond academia. However, since the early 2000s, engagement of anthropologists in the media to discuss immigration-related issues has often been met with hostility or indifference. Eriksen (2017) claims this shifting discourse reflects a broader shift, namely, a less positive attitude of the public towards cultural diversity.

Some of the immigrant groups that tend to draw public attention in circulating discourses about immigration in Norwegian media are among the largest in number of residents in Norway, like Pakistanis and Syrians (see Eriksen 2017). As shown in Table 1, the ten largest groups of immigrants residing in Norway come from Poland, Lithuania, Sweden, Syria, Somalia, Germany, Iraq, Eritrea, Philippines, and Pakistan (Statistics Norway 2019a).

Country	Number
Poland	98 691
Lithuania	39 300
Sweden	35 586
Syria	30 795
Somalia	28 642
Germany	24 567
Iraq	23 228
Eritrea	22 560
Philippines	22 272
Pakistan	20 674

Table 1. Largest groups of immigrants in Norway.

Various studies have attended to the shifting demography led by transnational flows of people in Norway. These studies have challenged misguided, stereotypical representations of immigrants that often contribute to the reproduction of prejudice (e.g. Erstad 2015; Golden and Lanza 2013; Kraft 2019; Obojska 2019; Phelps et al. 2012; Purkarthofer and Steien 2019; Pájaro 2011, 2018). In this thesis, my interest lies in trying to understand the extent to which these broader structural processes and circulating discourses shape the lived experiences of Brazilians raising their children multilingually in Norway. I now present some information about Brazilians in Norway drawing mainly on figures made available by Statistics Norway and on the few studies that have looked into their lived experiences from the perspectives of migration studies (Horst, Pereira, and Sheringham 2016), human development and psychology (Zapponi 2015), and media studies (Saakvitne 2019).

1.1.2 Brazilians in Norway

Brazilians in Norway represent a group of 5,042 people (Statistics Norway 2019a). As shown in Figure 2 (Statistics Norway 2019b), this number has been on a constant increase in the past few decades, following the general trend of increases in the number of immigrants in Norway (Figure 1). To date, few studies have investigated the social practices and lived experiences of this group of people.

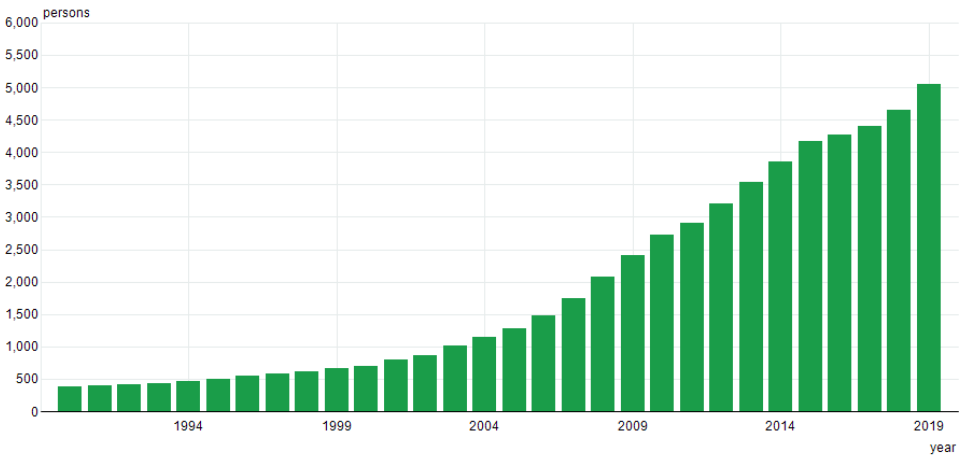

Figure 2. Brazilians in Norway by year: 1990 – 2019.

Out of the 5,042 Brazilians living in Norway, 737 are here for reasons of labour, whereas 3,590 are here for family reasons. The other reasons provided by Statistics Norway are education

(360), unknown (317), and other[2] (20). A few studies have looked into the transnational experiences of Brazilians in Norway.

For example, Horst, Pereira, and Sheringham (2016) employ the notion of feedback mechanism "to understand how migration at one time affects movement at a later time, whether to cause it to increase or decrease" (Bakewell, Kubal, and Pereira 2016, 9). Specifically, they discuss the extent to which Brazilians who have migrated to Norway, Portugal and the United Kingdom can influence future migration patterns between these countries by, for example, helping newcomers to leave Brazil and establish themselves in these countries (Horst, Pereira, and Sheringham 2016).

By drawing on data generated through questionnaires and interviews, the authors suggest that, to better understand the extent to which Brazilian residents in Norway may contribute to future migration, it is important to consider, through the construct of social class, the social stratification of Brazilian society. In this context, social class seems to be a relevant categorisation drawn upon by participants in the accounts of their experiences with other Brazilians in Norway. That is, in reports of their transnational trajectories and sociability practices in Norway, participants seem to refer to markers of distinction associated with social class, reifying purported differences among Brazilians living in Norway (Horst, Pereira, and Sheringham 2016).

Considering that roughly 75% of the Brazilians in Norway are women (Statistics Norway 2019), another relevant social categorisation to take into account is gender, which was foregrounded in Zapponi's (2015) study. In her master's thesis, Zaponni (2015) examined the motivations and expectations in relation to the immigration experiences of Brazilian women living in Norway. She conducted semi-structured interviews with five Brazilian women resident in Eastern Norway. Among her findings, Zaponni pointed to a stigma associated with marriage between migrant women and Norwegian men, also noted by Flemmen (2008) in relation to Russian-Norwegian marriages. In particular, her interview data indicated how some Brazilian women who moved to Norway because they married a Norwegian man had to stress that their decision to migrate was motivated by reasons other than social mobility.

It is important to consider Zapponi's finding and the nearly 3:1 women:men ratio of Brazilians in Norway within its broader demographic context. As noted, Brazilians do not figure among the top 10 largest immigrant groups in Norway (Table 1). However, when immigrant groups are compared considering their internal demographic makeup in relation to the number of

[2] The breakdown of reasons to migrate by country background is not readily available online. These figures were obtained contacting Statistics Norway directly. "Other" reasons include, for example, medical reasons, sports, and artists.

women and men, Brazilians are the fourth group with the highest relative number of women, as shown in Table 2[3] (Statistics Norway 2019c).

If only immigrant groups with over 2,000 people are considered, then Brazilians would be the third group with the highest relative number of women, behind groups from Thailand and the Philippines, in first and second position, respectively.

Country	Men	Women	% of Women
Thailand	3278	17105	84
Philippines	4613	17659	79
Japan	253	794	76
Brazil	1319	3723	74
Taiwan	86	229	73
Ukraine	1557	3965	72
Singapore	123	308	71
Kyrgyzstan	67	165	71
Belarus	352	829	70
South Korea	394	830	68
Russia	5783	12000	67

Table 2. Immigrant groups with highest percentage of women in Norway.

Placing Zapponi's (2015) finding in a broader demographic context helps to understand that the stigma associated with marriage between migrant women and Norwegian men might be experienced similarly by women in their South-North transnational trajectories. Flemmen (2008), for example, discusses how a Norwegian man married to a Russian woman frames their marriage legitimacy based on more or less equal economic situations between husband and wife, and contrasts their situation with marriages between Norwegian men and women from Thailand and the Philippines. During fieldwork, I was told by a Norwegian man whose wife is Brazilian about his attempts to challenge a purportedly circulating stereotypical discourse in Norway about Brazilians living here. According to him, Brazilians in Norway are taken to be "women from the beach", whose marriage legitimacy tends to be questioned. In return to this in section 4.4.1, where I discuss how I negotiated my positionality as a researcher during different stages of the research project.

In another recent study conducted about Brazilians in Norway, Saakvitne (2019) focused on everyday media practices. In her master's thesis, Saakvitne (2019) interviewed twelve

[3] In Table 2, I have included the figures related to immigrant groups in which the women:men ratio surpassed 2:1. For reasons of anonymity, I have omitted groups with less than 200 people. Admittedly, working with a dichotomic understanding of gender is problematic for it fails to consider nonbinary gender identities and expressions.

Brazilians who moved to Norway for studies, work, or family, and analysed the extent to which their use of old and new media contributed to their experiences of integration in Norway. Saakvitne (2019) points out that various media played an important role in the participants' integration processes as a source of information participants would subsequently draw on in social interactions at work, in the home, and with friends and partners. Moreover, Saakvitne (2019) suggests that some participants consumed media specifically in Norwegian in order to improve their language skills, and, as a counterpoint, one participant mentioned how not knowing Norwegian prevents her from consuming Norwegian media and, thus, contributes to her feeling less integrated.

Finally, a contribution that is more closely related to this thesis is Lindquist and Garmann's (2019) article in which they examine the language practices of young children through a translanguaging lens. They reported on findings yielded by interviews with parents and video recordings of interactions between members of three families residing in Norway: one family with two parents from Afghanistan, one family with two parents from India, and the other family with the father from Norway and the mother from Brazil. Lindquist and Garmann (2019) suggest that the parents of the Brazilian-Norwegian family seem to draw on a monoglossic ideology to employ a one-person-one-language strategy in the home. While their research design allows interesting insights concerning the language practices in the home of multilingual parents from different countries, there is, understandably, little room for a more detailed discussion on the specificities pertaining to the language practices and ideologies of the members of the Brazilian-Norwegian family.

In my thesis, an overarching aim is to contribute to the development of the emerging body of knowledge about Brazilians in Norway by way of three empirical articles providing in-depth analysis of the language practices and ideologies of Brazilian parents raising their children multilingually in their homes. Before presenting the sets of questions that guided each empirical study, below, I provide a brief reflection concerning the use, in this thesis, of terms such as Brazilian, Brazilian-Norwegian, and immigrant.

1.1.3 Caveats concerning terminology

Throughout the thesis, I use terms and phrases such as *Brazilians*, *born in Brazil*, or *came from Brazil to Norway*. Not to be confounded with inadvertent inconsistency, the alternation of terms is the result of a methodological choice relying on certain epistemological assumptions.

In this section and in some of the articles, I have drawn on statistics generated by Statistics Norway, who give definitions of the main terms used as variables. For example, *immigrants* are defined as "persons born abroad of two foreign-born parents and four foreign-born grandparents",

whereas *Norwegian-born to immigrant parents* "are born in Norway of two parents born abroad and in addition have four grandparents born abroad" (Statistics Norway 2019b).

While these definitions make it feasible to have an overview of the demographic makeup of a nation, the use of these categories to refer to a group of people that maybe share little more than the country where they lived before coming to Norway can obfuscate its heterogeneity. Some scholars have preferred, instead, the term transnationals to avoid the use of terms that convey an inherently essentialist view of identities (Obojska and Purkarthofer 2018; Zhu Hua and Li Wei 2016). I share their concern. However, the use of the term itself does not prevent it from being employed in reifying, essentialist ways. In other words, it is not the term, but what one makes of it.[4] Therefore, while I employ terms such as *Brazilians* and *Brazilian*, I do so drawing on the epistemological assumption that identities are constructed and negotiated (De Fina 2003; De Fina, Schiffrin, and Bamberg 2006; Golden and Lanza 2013). As such, I assume that there are different ways of being Brazilian that a less cautious employment of the broad category *Brazilian* might fail to capture. These ways can be contradictory; they can vary according to context.

Within this view, causal connections between ones' national affiliation and social practices are more difficult to be upheld. Instead, attention is drawn to the ways such categories (e.g. Brazilian, Norwegian, and Portuguese) gain specific meanings in contextualised interactions. It follows that my thesis does not aim to explain what Brazilians in general do in terms of raising children multilingually in Norway. Rather, by closely following the mothers who did indeed come from Brazil to Norway, I am interested in better understanding the ways they make sense of their transnational, multilingual selves as they raise their children multilingually. I try to understand how notions such as Brazilian, Norwegian, and Portuguese are drawn upon in parents' accounts of intercultural encounters in Norway and in parent-child interactions as family members go about their daily activities. In the next section, I present how these broader interests are narrowed down into the specific questions that have guided my investigation.

1.2 Research questions

In this thesis I sought to answer three interrelated sets of questions to gain an in-depth understanding of the language practices and language ideologies of Brazilian-Norwegian families in Norway. The three sets of questions, each addressed in one of the three empirical articles that form this thesis, are as follows:

[4] In Chapter 3, I present a similar rationale to justify that it is possible to use terms such as Portuguese and Norwegian to analyse the language practices of participants without subscribing to notions of languages as abstract systems that, extrapolated from social practices, can be separated, counted, and labelled.

1 – Transnational and multilingual experiences in intercultural encounters

- How do Brazilian parents make sense of their transnational, multilingual experiences in Norway?
- What discourses inform parental language practices in the home as they raise their children multilingually?

2 – Multilingual language practices and ideologies in parent-child interactions

- How do members of transnational families navigate their complex national affiliations as they go about mundane tasks in the home?
- What discourse strategies may encourage or hamper the use of their multilingual language repertoire?
- What language ideologies inform these language practices?

3 – The affective dimension of multilingual practices in the home

- What is the role of affect as family members draw on their translingual linguistic repertoires to construct their familial bonds in daily interactions in the home?

In Chapter 5, I return to how the answers I propose for each set of questions in different articles that form this thesis represent contributions to the development of research in family multilingualism more broadly. In the following subsection, I present how this thesis is structured.

1.3 Outline of the thesis

This thesis is composed of six chapters. In this chapter, I summarise the areas covered by this thesis, make a brief presentation of the context in which the study took place, provide explanations concerning terminology, and present the questions that guided this study. In Chapter 2, I situate the thesis in the broader academic debate it contributes to. Also, I examine recent developments in family multilingualism research and consider limitations of current research. In Chapter 3, I discuss the theoretical framework that grounds the epistemological and ontological assumptions operationalised in the research process. This is followed by Chapter 4, where I report on the research design, the methods of data generation and analysis; introduce the participants; and point to some limitations concerning the methodological choices I have made. Also in Chapter 4, I consider the relevance of my positionality as a researcher and discuss how my methodological choices have been informed by ethical considerations. In Chapter 5, I summarise each of the four articles that are part of this thesis, and present the articles themselves. Finally, in Chapter 6, I discuss how the arguments put forward in each article form the thesis; I also address the limitations of this study, highlight its main contributions, and point to future directions in sociolinguistic approaches to the study of family multilingualism.

2 Research status

In this chapter, I situate my thesis in a broader academic discussion. Considering this thesis employs a sociolinguistic approach to examining language practices of multilingual families of Brazilians living in Norway, I mainly discuss research that has been associated with the burgeoning field known as *family language policy*. Because an in-depth analysis of this field is provided in Article 1, a review article entitled "Family Language Policy ten years on: A critical approach to family multilingualism" (Lomeu Gomes 2018), I present a summary of the main points detailed there (section 2.3) and discuss some relevant studies published in the past two years that were not included in my review article (section 2.4). Before that, I present research on what has been referred to as Portuguese as a Heritage Language (section 2.1), and other approaches to investigating language-related issues of Brazilian families living abroad (section 2.2).

2.1 Portuguese as a Heritage Language

There has been an increased interest in recent years around the notion of Portuguese as a Heritage Language (Português como Língua de Herança or Português Língua de Herança; PHL henceforth). The interdisciplinarity of approaches (e.g. linguistics, language policy, didactics) is a characteristic of recent studies, as noted by Melo-Pfeifer (2018). These contributions have investigated the use and maintenance of PHL in contexts as varied as Catalonia (Moroni and Azevedo Gomes 2015), French Guiana (Silva 2018), Germany (Lira 2018), Italy (Oliveira de Souza, 2018), and Japan (Yonaha and Mukai 2017). Below I provide a more detailed discussion of two of these studies in order to illustrate the current stage of PHL research more generally.

In the first study, Yonaha and Mukai (2017) report on an investigation conducted in three community schools in Japan. Based on interviews with the Brazilian mothers and their children, the authors analyse the extent to which the expectations of parents and children in relation to learning Portuguese converge or diverge. They suggest that keeping in touch with relatives in Brazil and preparing their children to return to the country figure among the parents' and children's expectations. Yonaha and Mukai's (2017) study is an important contribution in a direction of furthering our understandings of the interconnections between parental expectations in the broader socio-historical context, and localised language practices. Yet, the authors seem to assess the localised language practices of children against a supposedly universal, ideal speaker, an approach that has been called into question in recent years (May 2014; Ortega 2014).

In turn, Moroni and Azevedo Gomes (2015) conceive of PHL as a movement resultant of concerted efforts of the Brazilian diaspora in many countries. In their article, the authors describe the history of an association formed by Brazilians in Catalonia that, among other things, runs a community school where Portuguese is taught. The description of the foundation and purposes of the association is a relevant entry point in trying to gain more in-depth knowledge about the language ideologies and language practices of Brazilian parents raising their children multilingually in Catalonia. Future research could benefit from interweaving such descriptions with analysis of data generated in fieldwork via, for example, semi-structured interviews, audio/video recordings, and participant observation.

In general, the burgeoning interest in PHL represents an important step towards better understanding the language practices of, mainly, Brazilians living abroad in a variety of geographical contexts and raising their children multilingually. At an exploratory state still, many of these studies provide descriptions of the context, mapping grassroots initiatives organised by the local communities in, for example, community schools run mainly by parents and without institutional support. It has been suggested that PHL studies could benefit from rearranging their epistemological scope and conceptual framework in order to provide a better theoretical grounding upon which the interconnections between localised practices and broader processes can be examined (Melo-Pfeifer 2018).

In a similar vein, recent PHL studies seem not to consider problematisations of notions such as mother tongue and first/second language that have been raised in studies in heritage language. Lane and Makihara (2017), for instance, discuss how the concept of new speakers has been put forth precisely to account for the limitations of notions such as native speaker or second language learner (see also O'Rourke, Pujolar, and Ramallo 2015; Valdés 2005). Relatedly, Melo-Pfeifer (2018) has suggested these studies, generally, tend to be informed by a "monolingual bias" (May 2014) or engender a "comparative fallacy" (Ortega 2014). That is, echoing Chomsky's (1965) ideal speaker-listener premise, a decontextualised notion of native speaker of a standard Portuguese (often Brazilian or European Portuguese) serves as the baseline against which the comparisons are drawn when examining the language practices in a variety of contexts. Also, while the political dimension is noted as relevant to contextualise the research, Melo-Pfeifer (2018, 1163) acknowledges that it tends not to be a "specific and systematic object in this area of investigation" (my translation). These are areas worth considering in future PHL studies.

In the section below, I present studies that have initiated investigations about language-related issues of Brazilian families abroad drawing on approaches other than PHL. In particular, I am interested in the extent to which they can help us gain a better understanding of the

interconnections between the localised language practices in the home and broader social, cultural, economic, and political processes.

2.2 Other approaches to multilingual Brazilian families abroad

In a Scandinavian context, Eliasson's (2012, 2015) works seem to share certain epistemological assumptions with the other PHL studies reviewed here (i.e. the possibility of distinguishing x between dominant and weaker languages). In her doctoral thesis, Eliasson (2012) drew on a generative approach to investigate the simultaneous bilingual acquisition of Swedish as the *dominant language* (my emphasis) and Brazilian Portuguese as a *weaker language* (emphasis in original) of children in families living in Sweden where the mother is Brazilian and the father, Swedish.

Eliasson (2012) sought to investigate whether the acquisition of Portuguese in such circumstances would lead to any differences in the ways Portuguese is acquired in contexts where it is acquired as a first language. Specifically, she focussed on three grammatical domains where Brazilian Portuguese and Swedish differ, namely, verb inflection, verb phrase as minimal response, and noun phrase number and gender agreement. Drawing on interview data with children, Eliasson (2012) points out that, in general, the input received in the home is sufficient for children to acquire the morpho-syntactic features of Portuguese, though this process, she claims, is delayed in comparison with contexts where Portuguese is the first language. Understandably, the generative approach employed by Eliasson (2012, 2015) does not provide insights into the embeddedness of learning Portuguese and Swedish in broader social, cultural, economic, and political contexts.

In contrast, the interconnections between parental transnational trajectories, the construction and negotiation of their identities, and children's language practices and identity negotiation are explored in A. Souza's studies (2010, 2015) of Brazilian mothers raising their children multilingually in the United Kingdom. In particular, A. Souza (2010) compares interview data with Brazilian mothers and with their children born in the UK. She proposes that the mothers' identity construction in relation to national affiliation can explicate the way their children make sense of their own language practices and identities as Brazilian or as English. More recently, A. Souza (2015) expanded upon the findings reported in her earlier work by adding that, based on interview data, the mothers' own sense of motherhood was influenced by their ability to pass on Portuguese to their children.

Finally, Garcez (2018) conducted a study in Toronto, Canada where he investigated how Portuguese-speaking students coming from Brazilian families position themselves in relation to their linguistic repertoires and national affiliation. Taking into account the heterogeneity present

in the notion of *Portuguese-speaking student*—in a context where this label obfuscates, among other identity markers, national affiliations connected to various countries where Portuguese is spoken—Garcez relies on data generated in participant observation and interviews to propose that social class is a relevant category; participants seem to orient towards it as they make sense of their identities as Brazilians and speakers of Portuguese. That is, drawing on the notion of *ethnoclass* (Heller et al. 2016) as a category that encompasses the cultural basis of class relations, Garcez (2018, 733, my translation) suggests that there exists in Toronto an ethnoclass "associated to Portuguese migrants and their descendants, typically employed in low-skilled occupations, such as construction work and cleaning services, who demonstrate low school performance and high secondary school evasion". Garcez, then, argues that Brazilian families living in Toronto may or may not identify themselves with this ethnoclass by negotiating their identities and framing their knowledge of Portuguese and other languages around their class *habitus*.

In summary, there is a clear difference in the scope and approaches taken by Eliasson (2012, 2015) and those taken by A. Souza (2010, 2015) and Garcez (2018). While the former examines the language practices of Portuguese-speaking children with a focus on the possible role of Swedish in the acquisition of syntactical features of Portuguese, the latter seem indeed invested in unpacking issues of identity and ideologies related to language practices of family members. Moreover, while A. Souza's (2010, 2015) works reflects FLP literature, Garcez (2018) situates his work in alignment with studies concerned with the intersection of sociolinguistics, immigration, and globalisation.

In this regard, researchers drawing on the notion of family language policy have established, in the past decade or so, a common site for the exchange of scholarly ideas around family multilingualism (cf. Curdt-Christiansen and Lanza 2018; King 2016; King and Lanza 2019; Smith-Christmas 2017). Furthermore, these studies seem to be well equipped to tease out the interconnections between multilingual language practices in the home and broader social, cultural, economic, and political processes (cf. Curdt-Christiansen 2018; Macalister and Mirvahedi 2017). Still, FLP as a field carries its own set of epistemological limitations. Below, I discuss recent research on family multilingualism and detail how I position my research in relation to existing literature about multilingual families.

2.3 Family Language Policy

In Article 1, a review article, I identify certain trends in publications in family language policy (FLP) between 2008 and 2017, highlight some of their contributions to family multilingualism

research, discuss certain limitations, and point to directions worth exploring in the future (Lomeu Gomes 2018). Here, I summarise the main points made in that publication.

Taking the publication of the now much-cited King, Fogle and Wright (2008) article as a turning point in FLP, in "Family Language Policy ten years on: A critical approach to family multilingualism" (Lomeu Gomes 2018), I identify three general trends of studies published from 2008 to 2017 that have contributed to developing FLP as a field heading in interesting directions.

Before presenting these three trends, I should acknowledge that, as with any review, the one I propose is partial and limited, and not just because of the restrictive timeframe. Limiting the initial search to studies that employed the term "family language policy" in their titles or abstracts, important studies that have investigated multilingualism from a language socialisation or heritage language perspective were not captured in the search. Moreover, restricting the review to publications in English is another evident limitation, especially when attempting to take a critical approach that is concerned, among other things, with how power and knowledge are intrinsically enmeshed within social processes that include, for example, academic publications. Still, I argue that a close analysis of the studies that were included in the review permit helpful insights, as I briefly sketch out below.

First, Spolsky's framework (2004, 2009) has been pivotal and repeatedly drawn upon by much literature in FLP. While this has allowed researchers to develop a sense of unity in the ever-expanding field, I suggest that not many studies have attempted to assess the suitability of the framework itself to account for the language practices and ideologies of multilingual families. As a consequence, the epistemological scope of FLP has been particularly limited.

Second, as noted in introductions to special issues on multilingual families (e.g. Curdt-Christiansen 2013; Curdt-Christiansen and Lanza 2018; King and Lanza 2019), I point out the gain of currency of ethnographic methods. That is, many studies are the results of longitudinal engagements of researchers who employed a combination of methods—including questionnaires, interviews, recordings, and participant observation—to generate data related to the language practices and ideologies of children, their parents, and sometimes extended family members in the home or at school. The triangulation of such methods allowed researchers to provide richly contextualised analyses of the entanglements between participants' language practices and language ideologies.

Finally, another characteristic of studies published in FLP during that decade is the diversity of languages, geographical locations, and family configurations investigated. Yet, Smith-Christmas (2017) makes a valid point about the lack of studies conducted in Africa or in the Middle East (with the exception of Israel). Her critique, however, only scratches the surface of a deeper challenge, namely, the lack of southern experiences, voices, and epistemologies in family

multilingualism, or in sociolinguistics more generally, as noted by Levon (2017) and Milani and Lazar (2017). Likewise, I highlight that important debates around recent conceptualisations of language—e.g. translingual practice (Canagarajah 2013), polylingual languaging (Jørgensen 2008), metrolingualism (Otsuji and Pennycook 2010; Pennycook and Otsuji 2015), translanguaging (García and Li Wei 2014; Li Wei 2018; Otheguy, García, and Reid 2019), and Spracherleben (Busch 2012, 2017)—have only been marginally tapped into.

After identifying these three trends, I move on to more closely analyse the potentially limiting consequences on the development of FLP of continuing to solely (or mainly) employ Spolsky's framework without a careful examination of its epistemological and ontological assumptions, and, relatedly, its suitability to investigate the language practices of multilingual families.

As an alternative, employing a decolonial approach to family multilingualism studies could be a direction worth exploring because it "underscores the intersectional dimension of social categorisations such as gender, race and class, while attending to the political and economic dimensions of the transnational centre-periphery divide" (Lomeu Gomes 2018, 63). I also note that taking a step in that direction could be a way of redressing the omission of southern epistemologies.

While the review presented in Article 1 examined publications in the period between 2008 and 2017, elsewhere, Lanza and Lomeu Gomes (2020) have drawn on King's (2016) views of the development of FLP to propose our own understanding of how the field has developed. We consider a much wider timespan than that one in Article 1, namely, from Ronjat's (1913) account of his experience raising his children bilingually to the present time. In summary, we proposed five main points that have marked the development of FLP research "(i) classic diary studies by linguist parents; (ii) bilingual language acquisition studies focused on central psycholinguistic questions; (iii) a turn to a more sociolinguistic approach: the establishment of FLP as field of inquiry; (iv) a turn to include a more diverse range of family types, languages, and contexts; (v) a focus on globally dispersed, transnational, multilingual populations, and ever-greater heterogeneity and adaptability in research methods" (Lanza and Lomeu Gomes 2020, 155).

These main points can be helpful for us to make historical sense of the development of the field. Yet, we should be cautious in order to avoid interpreting the development of FLP as undisputed, linear, and univocal. Therefore, alternative interpretations of the development of FLP that contest and/or complexify our current understandings should be encouraged.

In fact, Hiratsuka and Pennycook (2019) question an historical account of the field that groups together research from diverse epistemological traditions, for it may imply a sense of cohesion in the historical development of research in family multilingualism where, in fact, there

is little to none. Specifically, they claim that what has been considered a third phase of FLP by King (2016)—and by Lanza and Lomeu Gomes (2020)—"now stands as the overarching label of the entire tradition" (Hiratsuka and Pennycook 2019, 2). The problem with this, they continue, is that such approaches tend to favour "policy over practices, languages over a broader vision of language dynamics, and families at the expense of a more flexible understanding of social organisation" (Hiratsuka and Pennycook 2019, 2). Recent publications, however, have indeed shifted their focus to practice-based approaches (e.g. Higgins 2019; Lanza and Lexander 2019). Specifically, some studies have demonstrated that drawing on a translanguaging approach can shed new light in examining the language practices of multilingual families, a discussion I turn to in the following section.

2.4 Innovative directions in family multilingualism research

In this concluding section, I draw on more recent studies that illustrate well the point I made about how research on multilingual families could benefit from engaging more recent conceptualisations of language.

As noted in the title of this thesis, I give preference to the term "family multilingualism" to position my research. To a certain degree, I share Hiratsuka and Pennycook's (2019) suggestion that there is a need to critically engage with what is actually meant by *family*, *language*, and *policy*; a need that some studies in FLP might overlook. However, some studies have started to address some of these limitations in interesting ways, in particular those engaging with a broader vision of the dynamics of language. In this section, the brief discussion of recent publications on multilingual families is delineated around debates stemming from recent conceptualisations of language, more specifically, those drawing on a translanguaging approach.

Van Mensel (2018), for example, analyses interactional data of two multilingual families living in Belgium to put forward the notions of *multilingual familylect* and *multilingual family language repertoire*. One of the interesting things about the notions proposed by him is that they, in opposition to FLP studies that take the named languages as the departure point of the analysis, focus on the role of shared language practices (e.g. use of certain lexical items and language alternation practices) in the ongoing construction of family ties.

In turn, Danjo (2018) sets out to examine the differences between monolingual ideologies informing language practices, such as the one-person-one-language strategy, and more flexible language usage in actual practices in her study of two Japanese-English bilingual families residing in the UK. Reporting on the findings of her 16-month long fieldwork, which included visits to the families' homes and the children's schools, audio recordings, and interviews, she proposes that

drawing on the epistemological possibilities opened up by the notion of translanguaging allowed her to better understand the language practices and ideologies of those families. Specifically, combining the understandings of language as resource and language as a social practice, the author demonstrated how participants draw on linguistic resources available to them to achieve their interactional goals (e.g. to show affection, or to negotiate sharing toys).

Another contribution along similar lines is Kwon's (2019) study of parent-child translingual practices in museums, in which the use of multimodal tools and participants' translingual repertoires are highlighted as communicative strategies deployed in localised meaning-making events that are linked to the families' transnational trajectories. Finally, in Hiratsuka and Pennycook's (2019, 5) study, taking a critical stance towards the precedence of policy over practice in FLP, the authors propose the term 'translingual family repertoire' to "describe the particularity of the multilingual practices within the family, their importance in establishing family life, and their availability as a set of potential linguistic items that members of the family can use".

Taken together, these studies represent an interesting shift both in the kinds of questions that are being asked in family multilingualism research as well as in the epistemological and ontological assumptions underlying the concepts drawn upon to propose answers for these questions. I return to this in section 3.2 in the following chapter.

3 Theoretical framework

In this section, I discuss three related approaches underpinning the southern perspective employed in this project, namely, *southern theory*, *epistemologies of the South*, and *decoloniality*. I elaborate on the differences between a southern perspective and other critical approaches and I show how employing a southern perspective can be useful in family multilingualism research. Moreover, I suggest that drawing on debates around recent conceptualisations of language assists in understanding the language practices of multilingual families from a perspective that has recently started being explored in family multilingualism. Finally, I present the sociological and anthropological approaches to *family* studies that inform the understandings of family employed in this thesis.

3.1 Southern perspective

In recent decades, scholarly attention has been drawn towards notions such as the Global South, southern theories, decolonising institutions and disciplines, and the Eurocentric canon. Some approaches working with these notions include *southern theory*, *epistemologies of the South*, and *decoloniality*. These can be thought of as sharing certain epistemological and ontological assumptions. In this section, I present a brief discussion about each of these approaches, I delineate points of convergence among them that, together, forge a southern perspective as an analytical lens, I consider how such a perspective differs from other critical approaches, and I indicate how a southern perspective can be useful in family multilingualism.

3.1.1 Forging a southern perspective: southern theory, epistemologies of the South, decoloniality

Here I introduce a discussion about *southern theory*, *epistemologies of the South*, and *decoloniality*, and point to how some of the epistemological and ontological assumptions put forward by these approaches can be operationalised into a southern perspective from which to analyse issues relevant to family multilingualism research.

In proposing a new direction for social theory that could help the social sciences to sustain democracy globally, Connell (2007) presents three justifications for proposing "Southern theory" as the title of her book. First, it emphasises relations of power: "relations—authority, exclusion and inclusion, hegemony, partnership, sponsorship, appropriation—between intellectuals and institutions in the metropole and those in the world periphery" (Connell 2007, viii—ix). Second, drawing on the work of the Beninese philosopher Paulin Hountondji, she claims it highlights the

fact that the majority of the world produces knowledge. This is in opposition to a pattern in colonial science that sees the centre as the producer of theory while the peripheries would be places for generating data and applying the theories developed in the Global North. Finally, "Southern theory" challenges the idea of universal knowledge by emphasising the situatedness of knowledge production.

Similarly, Santos (2014) puts forward the notion of *epistemologies of the South* as "a set of inquiries into the construction and validation of knowledge born in struggle, of ways of knowing developed by social groups as part of their resistance against the systematic injustices and oppressions caused by capitalism, colonialism, and patriarchy" (p. x). That is in contrast to what is referred to as Western-centric critical theory which, Santos (2014) continues, "sees itself as a vanguard theory that excels in knowing about, explaining, and guiding rather than knowing with, understanding, facilitating, sharing, and walking alongside" (p. ix). In addition, epistemologies of the South set out to fulfil three related purposes: (i) "denounce the suppression of knowledges carried out, during the last centuries, by the dominant epistemological norm", (ii) "value the knowledges that have successfully resisted, and the reflections produced by the latter", and (iii) "investigate the conditions for a horizontal dialogue between knowledges" (Santos and Meneses 2009, 7, my translation).

Two ideas are central to epistemologies of the South, namely, *ecologies of knowledges* and *intercultural translation*. While ecologies of knowledges refers to the dialogue mentioned in point (iii) above, intercultural translation can be understood as "the alternative both to the abstract universalism that grounds Western-centric general theories and to the idea of incommensurability between cultures" (Santos 2014, 212). Put differently, the cultural and epistemological diversity of the world, the latter often neglected by the dominant ways of knowing, is championed by the notion of ecologies of knowledge. This notion assumes that the suppression of such diversity has been carried about by capitalism, colonialism and patriarchy. Therefore, the notion of ecologies of knowledge recognises "the copresence of different ways of knowing, and the need to study the affinities, divergences, complementarities, and contradictions among them in order to maximize the effectiveness of the struggles of resistance against oppression" (Santos 2018, 8). In turn, intercultural translation sustains the articulation between these different knowledges and cultures (Santos 2018).

In sum, the epistemologies of the South counter the hierarchies of knowledge reified by Western, modern thought, and instead privilege knowledges emerging from the experiences of those who are marginalised and oppressed aiming at strengthening their resistance. Taking a decolonial approach, Castro-Gómez and Grosfoguel (2007) align themselves with such a

perspective as they explain why the term *colonialidad* (*coloniality*) is preferred to *colonialismo* (*colonialism*), a discussion I turn to now.

Coloniality, Castro-Gómez and Grosfoguel (2007) suggest, highlights the continuities between the colonial times and the so-called "postcolonial" times; also, it points to the fact that the colonial relations of power were not restricted to the economic-political and legal-administrative domination of the centres over the peripheries, but they also encompass an epistemic dimension. Moreover, Castro-Gómez and Grosfoguel (2007) claim that critical scholarship tends to build on either of two main approaches: Marxian critiques of political economy such as Wallersteinian world-system analyses, or Anglo-Saxon postcolonial studies. They point out that while the former conceives of social reality as composed of base and superstructure, where the cultural domain stems from the material relations of production, the latter emphasises that these material relations of production do not have a meaning in themselves; rather, they gain meaning at the symbolic, discursive realm. A decolonial approach would then provide a reconciliation between these two competing perspectives whose either-or focus fails to grasp the mutually constitutive interconnectedness between the material relations of production and the hierarchisation of race/ethnicities, gender/sexualities, social classes, knowledges, and spiritualities.

Similarly, Mignolo (2012) suggests that, from a Latin American perspective, modernity and coloniality are two sides of the same coin. That is, the European invasion of America marks the start of two simultaneous and interrelated processes: the political, economic, epistemic and cultural domination of American colonies by European nation states known as coloniality, and the development of the hegemonic, Eurocentric, self-referential worldviews and values (e.g. progress, humanism, individualism) contained in the notion of modernity. In other words, it is only through the oppressive subjugation of ways of being, believing, feeling, and loving in the colonies that the metropoles were able to uphold a belief system that distinguishes them—the SWEEMEs: "straight, white, educated European male elites" (Pennycook 2018, 15)—from the savage Other.

In order to counter this narrative, Mignolo (2012) finds it necessary to engage with stories that have been rendered invisible by modernity. Nevertheless, engagements with ways of being, believing, feeling and loving otherwise do not necessarily implicate the shutting out of whatever is Western. Neither does it equate to a simple geographical shift of the enunciator from the Global North to the Global South while still reproducing the much-criticised fundamentalism of Eurocentric analyses. Grosfoguel triggers this reflection when he asks: "How can we go beyond the eurocentric modernity without wasting the best of the modernity, like many fundamentalists of the Third World have done?" (2008, 115, my translation). Santos' notion of intercultural translation is useful here as it allows one to think of Eurocentric critical approaches and southern

perspectives holding equivalent epistemological status and coming together in contact zones[5] "where mediation, confrontation, and negotiation become possible and are carried out" (2014, 353).

Importantly, the term *southern perspective* has been employed in a variety of publications, meaning different things, and serving different purposes (e.g. Connell 2014; Fokwang 2009; Heugh et al. 2017; Milani and Lazar 2017; Soto 1992; L. Souza 2019). The southern perspective conceptualised in this thesis draws on assumptions of Southern theory, epistemologies of the South, and the notion of decoloniality to investigate how parents make sense of their South-North transnational trajectories, their lived experiences of intercultural encounters in Norway, and how these relate to their multilingual practices in the home. Therefore, the southern perspective proposed here is understood as an analytical lens built upon points of convergence as regards the premises of Southern theory, epistemologies of the South, and the notion of decoloniality. That is, they converge in that: (i) they assume the situatedness of knowledge production; (ii) they aim at increasing social justice; (iii) they oppose the dominance of Western-centric epistemology; and (iv) they see the Global South as a political location, not necessarily geographic, but with many overlaps.

3.1.2 Differences between a southern perspective and other critical approaches

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to provide a lengthier discussion on the differences between the way a southern perspective is employed in this thesis and epistemologies that have influenced research on applied and sociolinguistics in the past decades, such as postmodernism, postcolonialism, poststructuralism, critical theory, and, more recently, posthumanism. However, there are three considerations that help us understand what makes a southern perspective distinct.

First, while criticising Eurocentric, critical research, authors engaged with a decolonial approach and southern theorisations make it clear that it is not a matter of denying it. Rather, it is a matter of assuming that "Western thought and Western civilization are in most/all of us, but this does not mean a blind acceptance, nor does it mean a surrendering to North Atlantic fictions" (Walsh and Mignolo 2018, 3).

Second, a southern perspective is deliberately interested in engaging with epistemologies from the Global South that have been made invisible by the hegemonic characteristic of Eurocentric modernity. This differs from postmodernism and poststructuralism as epistemological projects, for they have remained imprisoned within the Western canon "reproducing, within the

[5] See Pratt (1991) and section 4.4.2.

thought and practice domains, a certain form of coloniality of power/knowledge" (Grosfoguel 2008, 117, my translation), or from Eurocentric critical thinking in general for "[t]he core problem is that the epistemological premises of both Eurocentric critical thinking and Eurocentric conservative thinking have strong (and fatal) elective affinities" (Santos 2018:7).

Third, the engagement with epistemologies from the South serves not only as a counter hegemonic way of disrupting the current geopolitics of knowledge that privilege what is produced in the North, but might also be more suitable for accounting for the experiences of peoples from the Global South. This premise finds support in criticisms of one important tenet of positivist science, namely, universalism. That is, rather than aiming at developing objective and neutral accounts based on supposedly universal models and theories, there has been a shift, more specifically in the social sciences, that is mostly interested in examining the ways in which in-depth analyses of local histories and practices might help to shed light on broader social, cultural, economic and political processes. In what follows, I discuss the kinds of questions that drawing on a southern perspective in family multilingualism allows us to ask.

3.1.3 Southern perspective as an analytical lens for family multilingualism

The discussion presented in this section has so far gravitated around approaches in, mainly, epistemology and sociology relying on the assumption that academic knowledge production has important socio-political implications. Apart from helping us asking different questions in family multilingualism, engaging in these debates can bring perspectives which may lead to answers drawing on a deeper knowledge base.

In recent years, the interrelationships between the transnational trajectories of families and their language practices and ideologies, as well as the intertwinement between such processes and identity construction, negotiation, and enactment, have come to the fore in family multilingualism research. In furthering the focus on the lived experiences of transnational families, we could benefit from expanding the analytical and theoretical scope of family multilingualism by working with epistemological and ontological assumptions that attend to the particularities of families engaged in South-North transnational flows.

I suggest that a southern perspective gives a suitable theoretical anchoring for the particular kinds of questions brought about by the South-North entanglements as experienced by family members in their South-North transnational trajectories. For example, how do these families experience the structures of inequality they have to navigate in the Global South and in the Global North? In what ways are social categorisations discursively transplanted and (re)semiotised across contexts as families make sense of their transnational, multilingual selves in

the Global North? To what extent do these experiences shape parental language practices in the home? How are family members' multilingual linguistic repertoires drawn upon in interactions where national affiliations and identities are negotiated?

In this thesis, I propose that a southern perspective to family multilingualism is particularly relevant to the analysis of the experiences of Brazilians in Norway because it draws on the assumption that the hierarchical economic and cultural relations between centres and peripheries have outlived the end of colonialism. That is, drawing on a southern perspective sheds light on the continuity of hierarchical relations between the Global North and the Global South, despite the politico-administrative independence of former colonies. These hierarchical relations have implications for the ways family members engaged in South-North migration make sense of their transnational, multilingual selves, and, consequently, for their language practices and ideologies in the home.

In a similar vein, a southern perspective highlights that the hierarchical economic and cultural relations between centres and peripheries are enmeshed with the complex interweaving of power relations sustained by the hierarchisation of social class, gender, and race/ethnicity, in place since colonial times and materially and discursively reproduced and (re)semiotised to this date.

The focus of this section has been on outlining what is meant by a southern perspective in this thesis, as well as on the analytical possibilities it opens up for research in family multilingualism research. In the next section, I move on to discuss the recent conceptualisations of language drawn upon in this thesis.

3.2 Recent conceptualisations of language in family multilingualism

In the past decades, there has been a shift in sociolinguistic approaches to family multilingualism; this shift accompanies the broader epistemological advancements in scholarship on language and society. Studies in the 1990s tended to focus on issues concerning the relationship between input and output in child bilingualism, the reasons why children brought up under similar circumstances have different outcomes in terms of language proficiency, and how broader processes of language maintenance and shift take place on the ground. From the 2000s, and more evidently so in the 2010s, family multilingualism research has incorporated in its agenda issues related to the role of family members' multilingual repertoires in processes of identity construction, negotiation and enactment, and the interrelationships between transnational trajectories and language practices and ideologies (Curdt-Christiansen 2018; King 2016; King and Lanza 2019; Lanza and Lomeu Gomes 2020).

Also, during the past two decades or so, scholars from different research traditions have suggested that there is a need for expanding the ways we conceptualise language to account for the complexity of communicative practices that traditional understanding of languages fail to grasp. For example, Jørgensen (2008) puts forth the notion of *polylingual languaging* to better understand the language practices of children and youth in late modern societies in Europe. These practices can be better understood by what he describes as a norm of human linguistic behaviour, namely, the polylingualism norm, according to which "language users employ whatever linguistic features are at their disposal to achieve their communicative aims as best they can, regardless of how well they know the involved languages (Jørgensen 2008, 163). *Metrolingualism*, in turn, can be a helpful lens for analysing everyday practices of urban multilingualism while attending to the ordinariness of globalisation as experienced in the everyday lives of people (Otsuji and Pennycook 2010; Pennycook and Otsuji 2015; Pennycook and Otsuji 2020). Notions that substantiate this practice-based approach are *multilingualism from below* and *globalisation from below*, both of them driving the analytical attention to how people make sense of their own multilingual linguistic repertoire, and to how broader processes associated with globalisation shape our everyday lived experiences.

In turn, one of the initial formulations of *translanguaging* considers "the practices of bilinguals not as two autonomous language systems as has been traditionally the case, but as one linguistic repertoire with features that have been societally constructed as belonging to two separate languages" (García and Li Wei 2014, 2). More recently, the notion of translanguaging has unfolded in different directions while still sharing the concern for conceiving of language beyond assumptions that reify static language boundaries (e.g. Dovchin and Lee 2019; Li Wei 2018; Li Wei and Zhu Hua 2019; Otheguy, García, and Reid 2019; Pennycook 2017a). Finally, an expanded and revisited notion of linguistic repertoire as proposed by Busch (2012, 2017) interweaves poststructural, phenomenological, and interactional sociolinguistic approaches to foreground biographical trajectories and tap into the bodily and emotional dimensions of the interconnections between language practices and language ideologies.

It is worth noting that concerns emerging from these debates had already been raised decades ago (e.g. Haugen 1972; Khubchandani 1983). Yet, sociolinguistic research, in particular in family multilingualism, has only recently started to draw on these debates (e.g. Danjo 2018; Hiratsuka and Pennycook 2019; Kwon 2019; Van Mensel 2018; see also the review in section 2.4). This thesis contributes to this recently initiated uptake of recent conceptualisations of language the analysis of language practices of multilingual family members in the home. This is done by drawing on the assumption that language is a localised social practice, not a bounded, abstract system that can be neatly separated, labelled, and counted.

Specifically, I draw on a translingual lens to further our understanding of the much-used notion of *one-parent-one-language* (OPOL). This notion has been typically employed to describe a parental strategy of language use and negotiation in raising bilingual children (Romaine 1995; Ronjat 1913). I suggest that conceptualising OPOL as a *strategy* relies on the assumption that languages can be ontologically conceptualised and epistemologically operationalised as separable entities. Drawing on a translanguaging approach permits conceiving of one-parent-one-language-one-nation (OPOLON) as an *ideology* that informs parental discourse strategies (Gumperz 1982; Lanza 1997) in interactions in the home. I return to this in section 6.2.2 and, in more detail, in Article 3.

Furthermore, in this thesis, I engage with the notion of linguistic repertoire as revisited by Busch (2012, 2017) to tap into the affective dimension of parent-child interactions in the home. That is, drawing on an approach "which foregrounds the bodily and emotional dimension of intersubjective interaction" (Busch 2017, 341) can be helpful in trying to better understand the role of affect as parents and children draw on their multilingual linguistic repertoires and forge familial bonds in everyday interactions. This is further elaborated on in section 6.2.2 and in Article 4.

Before I conclude this section, a brief terminological consideration is in place. In section 1.1.3, I argued that it is not the use of terms itself which carries their explanatory value, but rather the underpinning epistemological assumptions of terminological choices and how the terms are operationalised in the research process.

I do employ the terms Portuguese and Norwegian, for example, to describe the language practices of the participants. However, I do so from a perspective that is interested in "understanding how it is that societies have come to understand language in the ways that they have, and the ways that individuals within these societies take up and resist dominant understandings of language" (García, Flores, and Spotti 2017a, 5). The underlying assumption of this perspective is that, rather than a decontextualised system, "language can be understood as a socio-historical formation developed in particular cultural contexts of time and space" (Copland and Creese 2015, 15).

Moreover, in exploring their analytical potential in describing the *language practices* participants engage in (see Pennycook 2010), I find it helpful to employ the terms Portuguese and Norwegian. Certainly, finding better terms that could enrich the analytical repertoire of contemporary sociolinguistic scholarship would be a welcome enterprise that future endeavours could explore.[6] Yet, my point is that the employment of these terms is not mutually exclusive with

[6] But see Pavlenko (2018) for a pertinent discussion around academic branding.

understanding languages as social practice embedded in political and historical contexts (García, Flores, and Spotti 2017b; Heller 2007; Pennycook and Makoni 2020; Wright 2015). In fact, taking into consideration the participants' use of terms such as Portuguese and Norwegian to describe their own practices corroborates the argument that these terms can be analytically conceived of as emic categories (see Otsuji and Pennycook 2010; Pennycook and Otsuji 2015). Therefore, in this thesis, the terms Portuguese and Norwegian are employed while I draw on a practice approach which conceives of languages as social and historical constructions.

Shifting the epistemological lens of family multilingualism to incorporate debates stemming from recent conceptualisations of language opens up promising analytical possibilities. That is, rather than answering key questions such as in which generation a certain language will stop being spoken, or what kinds of linguistic input leads to successful bilingualism, engaging in debates around recent notions of language helps us formulate and find answers to a different set of questions. Such questions may be: how are familial bonds forged in interaction as family members perform mundane tasks and draw upon their translingual language repertoire? To what extent are family members' language practices influenced by monoglossic language ideologies? What are the interactional consequences of drawing on such language practices in everyday parent-child interactions?

It should be noted, however, that this shift is not proposed here as a panacea. I am not suggesting that every approach not drawing on notions of translanguaging should be eschewed. In a similar vein, I do not advocate for the idea that the only way of making meaningful contributions to family multilingualism is by drawing on such notions. Such orthodox views have been justly challenged from markedly distinct positions, for example, in Santos' (2014, 2018) notion of *ecology of knowledges* and in Dewaele's (2019) backing of quantitative approaches for the sake of ontological, epistemological, and methodological diversity.

Moreover, debates emerging from recent conceptualisations of language have also been shaped by positions that question the theoretical innovativeness implied in the use of the new concepts. Some authors have argued, for example, that failing to provide empirical basis for the certain theoretical claims, the employment of translanguaging in some studies does not offer much more than established terms in sociolinguistics such as code-switching (e.g. Auer, in press; Bhatt and Bolonyai 2019). In order to further develop, it is crucial for approaches employing recent conceptualisations of language to take in consideration such criticisms.

In sum, I suggest family multilingualism research could develop in promising ways if we take part in debates regarding the epistemological and ontological assumptions of recent conceptualisations of language. Not only can drawing on these conceptualisations help us ask different questions in relation to the language practices of multilingual families, but the

examination of such practices may offer important empirical bases upon which further contributions in current theoretical understandings of language can be developed.

3.3 Approaches to studying families: sociology, language socialisation, and discourse analysis

In this thesis, I draw on approaches to studying families that are interested in investigating how broader social, cultural, economic, and political processes shape the everyday lived experiences and social practices of family members. At the same time, in such approaches family members are conceived as having the capacity to agentively shape their trajectories and construct their subjectivities. In this section, I discuss sociological and anthropological approaches to family studies, expand upon certain assumptions supported by these approaches, and explain how they are operationalised in this thesis.

3.3.1 Sociological approaches to family studies

Various disciplines have, in the past two or three decades, turned their attention to how recent transnational flows of people, goods, and information influence diverse areas of social life. In sociological approaches to studies of families, this has been reflected in an increased interest in understanding the extent to which broader transnational processes associated with globalisation might shape family life. Chambers (2012), for example, analyses how sociology of families has started to tap into issues related to marriage migration and female labour migration. In this regard, she suggests that the term 'intimate politics of globalization' (Cole and Durham 2007, 19) has been employed to capture the "interconnection between sex, family, intimacy, the private and the personal and macro-socio-economic issues of labour, capital and populations" (Chambers 2012, 115).

Relatedly, Baldassar and colleagues (2014) propose that transnational families are not a particularly new type of family because mobility, which has influenced the formation of such families, has been present throughout history. However, two features that characterise recent flows of people are the scale of mobility and the technological advancements in travel and communication. Thus, they suggest that "we need to further develop our understanding of the meanings, actual practices, and obstacles related to *doing* family in a context of increased mobility and geographical distance" (Baldassar et al. 2014, 171, emphasis in original). The notion of *doing* family emphasises a broader shift in current understandings of families, as discussed by Morgan (2011).

In a reflection about how *the family* as a notion in sociology might bear normative, reifying assumptions, Morgan (2011) suggests two interesting ways that might better capture the dynamicity and diversity present in social practices of families: to think of *family* as an *adjective* and as a *verb*. The former, he claims, allows one to use "the term 'family' as a particular, but not exclusive, lens through which to describe and to explore a set of social activities" (Morgan 2011, 5). The latter resonates with a focus on 'doing'. That is, the focus on the social practices of family members avoids the employment of a unit of analysis determined *a priori* and highlights the relevance of careful, *in situ* investigation to understand contextualised ways of 'doing family'.

In a similar vein, Chambers (2012) suggests that, in order to be on par with such debates about recent understandings of family-making, sociological approaches to family studies have identified a need to expand their methodological repertoire. Hence, they now tend to "endorse qualitative studies of personal and family life by emphasizing techniques and traditions of social enquiry characterised by in-depth, open-ended interviews" (Chambers 2012, 181).

The recent developments of sociological approaches to studying families highlighted above can be summarised into three main points: a need for better understanding the interconnections between family practices and transnational processes associated with globalisation in its economic and political dimensions; a shift from the family as an ideal-type carrying normative biases to thinking of family as an adjective (or a lens) and as a verb ('doing family'); and the usefulness of qualitative approaches to tap into the contextualised dimension of family-making as a localised social practice.

Drawing on these points, in this thesis my interest lies in better understanding how processes associated with globalisation might influence the transnational trajectories of the focal participants. Moreover, I employ qualitative methods to provide richly contextualised descriptions of the participants' language practices as they draw on their multilingual repertoires to forge family ties. Apart from bringing these points into my research, I rely on tenets of language socialisation studies and discourse analysis, as discussed below.

3.3.2 Contributions of language socialisation and discourse analysis to family studies

Research in language socialisation has traditionally drawn on anthropology, sociology and psychology to better understand different aspects of child-rearing while attending to the interconnections between language and culture (Schieffelin 1990). In a similar vein, discursive analytic approaches to studying language and identity have, drawing on social constructionism, advanced our understandings of the relationships between what we say and who we are (De Fina,

Schiffrin, and Bamberg 2006). Contributions from these broader research traditions and areas of scholarship have important implications for family multilingualism, as suggested below.

In their seminal work, Schieffelin and Ochs (1986a) point out that children are socialised to use language through the use of language. Put differently, the process of bringing up children into the cultural norms of a given community is marked by the use of language in two interrelated ways: it is through the use of language that children are taught norms of social appropriateness, and it is by learning what is socially appropriate that children develop communicative skills. A more general assumption of language socialisation studies is that "vocal and verbal activities are socially organized and embedded in cultural systems of meaning" (Schieffelin 1990, 15). In such approaches, language is understood as "the primary symbolic medium through which cultural knowledge is communicated and instantiated, negotiated and contested, reproduced and transformed" (Garrett and Baquedano-López 2002, 339).

The previous quote emphasises the multifaceted ways in which knowledge is acted upon. Another important premise of language socialisation studies relates to who gets to act, or where agency is ontologically situated. More specifically, from a language socialisation approach, children are not conceived of as agentless receptacles that take in whatever is passed on to them. Rather, they are considered "an active contributor to the meaning and outcome of interactions with other members of a social group" (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986b, 165).

A related area of inquiry has drawn on contributions of discursive approaches in order to provide accounts of the role of communicative strategies in forging family bonds and shaping the everyday lives of families. For example, assuming that "families are created in part through talk", Kendall (2007, 3) posits that a discourse-based approach to examining interactions taking place in the home can elucidate how family relationships are forged as identities are constructed, negotiated, and enacted interactionally. Similarly, Gordon (2009) emphasises the twofold role of intertextuality in family interactions: creating meanings and creating family. That is, she maintains that, by following family interactions through time, it is possible to unveil not only the specific meanings gained by certain linguistic and paralinguistic features used in family interactions, but also how families are constructed through these communicative practices in localised meaning-making events.

While these discursive analytical approaches examined mainly monolingual contexts, other important contributions have employed similar approaches to investigate bilingual contexts. Lanza (1992, 1997, 1998), for example, examines the role of discourse strategies (Gumperz 1982) employed by parents in the construction and negotiation of contexts that support (or not) bilingual language use in interactions in the home. An assumption underlying Lanza's approach, one that is

also drawn upon in this thesis, is that language and context are mutually constitutive (Duranti and Goodwin 1992).

In light of the contributions of language socialisation and discursive analytical approaches discussed above, in this thesis I draw on the understanding that children are socialised *to* language use and *through* language use to investigate the relationships between parental language ideologies and language practices in the home. Moreover, I understand that children position themselves agentively and, as such, influence language practices of their parents that will, recursively, affect the children's language practices (see Gafaranga 2010). Finally, the premise that families are constructed partly through talk is mobilised in this thesis as I set out to investigate the use of parental discourse strategies as familial bonds are constructed in everyday interactions.

4 Methodology

This research is situated within a critical sociolinguistic tradition, drawing on epistemological assumptions of linguistic anthropology, linguistic ethnography, and ethnographic approaches to language planning policy (Copland and Creese 2015; Heller, Pietikäinen, and Pujolar 2018; Hornberger et al. 2018; Johnson and Ricento 2013; Martin-Jones and Martin 2017; Pérez-Milans 2016; Pennycook 2001). This has certain implications on what is considered data, the kinds of questions analysis of the data can answer, and the contributions my findings can make. In this chapter, I briefly discuss some of these implications, and then describe in a more detailed way the methods employed for data generation and analysis, and present the focal participants. Moreover, I discuss issues pertaining to my positionality as a researcher. To conclude, I reflect on ethical dilemmas experienced throughout the research project, and point to some guidelines that have informed the decisions I took in resolving these dilemmas.

4.1 Initial methodological considerations

The kinds of questions I was interested in answering required developing a relationship with participants so that they would allow me into their lives. More precisely, to develop a more in-depth understanding of the connections between language practices in the home of Brazilian families in Norway and broader social, cultural, economic, and political processes, I drew on three tenets of ethnographic work: (i) to attend to perspectives of participants; (ii) to seek to understand how localised events can be thought of as, at the same time, unique and structured; and (iii) to consider the reflexive dimension of ethnographic knowledge (Blommaert 2007).

Throughout this three-year project, I was invested in learning about what it meant for the focal participants to be a Brazilian parent raising multilingual children in Norway. I expected to make sense of unique social practices—both as part of and in shaping contexts—in themselves and as they reached certain degrees of regularity and could illustrate broader processes (Heller, Pietikäinen, and Pujolar 2018). I attended to the reflexive dimension of knowledge generated ethnographically, for example, how my research questions were reshaped as I spent more time thinking and learning *with* participants (Ingold 2018), and how reflections about our (partly) shared South-North lived experiences of migration opened up analytical possibilities that would have been harder to access otherwise.

Taking this epistemological stance posed a number of methodological challenges that were, to varying degrees and on different occasions, intermeshed with one another. For instance, how would I formulate and reformulate the research questions along the way so it did not become

a completely different project, but ensured room for necessary adjustments? How would I meet potential participants if I moved to Norway just before I started this project? What methods would I employ to generate and analyse data? What could I and what could I not expect my study to answer based on the data I had collected and the theoretical framework that informed my analyses? In what ways would my own social position influence my research?

It is worth noting that such challenges are not laid out linearly as though they were hurdles on a running track that once overcome are in the past. Instead, I had to face some of these challenges multiple times, though each time rendered in a slightly differently way. Nonetheless, for descriptive purposes, I have grouped these challenges under larger themes. In the sections that follow, I describe the decisions I have made when I faced these challenges.

4.2 Fieldwork engagement

As noted, not much has been written about Brazilians in Norway, and before moving to Oslo I did not have any contacts with Brazilians here. Therefore, from as early as January 2017, I was invested in familiarising myself with the social spaces in which Brazilian parents circulated, and reaching out for potential participants. The first entry in my research journal, written in early March 2017, illustrates one of my first attempts to meet Brazilians in Oslo:

> *After a little over two months living in Oslo, it was a cold Friday afternoon in late February 2017 when I realised I had taken the wrong bus and would be late for the screening of a Brazilian movie at the Embassy of Brazil in Oslo. I learned about this event through the Embassy's Facebook page, where the Cultural Sector of the Embassy publishes content relevant to Brazilians in Norway, oftentimes divulging accomplishments of the Brazilians residing in Norway. As I cursed internally for potentially ruining this chance of meeting Brazilians in Oslo, I didn't realise that my luck was about to change.*
> *Two women, who were talking to one another and speaking Portuguese, entered the bus and sat right in front of me. "Are you from Brazil?", I asked, in Portuguese as I assumed they could also be going to the movie screening. And so I found out that they were both Brazilian and headed to the Embassy as well. This was not the first time I heard Portuguese in public; in fact, and to my surprise, every other week during my first ten weeks in Oslo I would hear Portuguese: at a Christmas market, on the streets, at bus stops, and on the bus.*

After that day, I participated in a number of events held in Oslo related to Brazil or the Portuguese language in which I tried to be less blunt in my approaches and less outspoken about my assumptions about the participants' country of birth or national affiliations. These events were organised mainly by two institutions or groups: the Brazilian Consulate in Norway, and the Association of Brazilians in Norway. Through events organised by the Brazilian Consulate, (i.e.

screenings of Brazilian films and regular meetings of the Council of Brazilian Citizens in Norway), I met Brazilians who had been living in Norway for decades and who told me about their experiences here. Moreover, staff members of the Consulate helped me by including my call for participation in the newsletter sent out to the Consulate mailing list and posting it on their Facebook page.

It was during the film screening mentioned above that I learned about the Association of Brazilians in Norway (ABN). Established in 2014, but seemingly on a hiatus since 2018, ABN's goals were to (i) favour the contact of members with Brazilian culture and (ii) to help Brazilians in knowing about and integrating in Norwegian society (ABN 2016).

Also during the first semester of 2017, I attended numerous events organised by ABN such as a Carnival party for children and storytelling of Brazilian folk stories. Whenever possible I volunteered to help with the organisation prior to the event or during the event. This way I got to learn more about the association, and, more importantly for the purposes of my study, I got to know some of its members and their reasons for attending the events. Many of them reported that an important motivating factor was to keep ties with Brazilian culture; relatedly, many said they wanted their children to socialise with other Portuguese-speaking children. Whenever they demonstrated interest in my research, I would check if they matched the most important criteria (i.e. being from Brazil and raising a child/children multilingually in Norway). If they did, I sent the link to questionnaire to them after we met. However some of these parents never filled out the questionnaire. Nevertheless, as is normally the case in research projects with an ethnographic orientation, it was possible to gain knowledge about the local context by engaging in conversations with those who did not respond to my questionnaire or participated in the subsequent stages of the research.

In order to reach out for participants other than those I ended up meeting at events in Oslo, I made posts on three Facebook groups whose members were, to a large extent, Brazilians living in Norway. The first posts were made in December 2016. These posts, combined with the distribution of the link to the questionnaire among potential participants I met at the different events, resulted in 23 individual responses by June 2017. In the second semester of 2017, I continued attending similar events, and, in August 2017, I posted information about the project in a Facebook group for the final time. Figure 3 shows an example of this post (an English translation is provided on the right). The final call for participation in the research by filling out the questionnaire generated yet 23 more individual responses up to October 2017. Discontinuing the use of the questionnaire then allowed me to move on to the subsequent stages of data collection.

It is worth noting that to restrict the number of people who would have access to the questionnaire, and circumvent a potential disadvantage associated with online questionnaires (i.e. to have answers from people who do not meet the researcher's selection criteria), I suggested that potential participants who matched the criteria could comment on the post so I could then send them a link to the questionnaire.

Figure 3. Call for participation.

Even though the first posts on social media about my research were made in December 2016, it was not until April 2017 that I started collecting the first responses via the online questionnaire. Importantly, I made sure to contact each participant individually no more than a few days after they commented on my posts to give more details about the planned timeline for data collection.

On the one hand, it was useful to circulate information about my research project from the very beginning. Some parents I ended up meeting in events recognised me because of the social media posts and, once they met me in person and I told them more about my research, they decided to participate. On the other hand, some participants might have lost interest during the 3 months it took between my first social media posts and when I finally sent them the link to the questionnaire, despite my keeping in touch with them in the meantime. In the next section, I move on to present more details about the participants and methods of data generation and analysis.

4.3 Participants, data generation, and data analysis

In this section, I present an overview of the periods of data generation according to the method used. I also include more detailed information about each method, explain the choices I made to narrow down the number of participants, and I introduce the focal participants who participated in

the whole period of data generation. In Figure 4, I present an overview of the methods and periods of data generation.

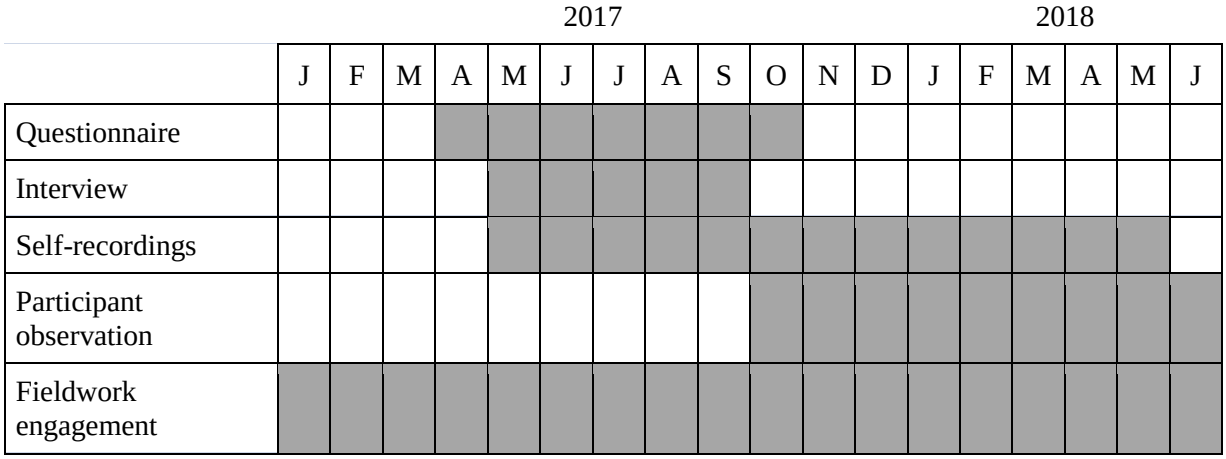

Figure 4. Methods and periods of data generation.

4.3.1 Online questionnaire

As I was not part of an already established network with potential participants, I created the online questionnaire at the beginning of the project. This allowed me to reach a larger number of participants in a relatively short period of time. Moreover, the questionnaire responses generated an overview of participants' social backgrounds, transnational and multilingual practices, and other biographical information that were drawn on when selecting participants for further stages of data generation.

The questionnaire was composed of six sections, with a total of 26 items covering the following areas: personal biography, language knowledge and use, family configuration, current situation and plans for the future, transnational practices, and comments and questions participants might have. A detailed list of the items is included in Appendices 4 and 5. In order to mitigate the effects of respondent fatigue, the questionnaire was designed to take between 6 and 8 minutes to be filled out and the 46 participants took just over 9 minutes on average. It should be highlighted that 6 participants took over 20 minutes, bringing the average up. Participants did not have a time limit to fill it out and, because they answered it at their convenience, it is possible that they engaged in other activities during this time.

Questionnaires are typically employed in large-scale surveys that allow researchers to present an overview about reported language practices of multilingual families in a certain context (e.g. for Belgium De Houwer 2007; Dekeyser and Stevens 2019; for Canada, Slavkov 2017; for Ireland, Ó hIfearnáin 2013; for Israel, Schwartz 2008). Drawing on tenets of quantitative research such as data validity, reliability, generalisability, and reproducibility, these studies can be helpful by providing information about which languages are spoken by families in a given geographical

area, the nationalities of parents, overlaps or mismatches between the languages used in the home and those used at schools, and so forth.

I should emphasise, however, that the questionnaire was never intended as a method to generate data to be analysed with the assistance of statistical tests whose results could then lead to claims about Brazilians in Norway in general. The kinds of questions I seek to answer in my thesis call for the employment of different methods. The online questionnaire was used mainly to circumvent the difficulty imposed by the fact that I did not know any potential participants before moving to Norway. That is, I employed this method as one of the ways to reach out to many potential participants in a considerably short amount of time. With this in mind, the data generated via questionnaire is summarised in the Table 3 (more details about the focal participants, including length of residence, occupation, and languages spoken can be found in Table 4).

Biographical information	n (%)
Gender	
Men	2 (4.3)
Women	44 (95.7)
Highest educational degree	
Higher education	35 (76)
Secondary school	10 (22)
Primary school	1 (2)
Place of residence	
Oslo	17 (37)
Other	29 (63)
Total	46 (100)

Table 3. Information about questionnaire respondents (n = 46).

The fact that only 2 of the 46 respondents were men can be partly explained by the 3:1 women to men ratio of Brazilians in Norway (see Table 2). Considering the lack of perspective of fathers in family multilingualism research, it was promising to have their participation and indication that they were willing to take part in the subsequent steps of data analysis.

In terms of their highest educational degree, 35 participants reported to have a higher education degree, 10 reported having a diploma from secondary school, and one from primary school. Overall, the group of respondents can be considered highly educated.

Because the subsequent stages of data generation would involve frequent visits to the participants' homes, the city where participants lived was a criterion I used to invite participants for interviews. The majority of the respondents lived outside of Oslo, so only 17 could potentially participate in the other stages of data collection. Out of these, 13 agreed to be interviewed, and 9

interviews were scheduled. Below I describe the process of data generation in semi-structured interviews.

4.3.2 Semi-structured interviews

The selection of participants who responded to the online survey and accepted to participate in follow-up interviews involved criteria such as gender, educational background and profession, and place of residence in Norway. I expected to be able to interview men and women (no other gender expressions and identities were reported) with different educational and professional backgrounds. Due to logistic limitations and because I wanted to conduct the interviews in person, I restricted the selection to those who lived in Oslo (or its outskirts). This amounted to a total of nine interviews with Brazilian parents, each belonging to a different family.

The semi-structured interview guide included four main themes: participants' transnational practices (e.g. migration trajectories, experiences of living in Norway, plans for the future), language practices (e.g. language(s) used in the home, language(s) used with different family members, language(s) used in different media and literacy practices), language ideologies (e.g. advantages/disadvantages of knowing different languages, reasons to use certain languages in the home, conceptions about language acquisition), and life in Brazil before migrating to Norway (e.g. learning languages, educational background, work experience). For the complete interview outline, please see Appendices 6 and 7.

The interviews took place between May and September 2017 at the participant's home, workplace, or at a coffee shop, depending on the participant's availability. They lasted between 44 and 77 minutes, and, in total, they generated 9 hours and 14 seconds of audio recordings. In order to identify similarities and differences related to language ideologies, language practices, and other relevant topics parents oriented to when talking about their transnational, multilingual experiences in Norway, I listened to the recordings multiple times making notes on all them. Considering that the research design entailed further stages of data collection, only the interview recordings of five participants who agreed to participate in all the following stages of the research were fully transcribed.

The analysis of the data, which was transcribed according to Portuguese orthography, followed two main steps that fed into one another. Initially, the interview recordings were played multiple times and notes were taken about what emerged as important topics. One important theme present in all the interviews was the intercultural encounters participants reported having experienced. When looking at these narratives more closely, I noticed how participants oriented to social categorisations such as social class, gender, and race/ethnicity as they were positioned, and

(re)positioned themselves, in interactions with their interlocutors and in the interview context. In a subsequent stage, I went through the recordings again specifically looking for instances where these categorisations were made relevant. Afterwards, I thematically coded passages according to the social categories that were mentioned.

Analysis of the data was informed by a key premise of intersectional approaches, namely, that the power dynamics sustaining the hierarchisation of social categorisations such as social class, gender, and race/ethnicity can be more appropriately explained by considering the complex, multi-layered ways in which these social categorisations are interrelated (Cho, Crenshaw, and McCall 2013). Further details of the analysis of interview data are reported in Article 2. Still, it is worth discussing a few of the underlying assumptions in my approach to the use of interviews in this project. First, this project draws on a discursive approach that assumes the locatedness of identity negotiation as well as its connections with broader ideologies (De Fina 2003). Furthermore, it understands interviews as interactional events in which meanings are co-constructed by, and roles are negotiated between, interviewer and interviewee (Block 2000; De Fina and Perrino 2011; Pavlenko 2007; Talmy 2010).

Additionally, the notion of positioning employed here stems from Davies and Harré's (1990) argument that (self)positions are discursively produced in situated interaction. Moreover, it shares Kendall's (2007, 3) understanding that "families are created in part through talk". In their sociolinguistic ethnography, Zhu Hua and Li Wei (2016, 657) have noted that as members of transnational families negotiate their identities, they might have to fight "against prejudices and stereotypes, sometimes caused by their members not speaking the languages of the resident country". In this project, I examined instances where prejudices and stereotypes are not necessarily caused by not speaking a certain language, but by belonging to, or being perceived as belonging to, certain social positions. I further explored how the focal participants experienced these challenging situations and remained undeterred by them in their intention to raise their child multilingually with Portuguese as part of their linguistic repertoire.

At the end of the interviews, I asked the parents if they wanted to participate in the subsequent stages of the research project, which would involve regular visits to their homes and self-recordings made by them during a period of 12 months. In the following sections, I introduce the focal participants, that is, the ones who participated during the whole period of participant observation and self-recordings.

4.3.3 Focal participants

As noted, five participants agreed to participate in the subsequent stage of data generation. A few weeks into this stage, I narrowed down this number to three. This decision was made because even though participants seemed very interested, it was difficult to schedule my visits and the self-recordings were not happening as frequently as I needed. Moreover, following closely five families while collecting the kind and amount of data I was interested in proved to be a greater logistical challenge than I expected. For these reasons, I decided to follow three participants instead, and the criterion I employed to select those who would continue was the country where the father of the focal child was born (i.e. Norway). In the end, this left me with three focal families whom I followed during one year.

In yet another stage of the research project, I had to narrow down the number of participants to only two families. The main reason for this choice was that in the case of one family there was insufficient interactional data that I could draw upon in the analysis. From the initial stages of data generation, the mother in this family seemed very interested in participating and would verbalise this during my visits. At the same time, she would often mention during the observations how tired she felt managing all her daily activities, so I tried not to stay very long whenever I visited her family. I also had to remind her multiple times of making the recordings. Still, the overall length of the recordings she made amounted to less than 1 hour. Because of these unforeseen events, I chose not to include data from this family in the analysis presented in the articles. However, the process of interviewing her, transcribing and analysing interview data with her, and the participant observations undertaken in her home influenced the reformulation of my research questions more generally.

Below, I present information about the focal participants. The omission of certain details and the employment of broad categories are methodological choices made in order to protect the participants' identities. The names of the participants are pseudonyms. The information in Table 4 was gathered through the online questionnaire and the children's age refers to their age when the questionnaire was answered (Adriana: 08 June 2017; Berenice: 02 June 2017).

As a rule, I asked the Brazilian parent to fill out the questionnaire, so the information in the columns 'length of residence', 'education', 'occupation', 'languages spoken in the home', and 'other languages known' refers to the mothers. The information in Table 4 offers but a glimpse of the focal participants; in each of the articles I provide, whenever necessary, more details about each member of the family.

Family members	Length of residence	Education	Occupation	Languages spoken in the home	Other languages known
Adriana (late 30s), Håkon (mid 40s), and Emma (2;9)	5 years	postgraduate degree	looking for job as school teacher	Norwegian and Portuguese	English and French
Berenice (late 40s), William (late 30s), and Claire (7;6)	12 years	postgraduate degree	public sector	Norwegian and Portuguese	English and Spanish

Table 4. Focal participants' biographical information.

4.3.4 Participant observation, audio recordings, and field notes

The visits to the participants' homes were crucial in trying to better understand their language practices and ideologies, and, more importantly, how their familial bonds are constructed in their everyday lives. In Table 5, I present some information about the number of visits and their dates, the overall number of hours of the audio recordings, and the context in which they took place.

Participant	No. of visits	First visit	Last visit	Length of recordings	Contexts
Adriana	5	12 November 2017	02 June 2018	10 hours and 23 minutes	meal time
Berenice	5	07 October 2018	04 June 2018	7 hours and 21 minutes	meal time

Table 5. Information about participant observation.

I visited each family at least five times and they agreed it would be easier to organise the visits around meal times. Aware of the methodological debates about the contentious issue of giving gifts to the participants, I decided not to give any sort of incentives for those who voluntarily decided to participate in my study. However, as a gesture of appreciation, and because the situations always involved sharing meals that they had spent material and immaterial resources preparing, I decided to bring something we could share. This included, for example, fruit salad, bread rolls, juice, some homemade condensed milk and chocolate-based party sweets (*brigadeiro*), and ice cream.

When the mothers introduced me to their children, explanations ranged from "mummy's friend" to "from the university". In what followed, I would usually talk to the children myself and tell them I worked at a university, and explain to them I would be coming to their house to spend

some time with them, and sometimes I could play with them if they wanted. In every situation, the children were quite reserved during the first minutes. I would wait to see how they greeted me so I could follow along their decision, either by giving a handshake, receiving a hug, a kiss on the cheek (common in Brazil, but not in Norway), or just smiling and waving my hand. As a rule, in negotiating the degree of proximity with the child, I would follow along whatever they seemed to be comfortable with.

In the case of the youngest child, Emma, it did not take long for her to bring toys and ask me to play with her. In future visits, Adriana would tell me she kept asking the dates I would return so we could play again. When I went back to her home, Emma would hold me by the hand to select some toys in her bedroom or take me to the balcony, hug me, and frown when I said I had to leave. The other children remained more distant during the whole period of participant observation and, while we had some long conversations—my not knowing much about local children's TV shows, the latest fads in toys, and their school routines served as great topic initiators—they hardly started any conversation with me.

On most occasions, at least one of the parents was present in the same room I was with the children. The only exceptions were a couple of times when I noticed that, while playing with Emma and her toys in the living room, Adriana walked into another room. When I realised I had been left alone with Emma, I called out Adriana. In this way, I ensured there was another adult present in the same room, and my role was not being mistaken for that of a babysitter.

In some houses, visits tended to last longer than in others. I started the recordings a few minutes after I arrived, and I stopped a few minutes before leaving, so the lengths of the recordings are rough approximates of the length of the visits. In Berenice's case, they lasted between 1 and ½ hour and 2 and ½ hours; in Adriana's house the length varied between 2 and 3 hours. Importantly, I asked for permission to record from every person in the house whenever I made the recordings, and I would always inform them when I was turning the recording device off.

On each occasion, soon after I left the houses, I tried to write field notes. Sometimes I wrote them just a few minutes later in a nearby park or on the bus. Other times, I waited a couple of days and wrote them on my computer. The notes were taken, whenever possible, with the aid of the recording. Also, I wrote brief notes telling myself to listen closely to specific passages where we were doing a certain activity because something had caught my attention during the visit and I could not remember all the details.

In some of the notes, I included details that were easier to write about, such as how long it took, the people who were present, the food we ate, or the activities we did. However, I also made

notes on specific kinds of interactions that caught my attention. Below, I present two excerpts of field notes of this latter kind:

Field note written after visit to Berenice's house on 7 October 2017

> *As I walked into their home, Berenice asked, in Portuguese, her daughter to say hi to me, which she did as she continued playing with building blocks on the floor. I got closer to her, crouched down and asked her a few questions such as "What is this?", "Who built that tree house?", "Did you build this yourself?". In all my interactions with Claire, I addressed her in Portuguese, which she seemed to understand without difficulties, as she replied to me without asking.*

Field note written after visit to Adriana's house on 9 February 2018

> *When Emma and I were playing, she would tell me "Ɖin(nha) vez", and would be corrected by her mother. "É sua vez, não existe din vez".*

These field notes illustrate one of the ways in which they were useful in the research process. Both field notes refer to language use. In my first interaction with Claire, I got the impression she had a good command of Portuguese. But because of the limited interaction, taking note of this impression helped me to look for more instances both in future visits and in the recordings made by Berenice that would support or challenge this initial impression. This proved helpful for me to better understand how her parents would address her.

The second example illustrates a similar analytical process in which the very act of writing the field note would make me reflect on the language practices I had just observed and/or participated in. That is, after my second visit to Adriana's house, I noticed Emma saying "din vez" (Norwegian "your" Portuguese "turn") or "dinha vez" (from Norwegian pronoun "**din**" and the last syllable from the Portuguese first person possessive feminine pronoun "mi**nha**") a few times. And Adriana would correct her. Noticing this helped me to formulate more specific questions such as "Was this a one-off event, or was it recurrent? Does Adriana use this correction strategy only when this word is used or in other situations too? Does she use other strategies as well?" Combined with further data analysis of recordings, this would culminate in a full-fledged manuscript where I analysed parental discourse strategies (Lanza 1997) employed by Adriana (see Article 3).

Visiting participants' homes, recording the interactions, and making notes about them were usefully combined as methods, and can be seen as an open-ended process that would guide my observations in the following visits. In each subsequent new visit, different issues would emerge and these would, in turn, refine my questions and redirect my thoughts. Drawing on this

type of triangulation of methods, as typically done in qualitative, ethnographically oriented sociolinguistic studies (e.g. Copland and Creese 2015; Heller, Pietikäinen, and Pujolar 2018) allowed me to add layers of details to my analysis of the interactional context, identify certain linguistic features that gained particular meanings interactionally, and redefine my research questions.

4.3.5 Participants' self-recordings

In order to ensure a broader perspective and enrich the data available to me through participant observations, I also asked the mother of each family to make audio recordings of interactions with their children in the home. Following previous studies that have successfully employed this method of data generation, I instructed participants to record interactions during meals, play time, or other daily routines (Blum-Kulka 1997; Smith-Christmas 2016; Tannen, Kendall, and Gordon 2007). I also asked them to make, whenever possible, recordings longer than 10 minutes. In Table 6, I present an overview of the number of self-recordings, when they happened, the total number of hours of recorded data they supplied, and the contexts in which they took place.

Participant	No. of recordings	First recording	Last recording	Total length	Contexts
Adriana	19	20 October 2017	30 May 2018	8 hours and 53 minutes	bedtime routine, role-play, cooking and meal time
Berenice	8	15 October 2017	13 March 2018	4 hours and 46 minutes	assistance with homework, using tablet, meal time

Table 6. Information about self-recordings.

Because participants' awareness of the recording situation can influence their language practices, this method was not employed with the intention of capturing interactions that would match exactly what parents and their children do when they are not being recorded. That is, I relied on self-recordings knowing that participants, especially the parents or older children, might want to perform according to what they consider to be socially desirable. Likewise, noticing the recording device, the children might be distracted by and interact with it, which actually happened on a couple of occasions. Moreover, the participants selected which recordings they were willing to share with me. Therefore, while relying on self-recordings allowed me to be absent as a direct

observer, I do not assume the data generated through these recordings to represent precisely what parents do outside of the research context.

As a consequence, the inferences drawn from the analysis of interactional data must acknowledge the language practices captured in the recordings are only a snapshot of the multiple ways family communication takes place in everyday life. Be that as it may, the similarities noticed in various recordings, the length of the recordings, and the triangulation of methods helped me to formulate richer interpretations of the language practices in the recordings.

Depending on the questions I wanted to answer, the focus and the process of the data analysis varied slightly. In order to answer the second set of research questions (see section 1.2) (i.e. *How do transnational families navigate their complex national affiliations as they go about mundane tasks in the home? What discourse strategies may encourage or hamper the use of one's multilingual language repertoire? What language ideologies inform these language practices?)* I engaged in a three-step iterative analytical process which allowed me to identify a set of discourse strategies employed by parents, the pragmatic functions they achieved in interaction, and further elaborate on the distinction between implicit and explicit, much referred to in FLP literature, but undertheorised. Moreover, I supplemented the analysis of interactional data with analysis of interview data to tease out the possible interconnections between language practices and language ideologies. A fuller account of the analytical process and main findings in relation to this set of questions is reported on in Article 3.

In regard to the question in set 3 (i.e. *What is the role of affect as family members draw on their translingual linguistic repertoires to construct their familial bonds in daily interactions in the home?*), I identified linguistic features recurrently used in parent-child interactions (i.e. terms of endearment such as "*my love*" and *"you are…"* frame) to propose they achieve three interrelated social actions in interaction: they convey parental value-laden aspirations of child-rearing, position children according to expected social roles, and forge parent-child ties (see Article 4).

Before I move on to discuss my positionality as a researcher in section 4.4, I am going to elaborate on Adriana's engagement in the project, which led to more and longer recordings being made of interactions taking place in her home. Perhaps one of the reasons why Adriana demonstrated greater engagement was because my visits meant Emma would have the chance to interact with another Portuguese-speaking person. With a more robust data set from her family, I was able to develop a more in-depth analysis of the interactions between Adriana, Emma, and Håkon. This is noted in the content of the articles. Not only do I draw upon data from this family in all three of the empirical articles of this thesis, but I focus exclusively on interactional and interview data for her family in Article 3.

These situations and the narrowing down of participants referred to throughout this section are not atypical in ethnographically oriented projects, where fieldwork engagement does not always happen according to what had been envisioned initially. But precisely because these contingencies are a characteristic of this kind of research project, it is important to design the research to allow for changes to be made as the project unfolds. In the case of this research, this was done by starting out with a larger number of participants. This would leave room for disengagements, initiated by participants, by me or motivated by unforeseen, external circumstances, without compromising the research project entirely.

4.4 Reflexivity, researcher positionality, and locus of enunciation

In line with the reflexive nature of ethnographically oriented sociolinguistic projects, I draw on the assumption that the practice of doing research cannot be disentangled from the socio-historical contexts in which it is embedded and, consequently, it is important to attend to the view of researchers as embodied, localised subjects (Heller and McElhinny 2017; Lanza 2008; Patiño-Santos 2019). In this section, I discuss the different ways in which I am implicated in the very processes that I aim to analyse. I point out how my professional trajectory has shaped my current research interests and I discuss how my positionality as a researcher was negotiated during fieldwork relating to social position. I also consider how sharing certain similarities with participants in terms of being engaged in South-North migration was helpful, but also potentially problematic. By way of conclusion, I reflect on how I perceive my locus of enunciation coming from Brazil and being socialised in academia in Norway.

Before moving on, an explanation about how the notions of positionality and locus of enunciation are understood in this thesis is in place. Both refer to a dimension of epistemological reflexivity that considers the role of the researcher in the research process itself. In this sense, they oppose understandings that consider theory-building to be processes in which the researcher is not implicated in the research process and, thus, speaks from a neutral position. In fact, in its initial renditions (e.g. Mignolo 1989), locus of enunciation was considered to be overlapping with positionality. In my understanding, they differ in that the notion of locus of enunciation, stemming from discussions around the colonial discourse and decoloniality, takes a step towards emphasising the academic power-knowledge asymmetry, or better yet, geopolitics of knowledge in which Eurocentric, Western, Northern knowledges are taken to be universal and canonical, concealing that this is the result of coloniality/modernity (cf. section 3.1.1). This understanding seems to be shared by those employing the term more recently (e.g. Grosfoguel 2007; L. Souza 2019; Walsh 2018).

Therefore, these notions can be considered to partly overlap and I employ positionality to discuss how my position is negotiated with participants. Yet, I find that the notion of locus of enunciation captures more appropriately the contentious—which includes its transformative, creative potential, as discussed in 4.4.2—relationship between Southern and Northern epistemologies in engaging with "the meta-theoretical dimension of thinking about language" (Pennycook and Makoni 2020, 7).

4.4.1 Negotiating researcher positionality

When introducing myself to those who wanted to participate in the research, I would usually explain that my professional background is what initially drove my current research interests. In Brazil, I worked for over ten years in a private school of English attended by children from 2 to 13 years of age. I would tell them I had learned some things about children acquiring language in school contexts, and now I was interested in learning how this process took place in the home. I did tell participants I was interested in investigating the ways in which language use in the home was influenced by broader social, cultural, economic, and political processes. However, I spared them the details of how my professional and academic trajectories led to developing this research project.

For example, I did not explain that the school where I worked charged a tuition fee way above the Brazilian minimum wage, and most of the students had one-on-one classes in their homes, so it was attended mainly by the elite.[7] I also did not mention that working full-time in that school enabled me to finance my initial higher education degree in social sciences as a first-generation university student in my family. Nor did I tell them I saw myself in a conflicting situation in which, during the day, I was helping students to learn English in meaningful ways, and, in the evenings, I was attending lectures about the symbolic capital involved in linguistic exchanges (Bourdieu 1977) and education seen as a way of reproducing structural inequalities (Bourdieu and Passeron 1970). However, I found hope in knowing the school followed Freire's critical pedagogy and his view of the transformative potential of education (Freire 1984, 1996). So, teaching these students could be understood either as contributing to the reproduction of the structural inequalities in Brazil, or as presenting students with opportunities to reflect on social reality in which they lived. I now understand it was possibly a combination of both. In fact, Garrett and Baquedano-López (2002) remind us that language socialisation is a process that involves a degree of reproduction and continuity, as well as a potential for transformation and

[7] With the exception of some students who were granted scholarships and came to the school facilities to have classes with other, fee-paying students.

change. These initial concerns have shaped my current interests which tap into the embeddedness of the language practices in the home of Brazilian-Norwegian families raising their children multilingually in Norway into a specific socio-historical context.

Furthermore, attending to the implications of how participants might perceive me, depending on the situation I was ready to disclose more or less information about me, sometimes more consciously than others. For example, telling the participants I lived in the United States and England to study before moving to Norway could have concealed my economic background growing up in a mostly working-class family whose material conditions in life improved and worsened throughout the last three decades, reflecting the irregular moments of economic crisis (i.e. 1980s and post-2013) and prosperity (i.e. early 2000s) experienced more generally in Brazil. In Article 2, I reflect on how my perceived social position, specifically in relation to social class, might have influenced the participants' responses in the interview context.

Reflecting upon my own trajectory has also helped me to better understand the specific ways in which social categorisations relevant to the Brazilian context are transplanted onto and resignified in the Norwegian context. To illustrate, having a European-Indigenous background, the way my complexion is semiotised in Brazil means I have had a social position generally inhabited by the privileged white. Yet, in asking some of my personal contacts in Norway where they would have guessed I was from, answers varied from South Asia to Southern Europe, meaning that my bodily features are semiotised locally in ways that certain social positions are not available to me (while being a man employed in a university still grants me access to certain privileges). In a similar vein, the experiences of those of us engaged in South-North migration might be marked by our bodies carrying signifiers of difference in ways the bodies of those engaged in North-North transnational flows might not (see Ahmed 2000). These reflections underline the importance of attending to the intersectional, embodied dimension of structures of inequality present in Brazil, and the discursive reproduction of said structures in the Norwegian context as a way of forging distinctions within the groups of Brazilians but also between Brazilians and Norwegians in Norway. This argument is more fully developed in Article 2.

Besides social class, other social categorisations, such as parental and marital status and gender identity and expression, are also worth considering in how my positionality as a childless, unmarried, cisgender male researcher was negotiated during fieldwork (Warren and Hackney 2011). Not having raised a child multilingually myself meant I did not have first-hand experience upon which I could rely in trying to better understand parental language practices and ideologies. At the same time, this limitation compelled me to try to understand what it meant *for the parents* raising their children multilingually. That is, it reinforced the need for attempting to access the parents' own (emic) perspectives in relation to what it meant for them to raise bilingual children

the way they did. Relatedly, apart from drawing on relevant literature (e.g. section 3.3), my references of how familial bonds are forged in daily interactions came primarily from my own experience as a son and a brother.

In Chapter 4, I highlighted that we must consider that participants may answer questions in the interview context according to what they believe is socially desirable. Also, I suggested participants might have chosen to share only those self-recordings which are going to show me what they believe I expect to see (or hear), or that put them in a favourable light. Here, I acknowledge the ways participants' responses might have been influenced by how they perceived me and by how much I was willing to tell them about my own life.

Being a man interviewing women, it is reasonable to consider that certain topics might have been framed in specific ways to account for the gender difference. For example, the stigma identified by Zapponi (2015) associated with marriage between migrant women and Norwegian men (see section 1.1.2) did not emerge in the interviews with the Brazilian women, although in Article 2, I discuss how other social categorisations seemed relevant in their accounts of their intercultural encounters in Norway.

In contrast, in observations undertaken in one of the homes, I asked the Norwegian husband how Brazilians are perceived in Norway. He told me there is a circulating discourse that Brazilians are considered to be mostly women from working-class backgrounds that go to the beaches in Northeastern Brazil to strategically meet men from abroad (Norwegian among them), get married and move upwards socially, and, oftentimes, move abroad. To give a dimension of how prevailing this circulating discourse seems to be, he said when he told friends and family he was dating a Brazilian woman (now his wife), he had to further explain that she was not a woman from the beach.

Moreover, in conversations with the adult participants, when they asked me of my reasons for moving to Norway I explained that it had to do with an opening in the research centre where I am employed that matched my research interests. When they further asked details about my personal life, I would usually explain I do not have children and I am not married. Overall, when negotiating my positionality during fieldwork and talking about myself, the rule I tried to follow was to honestly answer the questions that the participants asked me directly. And, whenever I judged appropriate, I would share my own experiences and knowledge related to what was being discussed.

In sum, by reflecting on how my social class, gender, and race/ethnicity affect the research process I aim to highlight the influence of my lived experiences on shaping my research interests and interconnections between my positionality as a researcher and the topic of the research itself. Put differently, I have suggested that the theoretical and methodological traditions I draw on

conceive of theory-building as a situated practice that takes place in a given socio-historical context in which the researcher, as an embodied subject, inhabits. Relatedly, by taking this stance, I acknowledge that I, the researcher, do not speak from outside the context that I aim to analyse. Therefore, not only are my practices subject to the structural constraints that influence participants' lives, but these practices also have the potential to change these structural constraints. In the following section, I further elaborate on the place from which I speak, or my locus of enunciation.

4.4.2 Locus of enunciation: South-North entanglements

Being from Brazil and living in Norway while conducting this research project have been analytically helpful in many ways. For example, as a child growing up in Brazil, I participated in national festivities celebrated in various forms across the country such as the *Carnaval* and the *Festa Junina* (a sort of a harvest festival). This allowed me to consider that, in bringing their children to, and actually helping to run such parties in Oslo, perhaps some parents wanted to provide their children with the opportunity of enjoying similar celebrations they might have taken part in as children in their hometowns. Also, I could sympathise with those saying they craved *feijoada*, a traditional pork and black beans stew, and I was familiar with debates about the differences between the *moqueca capixaba* and the *moqueca baiana*, fish stews from two regions in Brazil.

Yet, I had to remain vigilant not to allow this familiarity to lead to unchecked assumptions and hasty conclusions. Copland and Creese (2015), spinning the infamous tenet from the early days of anthropology "to make the strange familiar", propose, instead, that we must "make the familiar strange". They suggest that "[t]o make the familiar strange, we need the interpretative approaches of linguistic ethnographers because the institutions we know best, the routines we practice most, and the interactions we repeatedly engage in are so familiar that we no longer pay attention to them" (Copland and Creese 2015, 11). Perhaps some parents did not actually enjoy these parties much, but attending them was a way of socialising. Or maybe, if they were in Brazil, choosing to stay home would have been much more acceptable than in Oslo, where such events are so scarce. In a word, while benefiting from sharing some cultural references with participants, I made the conscious effort of trying to understand what it meant to take part in events like this *from the perspective of the participants* as a way of (re)negotiating their national affiliations and identities. And because I am also implicated in the processes that I am interested in investigating, my attempts to tap into the participants' perspectives were also influenced by reflections about what it meant for me to take part in these events as a way of (re)negotiating my own national affiliations and identities.

Another important dimension in regard to the South-North intersection experienced in my migration trajectory concerns my academic socialisation, which encompasses undertaking this very research project and writing up this thesis. In proposing a southern perspective as an analytical lens from which to investigate the experiences of parents in their South-North trajectories, there is no underlying claim suggesting that because I am from Brazil I am entitled to forge a southern perspective. In this regard, Santos (2018) contends that the overlaps between the geographical South and the epistemological South are only partial. That is, it might well be the case that research projects being carried out in the geographical South work mainly with tenets and assumptions within the Eurocentric canon. Similarly, endeavours undertaken in Northern institutions are not necessarily bound to reproduce Western assumptions of knowledge production and circulation. Bringing this rationale into a reflection on the place from which I speak, it is reasonable to consider that my locus of enunciation is marked, then, by my inhabiting a sort of a South-North intersection.

Previous theorisations of this intersecting space include notions such as *borderlands* (Anzaldúa 1987), *contact zones* (Pratt 1991), and *ch'ixi* (Cusicanqui 2010/2019). Below, I briefly point to some characteristics at the core of these notions.

In the context of the Texas-US Southwest/Mexican borderland, Anzaldúa (1987, i) envisages this border not only in its physical dimension, but also psychological, sexual, and spiritual dimensions that are present "whenever two or more cultures edge each other, where people of different races occupy the same territory, where under, lower, middle and upper classes touch, where the space between two individuals shrinks with intimacy". Inhabiting this border, Anzaldúa suggests, entails embracing identities as shifting and multiple where power struggles are experienced along the axes of social class, race/ethnicity, and gender/sexuality. Pratt (1991, 34), in turn, envisages *contact zones* as "social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today". Finally, in acknowledgement of her Aymara and European origins, Cusicanqui (2010/2019, 117) draws on the notion of *ch'ixi* for it "reflects the Aymara idea of something that is and is not at the same time. It is the logic of the included third".

In sum, these notions allude to ways in which I make sense of my locus of enunciation as a contentious and creative space that, rather than aiming at the reification of dichotomous, competing epistemologies, instead favours acknowledging and inhabiting the differences. So rather than claiming entitlement to speak from a southern perspective because I come from Brazil, I move away from such an orthodox stance by acknowledging the contradictions of my locus of enunciation being academically socialised in a wealthy, Northern higher education institution

while supporting the idea of forging a southern perspective. This position finds resonances in Viveiros de Castro's (2004) understanding of the limitations of translation in the context of intercultural communication. He suggests that: "[t]o translate is to presume that an equivocation always exists; it is to communicate by differences, instead of silencing the Other by presuming a univocality—the essential similarity—between what the Other and We are saying" (2004, 10). In Article 2, I return to a discussion about equivocation and translation in an analysis of intercultural encounters of the focal participants. I now move on to consider some ethical dilemmas I faced while carrying out this research project.

4.5 Ethical considerations

This research project—under the number 52970 entitled "Family language policies among Brazilian immigrants in Norway"—received ethical clearance from the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD). NSD provides assistance to Norwegian research institutions and guides researchers to ensure that research projects collecting and processing personal data follow established standards. Moreover, this research project followed the guidelines formulated by the National Committee for Research Ethics in the Social Sciences and the Humanities (Norwegian National Research Ethics Committees 2016). In this section, I discuss how these guidelines were considered and operationalised throughout the research project.

Employing an online questionnaire as the first method of data generation meant I would not necessarily have met the potential participants in person before they filled out the questionnaire. Therefore, their consent was collected through the online questionnaire. Specifically, the text of the information sheet was included on the first page of the online questionnaire, and participants were prompted to the first section of questions only after checking a box in which they declared their intention to participate in the research upon reading the information sheet (see Appendices 2 and 3).

The information sheet contained details regarding the main purpose and different stages of the research project, the planned time frame, as well as describing how, where, and for how long data was going to be stored. It also mentioned who would have access to the data, the possible use of data for teaching, research, and dissemination purposes, and that their names would be altered to ensure confidentiality. It further explained that the project had been cleared by NSD. Finally, it stated that deciding not to participate would not lead to any disadvantages. It stressed the importance of reading the information sheet carefully before deciding to participate. And even if they decided to participate, they could withdraw their participation at any moment without having to give any reasons.

Despite all this, it is not possible to be sure all participants carefully read the information sheet and understood what was read, which can be considered a general weakness of the use of online questionnaires as a method. Therefore, in the case of the participants who decided to participate in the subsequent stages of data generation and were interviewed, I made sure to go through these points again verbally, asked them if they had questions, and verified that they wanted to proceed. As noted in 4.3.4, during the participant observation in the participants' homes, I would present myself and ask for permission to record, adapting my explanation according to the participants' ages.

The theoretical framework I propose touches not only on issues of the circulation of (language) ideologies in general, but specifically on how certain stereotypical assumptions related to social categorisations such as social class, gender, and race/ethnicity are discursively reproduced and/or resisted. This means that, at times, parts of my data set showed me that participants reproduce certain stereotypes about, for example, certain groups of people. There are also examples of participants resisting stereotypes.

The main ethical dilemma I faced was how to make a critical analysis of the data (rather than a mere description), and engage in in-depth theoretical discussions about ideologies, stereotypes, social class, gender, and race/ethnicity while still respecting the participants' integrity and reputation (even though they might not be identifiable).

To illustrate my dilemma, during the analysis, a possibility would be to place little emphasis on the participants' orientations to the above-mentioned social categorisations and overlook the importance of such actions for the negotiation of their identities, although the systematic analysis of the data pointed to their relevance. Conversely, placing too much emphasis on their orientations to the point that they would be portrayed as mere agentless vessels through which stereotypical assumptions are reproduced would be a problematic approach too. Finding the balance between analysing the data in a methodologically rigorous way, engaging with the theoretical implications of the results of the analysis, and being respectful towards the participants and their openness and dedication to participate in my research has been my main ethical dilemma concerning the protection of the participants' integrity. The solutions I found were to rely on established methods of data analysis and to portray participants as agents in the complex ways they construct and negotiate their identities, which in many ways can be seen as contradictory.

Another consideration has to do with the fact that the Brazilian community in Norway is not very large. Therefore, depending on the level of details I presented about the participants' biography, they could be more easily identified by other members of the Brazilian community. Following ethical standards in the field, a strategy I employed was to purposefully omit certain biographical details that could facilitate the participants' identification.

Similarly, because the home is an intimate space where family members engage in private conversations and practices in ways they perhaps would not if other people were present, at times the self-recordings captured instances that I preferred not to include in the analysis. For example, some audio clips included religious practices, other clips registered quarrels between family members. Also, in some situations, other people who were not part of the study were present in the recording made by the participant. In such cases, I asked for consent a posteriori. Moreover, there were passages in which the participants talked about other people who were not present in the recording event. When I used such passages in the articles, I omitted details that could contribute to the identification of the people participants referred to.

In conclusion, the guidelines that directed the execution of this research project did not present specific rules about which kinds of interactions in the home should be excluded or not, or which method is the best to protect participants' integrity while contributing to the advancement of knowledge production in a meaningful way. This is quite understandably so. Admittedly, rather than hard and fast rules, or laws, the guidelines "are intended to help develop ethical discretion and reflection, to clarify ethical dilemmas, and to promote good scientific practice. They are also intended to prevent scientific misconduct" (Norwegian National Research Ethics Committees 2016, 5).

To summarise, in compliance, as an individual researcher, with the statutory responsibility of "universities and university colleges for ensuring that research, education and academic and artistic development are of high quality 'and conducted in accordance with recognised scientific, artistic, pedagogical and ethical principles'" (Norwegian National Research Ethics Committees 2016, 6), the methodological decisions were made at my own discretion, upon careful consideration of the "norms that constitute good scientific practice", the "norms that regulate the research community", "the relationship to people who take part in the research", and "the relationship to the rest of society" (Norwegian National Research Ethics Committees 2016, 6).

5 Summary of articles

This thesis consists of four individual articles. The first article has been published, whereas the other three have been submitted to different academic journals and are at different stages of the review process. This chapter briefly introduces the main contributions of each article.

5.1 Article 1: "Family Language Policy ten years on: A critical approach to family multilingualism."

Current status: published in *Multilingual Margins: A journal of multilingualism from the periphery* (2018), 5 (2): 51–72.

In this article, I review FLP studies published between 2008 and 2017 and I identify three main themes that marked the development of the field during this 10-year period: (i) the pervasiveness of Spolsky's (2004, 2009) framework; (ii) the gain of currency of ethnographic methods; and (iii) the diversity of languages, geographical locations, and family configurations. I then suggest that while these themes evince important contributions at an empirical dimension, the epistemological scope of much FLP literature has not expanded to incorporate important developments in socio- and applied linguistics and in the social sciences more generally. This is perhaps because of the pervasiveness of Spolsky's framework.

The overarching argument developed in this article is that a critical approach to family multilingualism could represent moving towards expanding its epistemological scope. Specifically, I suggest that engaging with a decolonial approach, for example, could favour an understanding of the material and discursive structures of inequalities that participants involved in South-North migration trajectories have to navigate, highlighting how social categorisations such as social class, race, and gender are intersectionally organised in complex regimes of social differentiation. Moreover, I argue that drawing on debates promoted by recent conceptualisations of language could shed new light on current understandings of multilingual practices in the homes of transnational families.

5.2 Article 2: "Family multilingualism from a southern perspective: Language ideologies and practices of Brazilian parents in Norway."

Current status: submitted to *Multilingua: Journal of Cross-Cultural and Interlanguage Communication*. Revisions requested.

In this article, I focus on how participants Adriana and Berenice make sense of their transnational, multilingual selves as they reflect upon their lived experiences of intercultural encounters in

Norway as reported in semi-structured interviews. I also discuss the extent to which these experiences interrelate with their language practices in the home. I argue that the employment of a southern perspective—forged through the articulation of points made by authors discussing epistemologies of the South (Santos 2014, 2018), southern theory (Connell 2007), and a decolonial approach (Castro-Gómez and Grosfoguel 2007; Mignolo and Walsh 2018)—is an analytical vantage point which (i) assumes the situatedness of knowledge production; (ii) aims at increasing social and epistemic justice; (iii) opposes the dominance of Westerncentric epistemologies; (iv) sees the Global South as a political location, not necessarily geographical, but with many overlaps. Finally, I propose that mobilising notions such as *intercultural translation* (Santos 2018), *contact zones* (Pratt 1991), and *equivocation* (Viveiros de Castro 2014) can elucidate aspects of participants' intercultural encounters that are relevant both to the ways they make sense of their transnational, multilingual selves and, relatedly, to their language practices in the home.

5.3 Article 3: "Talking multilingual families into being: Language practices and ideologies of a Brazilian-Norwegian family in Norway."

Current status: submitted to the *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*. Revisions requested.

In Article 3, I draw on a discursive analytic approach and provide a close analysis of interactions between Emma, a 3-year-old girl born in Norway, her Brazilian mother (Adriana), and her Norwegian father (Håkon). My interest lies in understanding how the use of certain parental discourse strategies encouraged (or not) the use of Emma's full linguistic repertoire. Therefore, I develop my analysis following three interrelated steps.

In the first step, I identify a set of seven parental discourse strategies in the corpus: addressee-bound, code-bound, code rebuttal, filling gaps, rephrase, say 'x', and the 'what is…' frame. In the second step, I present the pragmatic functions of these strategies in interaction. Finally, in the third step, in light of the insights made possible by these two steps, and drawing on a translanguaging approach, I problematise the well-established notion of OPOL (one-parent-one-language) as a *strategy* used by parents. I claim that, rather than as a strategy, it might be more useful to conceive of OPOL, or rather OPOLON (one-person-one-language-one-nation), as an *ideology* that informs parental language use in the home as family members navigate their complex national affiliations and talk their multilingual selves into being.

5.4 Article 4: "The affective dimension of the linguistic repertoire of multilingual families."

Current status: to be submitted.

This article examines the affective dimension of the linguistic repertoire of multilingual families. Specifically, resulting from a three-year ethnographic project in Norway, this study sets out to better understand the role of affect in parent-child interactions as members of two Brazilian-Norwegian families draw on their multilingual linguistic repertoires in the ongoing construction of their familial ties. A discursive analytical approach is employed to examine audio-recordings made by one of the parents of each family (i.e. around 15 hours of recordings in total). The analysis demonstrates how certain linguistic features (i.e. terms of endearment and the "you are…" frame), combined with the use of the participants' multilingual repertoire, accomplish three interrelated social actions: (i) to convey parental value-laden aspirations of child-rearing, (ii) to position children according to expected social roles, and (iii) to forge parent-child ties. These findings are complemented with interview data which serves to illustrate the role of home-external contexts in encouraging the parents to use Portuguese with their children in the home. Focussing on the affective dimension of parent-child interactions as they draw on their multilingual repertoires to construct familial bonds contributes to an underexplored area in family multilingualism studies.

6 Discussion and conclusion

In this final chapter, I present a general discussion about how the unfolding of this research project was a process driven both by an engagement with debates in sociolinguistics (and the social sciences more generally) and by reflections originating from fieldwork. To illustrate, I present the research questions as they were formulated during an initial stage and in their current, redefined forms (please see section 1.2 for the current form). Moreover, I retrace the main lines of argument developed in the previous chapters and highlight the contributions made by this thesis to research in family multilingualism. Finally, I address the limitations of this project and point to directions that future research could consider exploring.

6.1 General discussion

In order to contextualise the contributions of this thesis, it is worth acknowledging the importance of Spolsky's model of language policy in shaping this study in its *initial* stages. My research questions were strongly influenced by the current theoretical emphasis in studies of family language policy, which corresponded to Spolsky's work. The questions this study sought to answer were thus initially divided into three sets, much in line with research in FLP that draws on Spolsky's model of language policy[8]. According to his model, language policy is composed of three components: language practices, language beliefs, and language management (Spolsky 2004, 2009). In his definition, the language practices "are the observable behaviors and choices – what people actually do. They are the linguistic features chosen, the variety of language used. They constitute policy to the extent that they are regular and predictable"; the "beliefs that are most significant to language policy and management are the values or statuses assigned to named languages, varieties, and features"; language management is "the explicit and observable effort by someone or some group that has or claims authority over the participants in the domain to modify their practices or beliefs" (Spolsky 2009, 4). Thus, the three sets of questions formulated during the initial stage of the elaboration of the research proposal were as follows:

1 – Language practices

- What is the particular language use pattern within the home domain?
- Could this pattern contribute to heritage language maintenance?

2 – Language beliefs

- What are the values assigned to each language (e.g. Norwegian and Portuguese)? Or to the use of both languages interchangeably?

[8] This can also be noted in the headings of each section of the interview outline (Appendices 4 and 5), which were theoretically motivated by Spolsky's framework of language policy.

- Do participants perceive language use as a vehicle to promote social change?

3 – Language management

- How is language use negotiated among family members?
- What tensions in individual language practices or policies do we find?
- What are the relations between the family language policies and socio-political and economic factors?

Upon more careful scrutiny of the epistemological and ontological assumptions of Spolsky's model, however, I noted a few features that sat at odds with what I was learning *with* the participants (Ingold 2018) and with certain epistemological approaches in sociolinguistics and applied linguistics and the social sciences (e.g. southern theory, epistemologies of the South, and decoloniality).

For example, the claim that "language policy is all about choices" (Spolsky 2009, 1). This position has been criticised for its inherent overvaluation of the role of choice in contexts where, in fact, language practices might be shaped by other contingencies (see Hiratsuka and Pennycook 2019; Pennycook 2017b). Drawing on this criticism, I also argue, in Article 3, that an understanding of language policy that places so much emphasis on choice might fail to account for situations where attending to the urge of getting things done in a busy household (e.g. change wet clothes of a child, or make sure no accidents happen in a kitchen while dinner is being cooked) might supersede the intention of prioritising the use of this or that named language. I suggest, in such circumstances, it is more likely that parents will draw on whatever linguistic (and semiotic) resources are more readily available to them in order to get things done.

Another limitation in Spolsky's model includes its reliance on the notion of domain as proposed by Fishman (1972). Spolsky (2009) employs this notion for it is not as vague, according to him, as the notion of speech community (Labov 1966; Gumperz 1968, 1982). The notion of domain is more appropriate to investigate language choice in multilingual contexts, Spolsky (2009) continues, because of the factors subsumed under this concept, namely, topic, role relations, and locales (Fishman 1972). Put simply, language practices are dependent on what is being talked about, the relationship between the participants of the interaction, and where the communicative event takes place. Even if the interlocutors are the same persons, these factors might affect language practices differently when topic, role relations, and locale are considered. Compare, for instance, a father and a daughter talking to one another about childhood memories during a family dinner at the father's home; and the same father and daughter taking part in a meeting with potential investors in the company that employs the father and is owned by the daughter.

Attending to the influence of role relations in interactional events has paved the way for further developing our understandings of the mutual influence of language and context. Another step forward, proposed here by drawing on a southern perspective, would be to integrate approaches which bring to the fore the power dynamics that sustain socio-historical hierarchisations of categorisations such as race/ethnicity, gender/sex, and social/class (see Article 2).

Therefore, the unfolding of this research project proved to be a process that cannot be captured well enough by clear-cut divisions between "theory-driven" or "data-driven". The identification of the pervasiveness of Spolsky's model in family language policy literature and the limitations of its scope in accounting for family members' language practices has arguably been an endeavour that leaned more towards a theory-driven approach. At the same time, it was only through rigorous and systematic data analysis (or through a data-driven approach) that the limitations of Spolsky's model were empirically substantiated. Thus, alternative approaches seemed more appropriate to account for the layers of context I was observing as I tried to understand the interconnections between language practices of the focal participants and broader social, economic, cultural, and political processes.

In short, what better translates the processes I engaged in throughout this research project is an understanding of the relationship between theory-driven and data-driven approaches as dynamic, bidirectional, and iterative. Thus, in light of discussions around southern theory and recent conceptualisations of language, and of what I was learning with participants, the initial sets of questions based on Spolsky's model of language policy were reformulated into the following:

1 – Transnational and multilingual experiences in intercultural encounters

- How do Brazilian parents make sense of their transnational, multilingual experiences in Norway?
- What discourses inform parental language practices in the home as they raise their children multilingually?

2 – Multilingual language practices and ideologies in parent-child interactions

- How do members of transnational families navigate their complex national affiliations as they go about mundane tasks in the home?
- What discourse strategies may encourage or hamper the use of their multilingual language repertoire?
- What language ideologies inform these language practices?

3 – The affective dimension of multilingual practices in the home

- What is the role of affect as family members draw on their translingual linguistic repertoires to construct their familial bonds in daily interactions in the home?

In the previous chapters, I underlined the particular ways each article composing this thesis represents original contributions to family multilingualism studies. Overall, this thesis makes two main contributions to current scholarship: the employment of a southern perspective as an analytical lens from which to examine social practices of parents engaged in South-North transnational movements, and analysis of multilingual language practices in the home in light of recent conceptualisations of language. In the next section, I elaborate on these contributions.

6.2 Contributions to research in family multilingualism

The contributions of this thesis can be encapsulated in two main ideas reflected in the headings of the following subsections: a southern approach to family multilingualism and recent conceptualisations of language in investigations of language practices in the home. In each subsection, I detail the contributions this thesis makes to studying the language practices and ideologies of multilingual families.

6.2.1 A southern approach to family multilingualism

As noted, I situate this research project along a strand of critical sociolinguistics. Approaches such as *critical applied linguistics* (Pennycook 2001), *critical postructuralist sociolinguistics* (García, Flores, and Spotti 2017b), *critical ethnographic sociolinguistics* (Heller 2011), a *critical history of language, capitalism, and colonialism* (Heller and McElhinny 2017), and *critical and ethnographic approaches to multilingualism* (Martin-Jones and Martin 2017) have been crucial in shaping my study around the premise that research should do more than just describe and analyse, for example, language practices in socio-historically situated contexts. It should take further steps by opening up spaces to denounce oppressive regimes and pointing to ways of addressing social inequality and increasing social justice.

This premise guided the process of working with suitable conceptual frameworks that offer theoretical support in trying to better understand the particularities of lived experiences of Brazilian-Norwegian families raising their children multilingually in Norway. A promising alternative, I suggest, is the southern perspective drawn upon in this thesis.

I have argued that drawing on assumptions about social reality put forth by scholars working within approaches such as *decoloniality* (Castro-Gómez and Grosfoguel 2007; Mignolo and Walsh 2018), *southern theory* (Connell 2007), and *epistemologies of the South* (Santos 2014, 2018) helps us to examine social life from a perspective that takes into account the interrelationship between colonialism, capitalism, and modern thought. Employing this perspective while drawing on conceptualisations around intercultural communication such as *contact zones* (Pratt 1991), *equivocation* (Viveiros de Castro 2004), and *intercultural translation* (Santos 2014, 2018) has important implications for family multilingualism research. First, it sheds light on the relevance of examining the structures of inequality participants have to navigate in their South-North trajectories. Moreover, it provides robust theoretical grounding to incorporate in the analysis the power dynamics of socio-historical hierarchisations of class, race/ethnicity, and gender that shape participants' transnational experiences. Finally, it emphasises the need to consider the implications of these processes in the ways parents make sense of their multilingual selves and in their language practices in the home.

I am not implying, however, that a southern perspective is a framework that should aim at replacing, for instance, Spolsky's model of language policy in investigating multilingual language practices of transnational families. In fact, there is an urgent concern related to the burgeoning interest in southern theory, epistemologies of the South, and Amerindian theorisations around decoloniality. For instance, Cusicanqui (2010/2019) suggests that this is yet another form of co-optation of southern theory-building by academic institutions and scholars in the hegemonic north. That is, rather than exploring the potential for making important structural changes that aim at redressing injustices and promoting equality, such flows and shifts of knowledges may end up reinforcing regimes of coloniality by depoliticising the transformative nature of these knowledges theorised in contexts of struggle against oppressive regimes (Cusicanqui 2010/2019). This speaks to my locus of enunciation as a researcher positioned in a wealthy university in Northern Europe, as discussed in section 4.4.2.

Another important argument when discussing South-North dichotomies (or collaborations) is made by Santos (2018), who claims it is not a matter of replacing a (Northern) hegemony by another hegemony (e.g. Southern). Rather than erasing the differences between North and South, he claims, the aim of epistemologies of the South is "to erase the power hierarchies inhabiting in them" (Santos 2018, 33). Attuned to these discussions, in considering the challenges in applied linguistics from the Global South, Pennycook and Makoni (2020, 33) emphasise that "the search for epistemic reconstitution or southern epistemologies always runs the danger of becoming yet another northern reappropriation of southern thought".

Thus, attending to these concerns, a southern perspective for family multilingualism is understood as an analytical lens that represents "an alternative way of thinking of alternatives" (Santos 2018). Similarly, paraphrasing Walsh and Mignolo's (2018, 4) reflection on decoloniality, the southern perspective I draw upon here is not a new paradigm; it is "a way, option, standpoint, analytic, project, practice, and praxis". Likewise, Pennycook and Makoni (2020, 39) suggest that "[a] southern applied linguistics is not a new invention, but a reframing of old debates". In this regard, a southern perspective for family multilingualism is an analytical vantage point that reframes debates about language practices and ideologies, family-making, national affiliations, and identity construction, negotiation, and enactment. As such, applying a southern perspective to family multilingualism can broaden our understanding of the ways in which family members draw on their multilingual linguistic repertoires as they go about mundane tasks in the home.

6.2.2 Recent conceptualisations of language in investigations of language practices in the home

In this thesis, I employ a "translanguaging lens" (García and Li Wei 2018) to examine parent-child conversations and discuss how certain parental discourse strategies can be conducive to communicative practices that allow participants to draw more fully on resources belonging to their multilingual linguistic repertoires. Conversely, I suggest other parental discourse strategies may not lead to the intended goal of having the interlocutor (in this case, the child) speaking only Portuguese.

I further argue that drawing on a "translanguaging lens" can be useful to conceive of OPOL (one-person-one-language)—a notion typically referred to as a *strategy* employed by parents raising children multilingually—as an *ideology* that informs parental language practices. In fact, I suggest that the term OPOLON (one-person-one-language-one-nation) captures well an ideology that informs parental language practices. Finally, considering OPOLON as an ideology that informs language practices in the home can also be helpful to better understand how family members negotiate their national affiliations and identities interactionally.

In a similar vein, I employ the notion of linguistic repertoire as revisited by Busch (2012, 2017) to tease out the role of emotions in parent-child interactions. Particularly, I examine how the use of certain linguistic features opens up positions that are taken up or refused by participants in interactions. These discursive practices reveal, for example, how certain values seem to be supported and passed on by parents to their children as everyday tasks are performed in the home. Bringing the affective dimension of parent-child interactions to the centre of the analysis

highlights how children are socialised to use language, through the use of language and through emotions.

In conclusion, the interweaving of a southern approach to family multilingualism with debates stemming from recent conceptualisations of language advances research on multilingual families in a multi-scale, complementary way. A southern approach provides a large-scale analytical perspective particularly well-suited for examining the structures of inequality that parents engaged in South-North migration trajectories navigate. In turn, drawing on recent conceptualisations of language foregrounds the creative, contextualised ways in which familial bonds are forged, at an interactional level, as family members draw on their multilingual linguistic repertories to go about mundane tasks in the home. In the following section, I discuss the limitations of this study and indicate possible directions for future research.

6.3 Limitations and future research

In this section, I discuss the limitations of this project and I point to directions future research could consider exploring.

A relevant limitation of this project relates to the fact that I did not live in Norway before this project started. Apart from trying to better understand the local social dynamics and language practices, this had interesting implications in regard to the negotiation of my positionality during fieldwork. Being younger than the parents who participated in the research and having lived in Norway for less time than them contributed to the complexity of the dynamics between my (unwarranted) position as the expert-in-language researcher and the purported well-meaning parent who is eager to know what is the best way of raising bilingual children successfully. That is, the power-knowledge (im)balance was constantly shifting, and many times I noticed participants positioning themselves (and being positioned by me) as experts who would share their knowledge with me about life in Norway in order to ease my settling in experience (e.g. taking vitamins during winter, exercise, wearing layers of clothes, walking on icy pavements, tacit norms of public transport, etc.).

Although I cannot completely avoid being positioned as a "language-expert", I did verbalise in my first interactions with the parents that rather than telling them what they should do, the relationship I expected to build with them was one in which I was allowed into their everyday lives so I could learn more about their language practices. While this was possibly helpful, I cannot completely rule out the possibility that the interactions captured in the recordings (or observed during my visits) were shaped by their attempts of performing according to their (and societal) understandings of good parenting. I have pointed out that the triangulation of

methods was helpful both during the process of redefining research questions (and their underlying epistemological and ontological assumptions), and during the data analysis process by supporting the claims advanced to explicate the interconnections between participants' language practices and ideologies. Future research could further explore how triangulation of methods can enrich the analysis. For example, analysis of field notes and participant observations can shed light on the ways in which language practices in the home are affected by the presence of the researcher.

A related limitation concerns how participants were engaged in different stages of the research. The initial focus of the research was on the language practices and ideologies of Brazilian parents and their children. This means that the Brazilian parents were the ones who answered the questionnaire, who were interviewed, and who made the self-recordings, while the children and their fathers actively participated in the recording sessions. One helpful aspect of this methodological decision was that it facilitated logistic arrangements of visits and recordings. However, the analysis presented here could gain layers of complexity if individual interviews were made with the other parent as well. Likewise, asking the fathers to do the self-recordings could have given access to certain household routines that were not captured in the recordings made by the mothers (e.g. Adriana said Håkon is responsible for Emma's morning routines, while she is the one who looks after their daughter in the evenings). Therefore, future research could involve different members of the same family in different ways throughout the process of data generation.

Working with audio recordings was yet another limitation of this study. This method is not particularly suitable for capturing communicative features that are rendered meaningful interactionally, for example, non-verbal embodied practices (e.g. gaze, facial expressions, and gestures) and the material affordances of the context (e.g. the location where the event takes place, objects, and proxemics). The longitudinal design of the research allowed me to ask participants for clarification whenever I came across passages in the recordings where I needed help to better understand the interactional context. Using videos could have (even if partially) addressed this limitation, so future research could explore this alternative, if the available resources for data collection and analysis (e.g. price of equipment, time involved in analysis) permit. The availability of these resources must be carefully examined, particularly when the research design involves collecting data from different households during a long period of time.

Moreover, the different ways participants engage with various formats of media were only partly considered here. Using social media to keep in touch with relatives abroad and including music and videos as sources of Portuguese (but also French, English, Spanish, and Norwegian) were noted as frequent practices in the households (see Article 4). Future research could more

closely investigate the role of social media and other applications, as well as literacy practices including books, music, and videos, in shaping communicative practices in the home (e.g. Curdt-Christiansen 2018; Lanza and Lexander 2019; Lexander and Androutsopoulos 2019).

Another area worth exploring in future research concerns the extent to which academic knowledge shapes everyday practices. Research on multilingualism has made important contributions to societal views on multilingual practices. For instance, it has challenged the idea that bilinguals' development is delayed. Relatedly, it has raised parental awareness about the potential benefits of multilingualism. Future research drawing on recent conceptualisations of language could examine the ways in which current scholarship can affect linguistic practices in the home. For example, how can our understandings of language as socio-historical constructs, whose boundaries have been drawn alongside national borders in specific political contexts, support parents in their intention of raising children in ways that their children's emerging linguistic repertoires will allow them to maintain familial ties across generations and geographical contexts?

To answer the question above, it can be useful to reflect on how we envision the research process itself. Or, more specifically, to reflect on how the relationship between researcher and participants is conceived of in the process of knowledge production. In line with recent initiatives that integrate participants more fully in different stages of the research process (e.g. Rymes and Leone 2014; Svendsen 2018) and that have proposed less hierarchical relationships between researchers and participants (e.g. Ingold 2018; Mignolo and Walsh 2018; Santos 2018), future research in family multilingualism could engage family members in the research process from the formulation of the research questions, to the data generation and analysis, and the reporting on the findings.

To a certain extent, this methodological move could be seen as a return to what has been described as the first phase of the field of family language policy (King 2016), marked by diary studies in which scholars followed closely the development of their own child (e.g. Ronjat 1913; see also Hiratsuka and Pennycook 2019). A crucial difference, however, is that the methodological move proposed here entails drawing on the complementary, multi-scale perspective afforded by the combination of a southern perspective with recent conceptualisations of language argued for throughout this thesis.

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List of Appendices

Appendix 1. Clearance from the Norwegian Centre for Research Data

Rafael Lomeu Gomes
Institutt for lingvistiske og nordiske studier Universitetet i Oslo
Postboks 1102 Blindern
0317 OSLO

Vår dato: 18.04.2017 Vår ref: 52970 / 3 / AGH Deres dato: Deres ref:

TILBAKEMELDING PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 13.02.2017. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

52970	*Family language policies among Brazilian immigrants in Norway*
Behandlingsansvarlig	*Universitetet i Oslo, ved institusjonens øverste leder*
Daglig ansvarlig	*Rafael Lomeu Gomes*

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet, og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger vil være regulert av § 7-27 i personopplysningsforskriften. Personvernombudet tilrår at prosjektet gjennomføres.

Personvernombudets tilråding forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet, korrespondanse med ombudet, ombudets kommentarer samt personopplysningsloven og helseregisterloven med forskrifter. Behandlingen av personopplysninger kan settes i gang.

Det gjøres oppmerksom på at det skal gis ny melding dersom behandlingen endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for personvernombudets vurdering. Endringsmeldinger gis via et eget skjema, http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvernombud/meld_prosjekt/meld_endringer.html. Det skal også gis melding etter tre år dersom prosjektet fortsatt pågår. Meldinger skal skje skriftlig til ombudet.

Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en offentlig database, http://pvo.nsd.no/prosjekt.

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 13.12.2019, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen

Katrine Utaaker Segadal

Agnete Hessevik

Kontaktperson: Agnete Hessevik tlf: 55 58 27 97
Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering

Dokumentet er elektronisk produsert og godkjent ved NSDs rutiner for elektronisk godkjenning.

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NSD Norwegian Centre for Research Data NO-5007 Bergen, NORWAY Faks: 47 55 58 96 50 www.nsd.no

Appendix 2. Information Sheet and Consent Form (English)

UiO : Universitetet i Oslo

MultiLing

Request for participation in research project

Family language policies among Brazilian immigrants in Norway

This project is interested in examining the ways in which families of Brazilians living in Norway decide what languages to use in the home domain. At an initial stage, you will be invited to complete a questionnaire about language, culture, and about your own background. Some families will then be invited to a second stage of data collection, if they agree, involving audio recordings and observation of interactions among family members. Participants will then record interactions between parents and children and they can decide which situations they are comfortable with recording. The second stage of data collection will last 12 months (between June 2017 and May 2018), and more information will be given verbally by the researcher to the families that wish to participate in the second stage. Throughout the collection of data and after the end of the project (December 2019), data will be kept in a safe environment in the servers of the University of Oslo. By 13 December 2024, all collected personal information will be anonymised.

The information collected for this project will be analysed by the researcher and may be shared with his supervisors and colleagues for academic purposes. The potential outcomes of this research include publications of the results in academic journals, presentations in academic events, teaching materials, and workshops for families, educators, media professionals and policy makers. Although the researcher may have access to identifying data, participants' names will be changed in order to guarantee confidentiality in any of the situations mentioned above.

This study is affiliated to the "Multiligualism and Globalization: Perspectives from Norway" project, which is one of the projects made possible by the University of Oslo's funding for five world-leading research communities. The focus of "Multlingualism and Globalization" is the role of English and other languages in Norway's contemporary multilingual landscape. You can read more about this project here: http://www.hf.uio.no/multiling/english/projects/flagship-projects/multilingualism-and-globalization/index.html

To ensure that it follows the highest ethics standards, this project has been reported to the Data Protection Official for Research at NSD – Norwegian Centre for Research Data. If you have any questions or concerns about the manner in which the study was conducted, please contact the researcher responsible for the study (Rafael Lomeu).

If you choose not to take part, there won't be any disadvantages for you and you will hear no more about it. Please read the following information carefully before you decide to take part; this will tell you why the research is being done and what you will be asked to do if you take part. Please ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. When clicking on the button "I wish to participate" you will be agreeing in taking part in the research. You are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

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Department of Linguistics and Scandinavian Studies
Faculty of Humanities
University of Oslo

Appendix 3. Information Sheet and Consent Form (Portuguese)

UiO : Universitetet i Oslo

MultiLing

Participação em Projeto de Pesquisa

Políticas linguísticas familiares de brasileiros na Noruega

Este projeto está interessado em examinar as maneiras como famílias de brasileiros vivendo na Noruega decidem quais línguas usar em casa. Num primeiro estágio, você responderá um questionário sobre língua, cultura e sobre você. Algumas famílias então serão selecionadas para, caso concordem, participar do segundo estágio de coleta de dados que envolverá entrevistas, gravações de áudio e observações de interações entre os membros da família. Os participantes gravarão interações entre pais/mães e filhos(as) e poderão decidir as situações em que se sentem mais à vontade para gravar. O segundo estágio de coleta de dados durará cerca de 10 meses (entre maio de 2017 e fevereiro de 2018), e mais informações serão dadas verbalmente pelo pesquisador para as famílias que desejarem participar desse segundo estágio. Durante toda a coleta de dados e após o término do projeto (dezembro 2019), os dados serão mantidos em ambiente seguro nos servidores da Universidade de Oslo. Até 13 de dezembro de 2024, todas as informações pessoais coletadas serão anonimizadas.

As informações coletadas para este projeto serão analisadas pelo pesquisador e poderão ser compartilhadas com os orientadores e colegas do pesquisador da Universidade de Oslo para fins estritamente acadêmicos. Os possíveis desdobramentos deste projeto incluem a publicação dos resultados em revistas acadêmicas, apresentações em eventos acadêmicos, materiais de ensino-aprendizagem, e palestras para famílias, educadores, profissionais de mídia e comunicação, e responsáveis pela elaboração de políticas públicas. Apesar do pesquisador ter acesso a dados que identificam os participantes, os nomes dos participantes serão trocados para garantir a confidencialidade, caso os dados venham a ser apresentados em quaisquer das situações mencionadas acima.

Este estudo está afiliado ao projeto "Multilingualism and Globalization: Perspectives from Norway", desenvolvido na Universidade de Oslo. O foco desse projeto é no papel do inglês e de outras línguas usadas hoje em dia na Noruega. Você pode ler mais sobre este projeto (em inglês) aqui: http://www.hf.uio.no/multiling/english/projects/flagship-projects/multilingualism-and-globalization/index.html

Para garantir que seja usado o mais alto padrão de coleta, gravação e armazenamento de dados em pesquisa acadêmica, este projeto recebeu o aval do NSD (Norsk Senter for Forskningsdata), orgão responsável por regular pesquisas acadêmicas desenvolvidas na Noruega. Se você tiver alguma dúvida ou receio sobre a maneira como o estudo foi conduzido, por favor, contate o pesquisador responsável (Rafael Lomeu).

Se você decidir não participar, não haverá qualquer desvantagem para você. Por favor, leia atentamente as informações abaixo antes de você decidir se quer participar ou não; essas informações explicarão as razões que motivam essa pesquisa e o que você precisará fazer se participar. Se houver algum ponto que não esteja claro para você ou sobre o qual você gostaria de mais detalhes, por favor, pergunte. Ao clicar no botão abaixo "Desejo participar" você está concordando em participar da pesquisa. Mesmo assim, você poderá deixar de participar a qualquer momento, sem precisar dar nenhum motivo.

Obrigado,

Rafael Lomeu
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Faculty of Humanities
University of Oslo

Appendix 4. Online questionnaire items: Multilingual practices of Brazilian families in Norway (English)

A. Biography

1. Gender
2. Age
3. Education level
4. Occupation/Profession
5. District where you live
6. City where you live
7. Country where you were born
8. City and state where you were you born
9. How long have you been living in Norway?
10. Have you lived in a country other than Brazil and Norway?
11. (If yes to above) where else have you lived and for how long?

B. Language use

12. Which languages do you use on a daily basis?
13. Besides the languages you use on a daily basis, which other languages do you know?
14. Which language(s) do you use at home?

C. Family

15. Marital status
16. Country of birth of husband/wife/partner
17. Children's ages
18. Country/ies of birth of child(ren)
19. Number of people living in your household

D. Current situation and future plans

Please rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements:
(5-point Likert scale: 1 – strongly disagree; 2 – disagree; 3 – neither agree nor disagree; 4 – agree; 5 – strongly agree)

20. My stay in Norway is temporary.
21. I have plans to remain in Norway.
22. I have plans to return to Brazil.
23. I do not see myself living in Brazil again.

E. Transnational practices

Please select an option that *best* describes your practices
(5-point Likert scale: 1 - Never; 2 - Every 5 to 10 years; 3 - Every 2 to 4 year; 4 – Once a year; 5 – more than once a year)

24. How often do you go to Brazil?
25. How often do you travel to other countries?

F. This research

26. Do you have comments and/or suggestions for the author of this questionnaire?

If you would like to be considered for the second stage of the research, in which the researcher will gather more detailed information about the language use of your family, please write down your contact details below. Your unique contribution in the second stage is very important as it will allow us to gain an in-depth understanding of language use by multilingual Brazilian families in the home domain.

Name: Phone number: E-mail address:

Appendix 5. Online questionnaire items: Multilingual practices of Brazilian families in Norway (Portuguese)

A. Biografia

1. Gênero
2. Idade
3. Educação
4. Ocupação/Profissão
5. Distrito onde você mora
6. Cidade onde você mora
7. País onde você nasceu
8. Cidade e estado onde você nasceu
9. Há quanto tempo você mora na Noruega?
10. Você já morou em algum país além do Brasil e da Noruega?
11. (Se sim para a anterior) Em quais outros países você já morou e durante quanto tempo?

B. Uso de língua

12. Quais línguas você usa em seu dia-a-dia?
13. Além das línguas que você usa em seu dia-a-dia, quais línguas você tem algum conhecimento?
14. Quais línguas você usa em casa?

C. Família

15. Estado civil
16. País onde cônjuge nasceu
17. Idade das(os) filhas(os)
18. País de nascimento das(os) filhas(os)
19. Número de pessoas que moram na sua casa

D. Situação atual e planos para o futuro

Por favor, avalie o quanto você concorda com as seguintes frases:
(5-point Likert scale: 1 – Discordo plenamente; 2 – Discordo; 3 – Não concordo, nem discordo ; 4 – Concordo; 5 – Concordo plenamente)

20. Minha estadia na Noruega é temporária.
21. Eu tenho planos de permanecer na Noruega.
22. Eu tenho planos de retornar para o Brasil.
23. Eu não me vejo vivendo no Brasil de novo.

E. Práticas transnacionais

Por favor, selecione a opção que melhor descreve suas práticas:
(5-point Likert scale: 1 - Nunca; 2 – A cada 5 a 10 anos; 3 – A cada 2 a 4 anos; 4 – Uma vez por ano; 5 – Mais que uma vez por ano)

24. Com que frequência você viaja para o Brasil?
25. Com que frequência você viaja para outros países?

F. Esta pesquisa

26. Você tem comentários e/ou sugestões para o autor deste questionário?

Se você quiser ser considerada/o para o segundo estágio desta pesquisa, em que o pesquisador irá coletar informações mais detalhadas sobre o uso de línguas pela sua família, por favor, escreva abaixo seu nome, telefone e email. Sua contribuição no segundo estágio é muito importante já que irá nos permitir compreender melhor o uso de línguas dentro de casa por famílias brasileiras multilíngues.

Nome: Telefone: E-mail:

Appendix 6. Interview Outline (English)

A. Transnational practices

1. What made you decide to come to Norway? How did you go about it?
2. How well do you think you have adapted so far?
3. What have you liked and what have you disliked about living here?
4. Would you recommend living in Norway? Why or why not?
5. Have you been back to Brazil? How often? How was it?
6. What do you miss most about Brazil? What don't you miss at all?
7. Would you like to continue living here? Why or why not?
8. Have you made friends with Norwegians?
9. Have you made friends with Brazilians?
10. Where do you feel at home? Where do you belong?
11. Where do you see yourself in five years?

B. Language practices

1. What language(s) do you use with your child(ren)?
2. What languages does/do your child/children use?
3. In what language(s) are the songs, books, TV shows, apps, online videos, emails, newspaper in your home?
4. How are languages used in your home now compared to when you moved to Norway? Are there any major differences?
5. Do you have family in Brazil? How do you keep in touch with them? How often?
6. What languages do you use when you meet up with Brazilians (if answer for A9. is "yes")?

C. Language beliefs

1. Do you think there are advantages/disadvantages of knowing different languages? What are they?
2. Do the advantages/disadvantages influence the languages you use with your child(ren)?
3. Why do you use L' (and whatever languages they use) at home?
4. What is the desired and actual ratio between L' and L" use? Does the ratio reflect what you expect? Why or why not?
5. How do you think knowing English, Portuguese and Norwegian is perceived by society at large? In Brazil? In Norway?
6. Do you talk to your children about language?
7. How do you think children learn languages?

D. Language management

1. Are there languages associated with specific household routines?
2. Are there tacit/explicit rules about language use? If so, does anything happen if the rules are followed/breached (e.g. rewards/punishment)?
3. Have you discussed with your partner/thought about what languages should be used at home?
4. Are there important events that might have contributed to changes in language use (e.g. change in family configuration, parents learned a new language, children started going to school, etc.)?

E. Life in Brazil

1. What languages did you speak in Brazil? How did you learn them? In what contexts did you use them?
2. What did you do in Brazil? (e.g. work experience, academic background)
3. Do you follow news about Brazil?
4. What do you think about the current situation in Brazil?

Appendix 7. Interview Outline (Portuguese)

A. Práticas transnacionais

1. O que fez você decidir vir para a Noruega? Como se deu esse processo?
2. O quanto você acha que já se adaptou até agora?
3. Do que você tem gostado ou não gostado sobre morar aqui?
4. Você recomendaria morar na Noregua? Por que ou por que não?
5. Você já voltou para o Brasil? Com que frequência? Como foi?
6. Do que você mais sente falta no Brasil? Do que você não sente falta?
7. Você gostaria de continuar morando aqui? Por que ou por que não?
8. Você fez amizade com noruegueses?
9. Você fez amizade com brasileiros?
10. Onde você se sente em casa? Onde você pertence?
11. Onde você se vê em cinco anos?

B. Práticas linguísticas

1. Que língua(s) você usa com seu filho/sua filha?
2. Que língua(s) seu filho/sua filha usa?
3. Em que língua(s) são as músicas, livros, programas de TV, aplicativos, vídeos online, emails, jornais na sua casa?
4. Como as línguas são usadas na sua casa agora em comparação com quando você se mudou para Noruega? Há grandes diferenças?
5. Você tem família no Brasil? Como você mantém contato com eles? Com que frequência?
6. Quais línguas você usa com brasileiros (se resposta para A9 for “sim”)

C. Crenças linguísticas

1. Você acha que exitem vantagens /desvantagens em saber diferentes línguas? Quais?
2. As vantagens /desvantagens influenciam as línguas que você usa com seu filho/sua filha?
3. Por que você usa determinada(s) língua(s) em casa?
4. Qual é a proporção entre o desejado e o usado entre a língua L’ e a língua L’’ ? Essa proporção reflete sua expectativa? Por que or por que não?
5. Como você acha que saber inglês, português, e norueguês é percebido no geral? No Brasil? Na Noruega ?
6. Você fala com seu filho sobre línguas?
7. Como você acha que crianças aprendem as línguas?

D. Gerenciamento linguístico

1. Há línguas que são associadas com rotinas do dia a dia na sua casa?
2. Há regras tácitas ou explícitas sobre uso de língua? Se sim, algo acontece se as regras são seguidas ou quebradas (ex. recompensas/punições) ?
3. Você discustiu com seu conjugê/pensou por conta própria sobre quais línguas devem ser usadas em casa?
4. Existem eventos importantes que podem ter contribuído com mudanças no uso de línguas (ex. mudança na configuração familiar, pais aprendendo outros idiomas, crianças começando a ir para a escola, etc.)?

E. Vida no Brasil

1. Quais línguas você falava no Brasil? Como você as aprendeu? Em que contexto?
2. O que você fazia no Brasil? (ex. experiências profissional, acadêmica)
3. Você segue notícias sobre o Brasil?
4. O que você acha sobre a situação atual do Brasil?

Article I

Family Language Policy ten years on: A critical approach to family multilingualism.

Rafael Lomeu Gomes

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Family Language Policy ten years on: A critical approach to family multilingualism

Abstract

Family language policy (FLP) has been establishing itself as a field in the past decade. During this time Spolsky's framework of language policy has been widely drawn upon. Nonetheless, there has been little consideration about the suitability of this framework to investigate language practices in the home. Aiming at filling this gap, this article reviews FLP studies published between 2008 and 2017, and discusses accomplishments and limitations of recent publications. The main argument presented here is that a critical approach to family multilingualism might contribute to the development of FLP in an unexplored direction. More specifically, this paper shows how drawing on a decolonial approach allows for an express engagement with debates that have only been marginally tapped into in current FLP scholarship, for instance, the intersectional dimension of social categorisations such as social class, race, and gender. Furthermore, a decolonial approach provides a robust frame to examine transnational practices by reconciling perspectives that tend to privilege either the material basis of the economic relations of production, or the cultural domain as a locus where these relations gain meaning. Finally, a decolonial approach to family multilingualism takes a step towards redressing the extant underrepresentation of southern theories in sociolinguistics.

Keywords: family language policy, critical family multilingualism, decolonial approach, Southern perspective

1. Introduction

This article sets out to examine the development of Family Language Policy (FLP) as a field of study in the past ten years. This is done in light of recent debates in the field of Language Policy and Planning (LPP), and in multilingualism research, aiming at discussing the accomplishments and limitations of FLP, and pointing to possible directions for future research. Two factors motivate my focus on FLP studies published between 2008 and 2017. First, the definition of the FLP by King, Fogle and Logan-Terry (2008) was an important point of inflection in the development of the field, allowing researchers who have a shared interest in language use in the home to construct a common site for promoting scholarly

debate. Second, while more comprehensive overviews have already been published (e.g. Curdt-Christiansen 2013; Curdt-Christiansen and Lanza 2018; King 2016; King and Lanza 2017; King and Wright 2013; King et al. 2008; Schwartz 2010; Smith-Christmas 2017; Spolsky 2012), a closer look at the shifts taking place within FLP, and in LPP and multilingualism research, permits the recognition of certain trends and limitations of FLP research done within the proposed timeframe that these overviews did not capture.

The main argument put forward here is that while Spolsky's (2004; 2007; 2009; 2012) tripartite framework of language policy has been widely drawn upon in FLP research, its pervasiveness has prevented the engagement of FLP scholars with certain sociolinguistic debates that could, I argue, help to develop the field even further.

This article is structured in the following manner. A description of Spolsky's theoretical framework of language policy is followed by an overview of some FLP studies published between 2008 and 2017. This overview considers the limitations of Spolsky's framework to investigate multilingualism in the home, with some developments in the field of LPP – and sociolinguistic research on multilingualism – as a backdrop. Finally, I propose that the engagement with the aforementioned developments, and with a decolonial approach to family multilingualism, might promote the development of FLP in an unexplored direction.

2. Spolsky's theoretical framework of language policy

Spolsky's tripartite framework of language policy has been widely drawn upon in recent FLP literature. Be that as it may, the pervasiveness of this framework is not commensurate with the assessment of the suitability of the framework itself to account for the language practices in the home, a shortcoming that motivates this article. Additionally, special attention is given to how the ideas put forth initially (Spolsky 2004; 2007) have been reiterated (or reformulated) more recently (Spolsky 2009; 2017).

Three essential features characterised Spolsky's (2004; 2007) initial formulation of his framework: the employment of the sociolinguistic notion of domain; the idea of language policy being made of three components (i.e. language practices, language beliefs, and language management); and the assumption that the policy of each domain is influenced by internal and external factors (Spolsky 2007). These features are described below.

2.1 Domain in Language Policy

The notion of domain was employed by Fishman (1972) as an analytical construct that should enable the understanding of the ways in which language choices at an interactional level are intertwined with norms and expectations at a societal level (Fishman 1972). Therefore, its underlying assumption is that '*individual behavior and social patterns can be distinguished from each other and yet related to each other*' (italics in original) (Fishman 1972: 442).

In addition to its potential to explicate multilingual practices on two distinct levels of analysis, Spolsky (2007) employs domain as a unit of analysis for, he claims, it is not as vague as the notion of speech community (Gumperz 1968; Labov 1966). What differentiates domain from speech community is the former's consideration of factors subsumed under it, namely, topic, role relations, and locales (Fishman 1972). Put simply, language choice is dependent on what is being talked about, the relationship between the participants of the interaction, and where the talk is happening.

2.2 Tripartite framework: language practices, language beliefs and language management

Spolsky (2004: 5) claims that language policy is comprised of three components: 'its language practices – the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistics repertoire; its language beliefs or ideology – the beliefs about language and language use; and any specific efforts to modify or influence that practice by any kind of language intervention, planning or management.'

Spolsky (2007) notes that language practices constitute a policy in the extent to which they are regular and predictable. He goes on to raise an important methodological concern related to how to access these practices: the observer's paradox complicates attempts of studying them; therefore the task of the sociolinguist is to describe them by engaging with a Hymesian ethnography of communication (Hymes 1974).

Language beliefs relate to the values attributed to linguistic features or beliefs about language-related issues. For instance, certain linguistic features, in specific contexts, can be associated with group membership; or, the use of a language might be preferred by parents in the home because they believe their children acquiring it might better their professional prospects.

Finally, language management is considered to be an effort by someone with more authority (or with claims to have more authority) over others to modify their language practices or beliefs, and that this effort is both explicit and observable (Spolsky 2007). For instance, immigrant parents who attempt to modify the language use of their offspring are doing language management (Spolsky 2007; 2009).

2.3 Domain-external factors

Besides the domain-internal factors described above, domain-external factors are also relevant to language choice. This is discussed within Haugen's ecology of language framework, which is interested in the "study of interactions between any given language and its environment." (Haugen 1972). According to this framework (for a fuller discussion, see Haugen 1972; and Fill and Mühlhäusler 2001) each and every domain is influenced not only by internal factors, but by external factors as well. For instance, within Haugen's (1972) framework, locale, class, religion and other relevant groupings should be taken into account when analysing the role of the user of the language. Moreover, languages are to be classified in relation to one another, as opposed to being analysed as abstract entities resting in a vacuum. Finally, what takes place in the home domain, for instance, is subject to be influenced by processes in the school domain or in the religious domain.

While testing his initial model (Spolsky 2004; 2007) against a variety of contexts (Spolsky, 2009), Spolsky shifts from developing a theory of language policy to working towards a theory of language management. This shift is motivated by the focus on developing a theory that is capable of accounting for the management practices that control choices made by individual speakers (i.e. managers).

Also, Spolsky addressed the limitation of focusing on language policies at different nation-states (2004), in an investigation of multiple domains (e.g. family, religion, workplace, public space, military) (Spolsky 2009). This had a major impact on the emergence of FLP as a field of study for it highlighted the importance of investigating language policies in the family domain.

More recently, Spolsky (2017) examined language management at different levels, focusing on Portuguese-speaking postcolonial contexts. By considering social class, gender and race to be significant categorisations to be taken into account in unpacking the ways in which Portuguese attained its current status of official language in Brazil, Spolsky (2017) advances his theoretical model in an underexplored direction in FLP studies. However, this

advancement is not unproblematic. Stating that 'the shortage of women settlers encouraged miscegenation.' (Spolsky 2017: 4) and that "Colonization maintained a distinction between colonizers and colonized, but miscegenation, resulting from marriage with black women, led to a breakdown of racism" (Spolsky 2017: 6) rightly exposes dimensions of power involved in the colonisation of Brazil. Paradoxically, it also erases the experiences of subjugation, exploitation, abuse and genocide of black people in Brazil to this date that have received ample coverage (de Melo and Moita Lopes 2015; Fernandes 1965; Gonzalez 1983; Nascimento 1978).

Having described the three essential features of Spolsky's model and how he has reformulated certain aspects of this framework, below I present an overview of the publications in FLP in the last ten years.

3. Family Language Policy ten years on

3.1 Re(de)fining FLP

In the past ten years, the field known as family language policy (FLP) has gained momentum, arguably due to FLP being formally defined in 2008. According to King et al. (2008: 907) FLP can be defined 'as explicit (Shohamy 2006) and overt (Schiffman 1996) planning in relation to language use within the home among family members.'

Fogle (2013: 83) has expanded this definition claiming that the decisions parents make about language use in the home are not necessarily overt and explicit, and including language learning as well as literacy practices: 'Family language policy refers to explicit and overt decisions parents make about language use and language learning as well as implicit processes that legitimize certain language and literacy practices over others in the home.'

In line with more recent understandings of FLP in general, the implicit and covert dimension of language policy within the home had already been stressed by Curdt-Christiansen (2009: 352) who went further to include literacy practices in her definition: 'family language policy (FLP) can be defined as a deliberate attempt at practicing a particular language use pattern and particular literacy practices within home domains and among family members.'

These redefinitions sustain a tension between Spolsky's framework and FLP that has not received much attention in the field. The tension is represented by, on the one hand, the acknowledgement that a covert and implicit dimension should be considered when accounting for language practices in the home; on the other, Spolsky's (2009: 1) trenchant claim that

'Language policy is all about choices.' This raises a question: Can it still be considered planning (or decisions, or management, or, ultimately, policy) if it is not explicit, overt and deliberate? This impasse is one of the reasons that motivate the assessment of Spolsky's framework within in FLP.

3.2 Scope of this overview

In order to define the works to be reviewed, the publications (i.e. original research papers, introduction of thematic issues, commentaries, editorials, published monographs, edited volumes, and book chapters) had to: (a) contain the phrase family language policy/ies either in the title or as keywords in the abstract; (b) have been published between January 2008 and December 2017.

The methodological rigour evinced by the criteria above is not to be confounded with a nod towards epistemological universalism. Whilst the latter assumes that the ultimate goal of any scientific endeavour is to produce objective knowledge following positivist methods and relying on tenets such as neutrality, validity, reliability, generalisability, and reproducibility, establishing strict selection criteria for the material to be reviewed does not exempt the author from recognising that the review below is one of the many possible ways of interpreting the development of FLP as a field. Further, it should be highlighted that the inclusion and exclusion criteria proved to be a limitation because some works that are relevant for the investigation of multilingualism in the home had to be disregarded, especially works that situate themselves within 'language socialization' (e.g. Duff and May 2017; Duranti et al. 2012; Fogle 2012; He 2016), 'language revitalization' (e.g. Hinton, 2013), and 'language shift and maintenance' (e.g. Bloch and Hirsch 2017; Gafaranga 2011; Kim and Starks 2010; Lane 2010). Yet another patent limitation is the focus on publications in English.

Inasmuch as these observations may sound as methodological truisms, the critical approach proposed in this article, in particular the alignment with a decolonial approach (Castro-Gómez and Grosfoguel 2007; Mignolo 2011b), motivates the explicit discussion about promoting epistemic diversity (de Souza 2014) and challenging current geopolitics of knowledge (Levon 2017). Furthermore, while postmodern and poststructural critiques also challenge the neutrality of knowledge production and promote a greater involvement with methodological and epistemological reflexivity, and researcher positionality, a decolonial approach takes yet another step and envisages the need to redress the extant erasure of voices

from the global South from current sociolinguistic debates (Milani and Lazar 2017) by deliberately bringing to the fore such perspectives.

3.3 Overview of FLP literature between 2008 and 2017

In the last decade, scholars have published comprehensive overviews of the field, thematic issue introductions, and editorials, covering a wide chronological range, epistemological and methodological shifts, and remarked its empirical development (e.g. Curdt-Christiansen 2013; Curdt-Christiansen and Lanza 2018; King 2016; Li Wei 2012; Spolsky 2012; King and Lanza 2017; King et al. 2008; King and Wright 2013; Schwartz 2010; Smith-Christmas 2017).

The interweaving of overviews of FLP with my own analysis of publications in the past ten years allows for an understanding of development of the field in a somewhat cohesive fashion, mainly considering three trends: (i) the pervasiveness of Spolsky's framework; (ii) the gain of currency of ethnographic methods; and (iii) the diversity of languages, geographical locations, family configurations. I now turn to a more in-depth discussion of each of these trends.

3.3.1 Spolsky's framework

King et al. (2008) conceive of FLP as an emerging field that brings together the fields of language policy and child language acquisition. The authors discuss how the field of language policy has shifted its initial concerns with solving the language problems of newly independent nations to trying to understand the dynamicity of the (social, cultural, and ideological) systems of which language policies are a part. It is within this understanding of the development of language policy that King et al. (2008) introduce Spolsky's (2004) framework, which envisages language policy being made of three components: language practices, language beliefs, and language management.

Likewise, Schwartz (2010: 172) suggests that 'research on family language policy (FLP) incorporates analysis of language ideology, practice and management, which were classified by Spolsky (2004) as components of the language policy model with respect to the speech community.' It is noticeable that this definition, based solely on Spolsky's (2004) model, does not include ways in which Spolsky (2007; 2009) himself further developed his

theory, nor acknowledges that this model is historically situated in the development of LPP (for overviews of LPP, see Hult and Johnson 2015; Johnson and Ricento 2013; Ricento, 2000).

The restriction to an understanding of language policy based on Spolsky's framework is reinforced by Spolsky himself (2012) and echoed by Curdt-Christiansen (2013: 2) as she maintains that 'FLP seeks to gain insights into the language ideologies of family members (what family members believe about language), language practices (what they do with language), and language management (what efforts they make to maintain language)'.

More recent studies continue to employ Spolsky's model without critically engaging with its epistemological and ontological assumptions. For instance, Oriyama (2016) investigated how Japanese heritage youths in Australia kept contact with the Japanese language after they stopped attending heritage language schools. Besides being one of the few studies that offer a 'long-term longitudinal' (Smith-Christmas 2017: 21) perspective, another important contribution of Oriyama's (2016) study is the theoretical discussion she presents about how family, as a unit of analysis, can be conceptualised as a community of practice (Wenger 1998), a point suggested by Lanza (2007). When it comes to her understanding of FLP, however, she echoes Schwartz (2010), Spolsky (2012) and Curdt-Christiansen (2013) and claims that 'FLP consists of "language ideology" (a set of beliefs in and attitudes toward a given language), "language practices" (how language is used and learned), and "language management" (specific and conscious efforts to modify and control language practices)' (Oriyama, 2016: 290).

A similar view of FLP is employed by Kang (2015) in her large-scale study involving 460 Korean parents living in the United States with their children under 18 years of age, where she attempts to develop a model to predict language maintenance in the home. Kang used an online questionnaire to collect data about participants' background information, language practice, language management and language ideology, as well as accounts of parents on their children's skills in Korean. Supporting her claims on the results of inferential statistics tests, Kang (2015) discussed the inconsistencies found between parental (positive) attitudes towards maintenance of Korean in the home and language practice and language management.

A number of other studies employ Spolsky's (2004; 2007) tripartite framework (e.g. Altman et al. 2014; Bezcioglu-Goktolga and Yagmur 2017; Chatzidaki and Maligkoudi 2013; Dumanig et al. 2013; Kaveh 2017; Kayam and Hirsch 2014; Kopeliovich 2010; Nakamura 2016; Parada 2013; Patrick et al. 2013; Pillai et al. 2014; Revis 2016; Schwartz 2008;

Schwartz and Verschik 2013; Stavans 2015; Xiaomei 2017; Yu 2016) with little effort directed to evaluating the framework itself or proposing reformulations.

One of the few exceptions is Ren and Hu's (2013) attempt to improve Spolsky's model by combining its use with notions emerging from family literacy research (i.e. prolepsis, syncretism, and synergy). In another example, Tannenbaum (2012) advocates for a focus on the emotional aspects of family language policy. She proposes looking at family language policy as a defence or coping mechanism and, in doing so, she suggests that FLP research has underexplored the contributions from psychology and psychoanalysis. Tannenbaum and Yitzhaki (2016) take a step towards addressing this limitation by examining the connections between emotions and language practices of multilingual families. Additionally, Berardi-Wiltshire (2017) suggests that research on indigenous language revitalisation might benefit from drawing on Spolsky's tripartite framework as employed by FLP literature. Finally, Fogle (2013) supports the idea of expanding the ideological component of FLP to include parental beliefs not only about language, but also about 'family, childhood and caregiving' (Fogle, 2013: 99).

Despite the prevalence of Spolsky's model throughout the last ten years in FLP, some scholars have been engaging with other models or theories, particularly in the last five years. For instance, Ó hIfearnáin (2013) frames his mixed-method investigation of language practices and attitudes of Gaeltacht Irish speakers toward intergeneration transmission within a folk linguistics approach. Smith-Christmas (2014), in turn, situates her study about the three generations of one family involved in the use of an autochthonous minority language (i.e. Gaelic) within the field of language socialisation (Schiefflin and Ochs 1986). In addition, Purkarthofer (2017) creatively combines an understanding of the notion of linguistic repertoire informed by interactional, poststructural and phenomenological approaches (Busch, 2012) with the assumption that it is crucial to consider the construction of space in social analysis, which is accomplished by drawing on Lefebvre's (1991) framework of the production of space.

Finally, Gallo and Hornberger (2017) propose an ethnographic approach to language policy as a way to account for the complexity and creativity involved in the ways social actors adopt, follow or resist language policies (Hornberger and Johnson 2011). Taping into under-researched notions and topics in FLP such as borders, securitisation, and immigration policies, Gallo and Hornberger (2017) report the case of an eight-year-old girl (Princess) and her family living in the United States, including her father who was deported to Mexico during data collection. Engaging with yet another under-explored discussion in FLP, namely how

languages can be conceptualised as something other than a fixed category, the authors draw on the notion of continua of biliteracy (Hornberger 2002) to demonstrate Princess' active role on her family's migration decisions and language planning. Also, they highlight how the ethnographic approach to LPP allows uncovering the monoglossic language ideologies upon which participants draw in order to make future decisions regarding migration and schooling.

These four studies illustrate that drawing on concepts, theories and approaches other than those sustained by Spolsky's framework might contribute to developing FLP in directions that have not been much explored. More recent overviews of FLP have noticed this move away from Spolsky's model and expanded this limiting understanding of (family) language policy. For instance, King (2016: 727–8) advances the idea that research belonging to 'the fourth phase' of FLP is characterised by '[the examination of] language competence not just as an outcome, but as a means through which adults and children define themselves, their family roles, and family life; a focus on globally dispersed, transnational, multilingual populations beyond the traditional, two-parent family; and ever-greater heterogeneity and adaptability in research methods to address these shifting needs in the field.'

In the same vein, King and Lanza (2017) identify two trends in current FLP research. The first trend is characterised by the increasing attention given to demographic changes seen through a lens that draws on notions such as migration, mobility and transnationalism to better understand multilingual practices. The second trend involves a shift from examining the relationship between language input and its entailing outcomes, to investigating (rather than assuming) the contexts in which family communication takes place. A methodological implication of this shift is the increased use of ethnographic approaches, which brings us to the second point of convergence among recent overviews of FLP.

3.3.2 The gain of currency of ethnographic methods

The potentially limiting consequences of the affiliation to a single theoretical model (i.e. Spolsky's) as the foundation of FLP implied by Schwartz (2010) are dispelled as she presents future directions for FLP. Among other things, she stresses the importance of collecting and examining naturally occurring speech using ethnographic methods. More recent papers seem to have answered this call.

For example, in her 9-year investigation of language ideologies and practices in Oaxaca, Mexico and California, the United States, Pérez Báez (2013) used interviews and participant observation to demonstrate the influence of external factors (i.e. school and social

networks) on attempts of families to maintain San Lucas Quiavianí Zapotec, and to unveil the language ideologies circulating within the communities under investigation. Kheirkhah and Cekaite (2015) examined the language practices of one Persian-Kurdish family in Swedish through video recordings, ethnographic observations and interviews. These methods allowed them to identify the different strategies used by parents in interaction with the child, and to emphasise the importance of considering children as agents in the implementation of family language policies. Children's agency was also central to Gyogi's (2015) study of two English-Japanese bilingual children and their mothers in London, UK, where she claims that children demonstrate their agency by contesting, negotiating and redefining their mothers' language beliefs.

The increasing use of ethnographic methods in FLP calls for a consideration about the extent to which Spolsky's general model and its underlying epistemological and ontological assumptions are compatible with those of ethnographic approaches to the study of language and society. Perhaps Spolsky's model is better suited for studies that aim at working with larger numbers of participants, identifying general patterns, and predicting likely outcomes. But these are generally not the concerns of ethnographies, whose focus is on gaining in-depth understandings of localised practices while locating these interpretations in longer or broader social processes (Rampton 2012).

King and Lanza (2017) point out that FLP can benefit from recent developments in socio- and applied linguistics, as well as in LPP. They suggest that LPP studies have been increasingly making use of 'critical and qualitative methods' (King and Lanza 2017). However, while the popularity of qualitative and ethnographic methods is easily perceived in recent FLP scholarship (e.g. Curdt-Christiansen 2016; Schwartz and Verschik 2013; Smith-Christmas 2016; Zhu Hua and Li Wei 2016), I argue that 'critical research perspectives' (Hult and Johnson, 2015: 11) have only been employed timidly by recent FLP literature (e.g. Gallo and Hornberger 2017). Before fully developing this argument (in section 4), I discuss how overviews have treated the empirical advancements in FLP, and I present my own considerations about them.

3.3.3 Diversity of languages, geographical locations, family configurations

King et al. (2008) suggested that future FLP research focused on issues related to globalisation and transnationalism as these processes might have considerable influence on language practices in the home. Curdt-Christiansen (2013: 2) shows how recent studies have

explored this path as they 'include non-middle class, marginalized and under-studied transnational family types as well as Indigenous and endangered languages'. Furthermore, studies in what King (2016) refers to as the 'fourth phase' of FLP demonstrate a focus on family configurations other than those with two middle-class parents.

More recently, King and Lanza (2017) note both the focus on families that go beyond the traditional, two-parent model and a greater variety of languages. This is echoed by Smith-Christmas (2017), who recently pointed out that although there has been an inclusion of different geographical locations where data has been collected, a strong focus on North American and European contexts still exists. In Figure 1, I present the number of original FLP studies by country where data was collected. As noted, the studies had to contain the phrase "family language policy/ies" in the title or abstracts, and be published between 2008 and 2017.

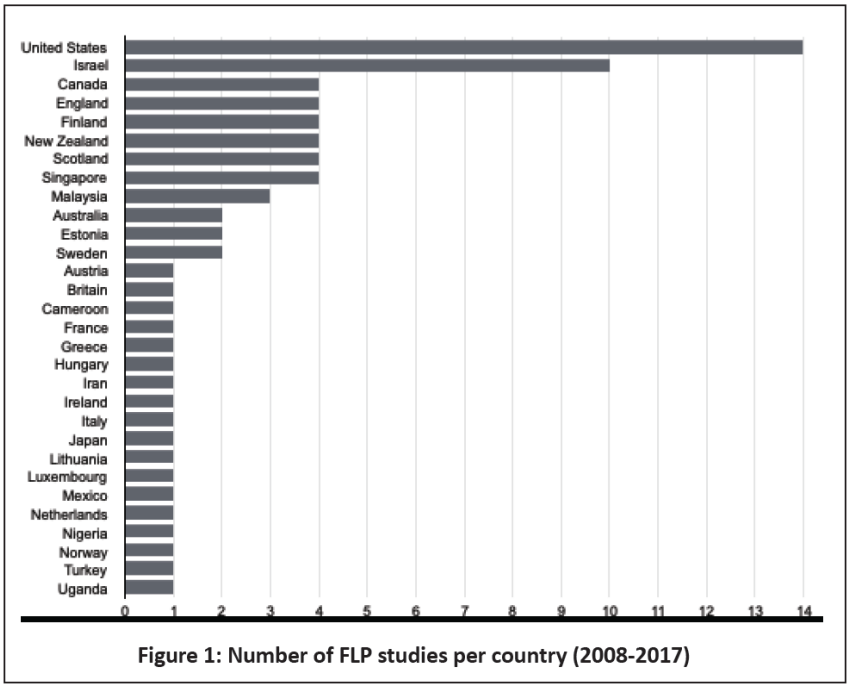

Figure 1: Number of FLP studies per country (2008-2017)

In analysing recent developments in FLP research, Smith-Christmas (2017: 18) justly remarks that 'there is a dearth of research situated within Africa or the Middle East (apart from Israel)'. She then suggests that our understanding of language use in the family would benefit from studies that capture the experiences outside the viewpoints of Western, industrialised communities. I concur with her suggestion, and some studies have already been exploring this direction (e.g. Kendrick and Namazzi 2017; McKee and Smiler 2017; Mirvahedi 2017; Moore 2016).

While the relevance of investigating family configurations, locations and languages that we still know little about in FLP should be recognised, a critical approach to family

multilingualism supports the idea that bringing voices from the global South into current sociolinguistic debates is not only a matter of changing the context of investigation, but shifting the current paradigm that renders the global North as the producer of theory and the global South as the source of data against which theories are tested (Connell 2007). Along with the need to expand the scope of FLP not only as places where data is collected, but also as geopolitical loci where knowledge is produced, there has been a need to include research that investigates the particularities of language practices by families that use non-European languages.

Table 1 illustrates that recent scholarship reviewed here (following the aforementioned criteria) has broadened the range of languages examined in FLP. While this effort attests to an important empirical advancement of the field, there exists a stronger tendency to draw on assumptions about language akin to *positivist modernist sociolinguistics* (García et al. 2017). That is, in general, studies seem to subscribe to ideas of languages as being units that can be delineated, separated, named and counted. Rather than affirming that languages are *not* abstract systems that can be named, differentiated and counted, the point here is that there is an important ongoing debate in socio- and applied linguistics (e.g. Canagarajah 2013; García and Li Wei 2014; Jørgensen 2008; Pennycook and Otsuji, 2015) with which recent FLP studies have not engaged.

For instance, in Seloni and Sarfati's (2013: 9) investigation of language ideologies and practices of families in Turkey, they justify the employment of the term Judeo-Spanish for it is a '"neutral, self-explanatory term" (Harris 1982: 5) embraced by most scholars working on the topic.' Interestingly, Harris (1982: 5) continues 'Others consider it a pseudoscientific term to be used only for purposes of popularization.', demonstrating how naming languages is not exactly a neutral enterprise.

Another insight that Table 1 yields has to do with how languages and language varieties are named. In Curdt-Christiansen (2009) she employs ethnographic methods to identify the values assigned to Chinese, English and French by Chinese parents in Quebec, Canada, and how these are linked to particular linguistic markets. More recently (Curdt-Christiansen 2016), in examining the language ideologies and practices of three multilingual families in Singapore, Hokkien and Mandarin (rather than the all-encompassing label Chinese) are the terms employed to account for the languages used at home.

Table 1 – Languages* investigated by FLP studies between 2008 and 2017 (in alphabetical order)

Albanian	Ibibio	Polish
American Sign Language	Igbo	Punjabi
Amharic	Irish	Qur'anic Arabic
Arabic	Italian	Russian
Azerbaijani	Japanese	San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec
Cantonese	Judeo-Spanish	Scottish Gaelic
Chinese	Khmer	Sinhala
Dutch	Korean	Spanish
Efik	Kurdish	Swedish
English	Latvian	Tagalog
Estonian	Lithuanian	Tagalog/Visayan
Farsi	Lokaa	Taiwanese
Finnish	Luganda	Tamil
French	Malacca Portuguese Creole	Teochew
Fulfulde	Malay	Thai
German	Mandarin	Turkish
Hakka	New Zealand Sign Language	Ukrainian
Hebrew	Nigerian pidgin	Urdu
Hokkien	Norwegian	Vietnamese
Hungarian	Persian	Zapotec

* The names of the languages are reproduced here the same way researchers used in their own works.

Furthermore, in his survey involving 170 children in Ontario, Canada, Slavkov (2016) aimed at developing a framework capable of accounting for the factors that lead to (or prevent) bi/multilingualism. He was specifically interested in examining the roles of family language policies and school language choice in promoting bi/multilingualism. Relying on descriptive and inferential statistics, Slavkov (2016: 17) concludes that 'if non-overlapping language strategies are adopted as a best practice at the family and educational levels, all children in Ontario, and potentially the rest of Canada, can become bilingual and many of them multilingual.' A concerning corollary of this proposition is its implicit idea that bi-multilingualism is inherently good, and it should ultimately be pursued, obfuscating the social, cultural, political dimensions of language practices, which should be central to sociolinguistic analysis.

The three examples above are representative of a more common tendency in FLP. While the increased use of ethnographic approaches has eschewed certain taken-for-granted notions and yielded more refined accounts of the situatedness of language practices, a central element in sociolinguistic research, namely, language has not undergone the same scrutiny. In other words, FLP literature has not been particularly successful in openly discussing the ontological status language receives in the analysis. Relatedly, most recent FLP studies have not engaged with conceptualisations that challenge the notion that languages are autonomous systems that can be separated into discrete units, named and counted. Despite the relative novelty of conceptualisations such as translingual practice (Canagarajah 2013), polylingual languaging (Jørgensen 2008; Møller and Jørgensen 2009), metrolingualism (Otsuji and Pennycook 2010; Pennycook and Otsuji 2015), translanguaging (García and Li Wei 2014; Li Wei 2018, Otheguy et al. 2015), *Spracherleben* (Busch 2015), scholars (e.g. Haugen 1972; Khubchandani 1983) have discussed this for many decades, which makes the little engagement of FLP literature with these issues (but see Conteh et al. 2013) even more intriguing. It should be highlighted, however, that the employment of these notions is not regarded as a panacea (see Jaspers and Madsen 2016; Orman 2013; and Pennycook 2016). Instead, the point made here is twofold: drawing on these notions might help to elucidate issues related to family multilingualism in innovative ways; and FLP has the potential to make original contributions to the very debate about what language is.

4. An untrodden path: A critical approach to family multilingualism

Below I summarise certain ontological and epistemological assumptions of Spolsky's model that, I argue, engender limitations for the development of FLP if it is to engage with certain theorisations about language and society, particularly those associated with what has been described as *critical* (Pennycook 2001; 2004; Pietikäinen 2016; Roberts 2001) .

The first assumption is that 'language behavior is reflective of sociocultural patterning' (Fishman 1972: 441). This assumption is echoed by Spolsky in his claim that '[language management] is not autonomous, but the reflex of the social, political, economic, religious, ideological, emotional context in which human life goes on.' (Spolsky 2009: 9) Second, although Spolsky recognises that language varieties 'are socially or politically rather than linguistically motivated' (Spolsky 2009: 1), and underlines the 'sloppiness of the labels we have available' (Spolsky 2004: 161) to describe multilingual practices and multilingual contexts, the understanding of language that his model puts forth is that it is an abstract,

bounded, discrete entity that can be neatly delineated, categorised and counted. Third, the salience of role relations (Fishman 1972) between participants, subsumed under the notion of domain, as opposed to perspectives which bring to the fore social categorisations such as race, ethnicity, gender, sex, class, age and ability. Fourth, while recognising the need for 'a detailed study of the face-to-face interactions in which language choice is embedded' (Fishman 1972: 442) as a requirement to support the validity of domain as a concept, Spolsky builds his case drawing on methods other than face-to-face interactions, or other data generation tools typically employed by ethnographic approaches. Thus, a set of questions comes to mind when one considers examining language practices in the home through a perspective other than that yielded by Spolsky's framework:

What if FLP research explored more explicitly the implications of taking a stance that considers the relationship between language and social reality to be mutually constitutive of one another, rather than unidirectional? What if family multilingualism is theorised through conceptualisations that expand (or squarely challenge) notions of language as abstract, separable, and countable systems? To what extent can ethnographic methods be employed cohesively with Spolsky's framework? In sum: what if the interdisciplinary nature of FLP promoted an engagement with pressing discussions in socio- and applied linguistics (e.g. Busch 2015; Canagarajah 2013; Jørgensen 2008; Li Wei 2018; Pennycook and Otsuji, 2015), LPP (e.g. Hult and Johnson 2015; Johnson and Ricento 2013; Ricento 2000) and social sciences (e.g. Castro-Gómez and Grosfoguel 2007, Connell 2007; Mignolo 2011b; Santos 2014) that have not been thoroughly explored in recent FLP studies?

Rather than providing definite answers, I aim at opening up a discussion about the limitations of FLP as a field and possible ways to push, transgress or erase its boundaries. To this end, I propose a critical approach to family multilingualism. Particularly, I argue that a decolonial approach to the study of family multilingualism offers a perspective which underscores the intersectional dimension of social categorisations such as gender, race and class, while attending to the political and economic dimensions of the transnational centre-periphery divide. Furthermore, such an approach takes a step towards disrupting the current unbalance of geopolitics of knowledge, foregrounding Southern perspectives in the analysis of language practices.

In the following subsection, I discuss how a decolonial approach to family multilingualism has similarities with what can be broadly defined as critical approaches to the study of language and society, and the ways in which it might help to account for localised language practices of transnational families.

4.1 Family multilingualism: a decolonial approach

In the past two decades or so, scholars investigating issues within the fields of sociolinguistics and applied linguistics have been qualifying certain strands of research as *critical* (e.g. García et al. 2017; Heller 2011; Martin-Jones and Martin 2016; Mesthrie and Deumert 2000; Pennycook 2001; 2004). The use of this term usually denotes (a) certain epistemological stance(s) taken by researchers, along with respective ontological assumptions. I situate this article within this debate and, below, I present three ways in which FLP might benefit from drawing on a critical approach.

The term *critical* employed here is meant to encompass approaches that take, oftentimes, a social constructivist epistemological stance to the study of language and society, assuming that language practices and social reality are dialectically and recursively entangled. Heller (2011: 34), for example, highlights the constructive dimension of language in that it has a complex role 'in constructing the social organization of production and distribution of the various forms of symbolic and material resources essential to our lives and to our ability to make sense of the world around us.'

Furthermore, these approaches tend to be interested in examining social reality as a way to unveil the ways in which power and wealth are unevenly distributed in society. In what has been termed *critical poststructuralist sociolinguistics* (García et al. 2017), researchers tend to draw on the Foucauldian assumption that power is ubiquitously present in society (as opposed to an institutional, centralised, top-down view of power) to investigate 'language practices in interrelationship to the socio-historical, political, and economic conditions that produce them.' (García et al. 2017: 5). Moreover, authors oppose an epistemological stance that stands for the production of objective, neutral and universal knowledge systems, and champion, instead, a stance that assumes the situatedness of knowledge production (Heller 2011; Mignolo 2011b).

Also building on Foucault (1969; 1975) to account for the relations of power, Heller (2011) draws on a historical materialist approach, stressing the need for sociolinguistic analyses to consider the material basis of social organization. She proposes a *critical ethnographic sociolinguistics*, which is built on two pillars: ethnography and political economy. While the former permits an understanding of language use as situated practice and its connections to social structure, the latter emphasises the need to understand the constraints imposed by material conditions on meaning-making activities (Heller 2011).

It is not uncommon for authors to go beyond exposing social inequalities and injustices, and propose ways to address such inequalities and injustices stripping away the neutrality and objectivity that marked the initial stages of modern social sciences and the early days of sociolinguistics in the 1960s, and unveiling the social and political roles of sociolinguistics as a discipline that could advocate 'for a more equitable future' (García et al. 2017: 6). However, the necessity for research-led social transformation is not necessarily the ultimate goal of a critical approach, as the steps that precede it might indicate possible ways of action, if any (Heller 2011).

One final aspect of the notion of *critical* that has motivated its use relates to a certain degree of scepticism that inspires scholars to question taken-for-granted concepts, approaches, and methods, regardless of how prevailing they are. A phrase that captures well this sceptical posture is 'the restive problematization of the given' (Dean 1994: 4, as cited in Pennycook 2004: 799). Assuming this posture is what yields the questioning of the ontological status of language supported by *positivist modernist sociolinguistics* (García et al. 2017). Therefore, rather than understanding languages as abstract entities that can be separated, named and enumerated, languages are thought to be 'the consequence of deliberate human intervention and the manipulation of social contexts' (García et al. 2017: 6). It is within the context of this discussion that I present how a critical approach to family multilingualism contributes to the development of FLP.

The effort made by researchers to contribute to the development of FLP by investigating a great variety of contexts is, indeed, laudable. Along with the increased use of ethnographic methods, the expansion of scope in terms of languages, countries and family configurations can have a substantial impact on FLP literature, and possibly beyond, as it may yield more in-depth understandings about the situatedness of language practices. Notwithstanding, this push of boundaries of the empirical scope of FLP research can only go so far if epistemological and ontological shifts do not accompany it. Put differently, FLP as a field can have its development severely restricted if it draws solely (or mostly) on notions of languages as fixed category. One way to overcome this limitation would be to draw on conceptualisations of language presented in section 3, and investigate their suitability for the study of language use in the home.

Furthermore, despite engaging with discussions such as the demographic, economic and political implications of transnationalism and globalization - mainly through a political economy analysis, though not always explicit - there has not been significant and express engagement with theoretical frameworks that assume the complexity, heterogeneity and

fluidity of cultures (Ahmed 2000; Anzaldúa 1987; Appadurai 1996; Bhabha 1994). Finally, as long as the relevance of investigating families that go beyond the 'traditional, two-parents model' is framed within a logic of 'denial of coevalness' (Fabian 1983), FLP as a field of inquiry might restrict itself to a liberal understanding of diversity (Kymlicka 1995), and overlook debates that shed light on issues such as social class (Block, 2015), gender and sexuality (Fabrício and Moita Lopes 2015; Milani 2018), race and ethnicity, (Rosa and Flores 2017; Reyes 2017; Samy Alim et al. 2016; Williams and Stroud 2014), and disability (Grue 2016).

One way to overcome this limitation, and in line with the growing need to include southern perspectives in current sociolinguistic debates (cf. Levon 2017; Milani and Lazar 2017; García et al. 2017), the critical approach to family multilingualism proposed here draws on the works of scholars involved with the decolonial turn (Castro-Gómez and Grosfoguel 2007). Castro-Gómez and Grosfoguel (2007) claim that while the forms of domination employed by European nation-states might have changed, the structure that sustains the relations between 'central' and 'peripheral' countries remains the same. That is, despite the legal-political decolonization that has legitimated the independency of former colonies, the structures of domination based on the hierarchisation of races/ethnicities and gender/sexuality set in place in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are still reproduced through the international division of labour between centre and periphery, and contribute to the contemporary social and economic divide (Castro-Gómez and Grosfoguel 2007).

Additionally, while other approaches to the examination of class, gender, and races in a context of globalisation may favour the economic or the cultural domains in their analyses, a decolonial perspective envisages the entanglement between culture, and economic and political processes. Put differently, Castro-Gómez and Grosfoguel (2007) suggest that world-system analysis as put forth by Wallerstein (1991) builds on the Marxist paradigm of base/superstructure, and assumes that culture (superstructure) derives from relations of production (base). Conversely, postcolonial studies invert this relationship and support the idea that economic and political relations do not have a meaning in themselves; rather, they gain meaning in specific semiotic sites. Each approach, thus, is considered to build their analyses upon opposing ontological assumptions. Drawing on a decolonial perspective may offer reconciliation between these conflicting approaches whilst sharing some of their concerns.

Following this discussion, a critical approach to family multilingualism drawing on a decolonial approach might be useful for pushing the development of FLP in a direction that

has not been explored. That is to say, incorporating in FLP research the propositions put forth by Castro-Gómez and Grosfoguel (2007) related to the ontological status of social categorisations allows for a useful framing of these categorisations while undertaking an analysis of family multilingualism. Moreover, the deliberate effort to draw on theorisations from the global South, particularly those related to globalisation, transnationalism and the effects of Western, modern scholarship (e.g. Castro-Gómez and Grosfoguel 2007; Kerfoot and Hyltenstam 2017; Mignolo 2011a; Mignolo 2011b; B. Santos 2014; M. Santos 2017) can inform social analysis in ways that have not been much explored in sociolinguistics in general, let alone in FLP, and shed light on debates about transnational practices, identity negotiation and language use.

Finally, an issue that is still unresolved in FLP is the extent to which certain practices can be conceived of as management (or policy) if they are covert and implicit. Curdt-Christiansen and Lanza (2018: 126) see this tension as the 'blurred distinction between the concepts of language practices and language management', while Pennycook (2017) takes a more direct stance in suggesting the irreconcilability between an understanding of language policy stemming from Fishmanian sociolinguistics (i.e. Sposlky's framework) and an understanding that highlights the situatedness of language practices. I claim critical, ethnographic approaches (Martin-Jones and Martin 2016) to FLP may open up a promising site for carrying on this debate about language practices and language policy.

5. Conclusion

While serving as an important common ground upon which scholars with similar interests contributed to the emergence and establishment of a scientific field of inquiry, a discussion of the implications of the assumptions of Spolsky's framework is lacking in current FLP literature, unlike in LPP literature (cf. Albury 2016; and Pennycook 2017). The relevance of this discussion lies on the possibilities opened up by a critique of Spolsky's framework at a theoretical level and its implications for FLP research. Therefore, in this article I described certain features of Sposlky's theoretical framework of language policy, and discussed its epistemological and ontological assumptions, and the potentially limiting implications of its pervasiveness in recent FLP literature. I also demonstrated how FLP studies published in the past ten years have drawn upon this framework.

However, because Spolsky's model draws largely on tenets supported by Fishmanian sociolinguistics, it holds certain assumptions that are difficult to reconcile with critical

approaches to the investigation of family multilingualism. I showed that some FLP studies are already going beyond Spolsky's framework, either by trying to expand it or by drawing on different theoretical frameworks. Additionally, I suggested that drawing on recent debates about how language can be conceptualised may be a productive path to follow in studying language practices in the home. Finally, I showed how a decolonial approach to family multilingualism might lead to original discussions about issues that have not been much explored in recent FLP literature.

A potential complication of the increasing interdisciplinarity in FLP has already been raised by King (2016: 731): 'the field of family language policy risks splintering in such a way that there is diminished capacity for researchers to exchange findings, collaborate, or even make meaningful sense of others' work." However, in section four I argued for the ways in which a critical approach to family multilingualism might contribute to the development of FLP, and because of that, I suggest that the risk brought up by King (2016) is worth taking.

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Article II

Family multilingualism from a southern perspective: Language ideologies and practices of Brazilian parents in Norway.

Rafael Lomeu Gomes

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Family multilingualism from a southern perspective: Language ideologies and practices of Brazilian parents in Norway

This article derives from a three-year ethnographic project carried out in Norway focusing on language practices of Brazilian families raising their children multilingually. Analyses of interview data with two Brazilian parents demonstrate the relevance of examining intersectionally the participants' orientation to categorisations such as social class, gender, and race/ethnicity. Additionally, I explore how parents make sense of their transnational, multilingual experiences, and the extent to which these experiences inform the language-related decisions they make in the home. Advancing family multilingualism research in a novel direction, I employ a southern perspective as an analytical position that: (i) assumes the situatedness of knowledge production; (ii) aims at increasing social and epistemic justice; (iii) opposes the dominance of Western-centric epistemologies; and (iv) sees the global South as a political location, not necessarily geographic, but with many overlaps. Finally, I draw on notions such *as intercultural translation*, *contact zones*, and *equivocation* to discuss the intercultural encounters parents reported to have. The overarching argument of this article is that forging a southern perspective from which to analyse parental language practices and beliefs offers a theoretical framework that can better address the issues engendered by parents engaged in South-North transnational, multilingual practices.

Key words: family multilingualism, family language policy, southern perspective

1 Introduction

The new directions explored by recent family language policy (FLP) studies have shed light on language practices taking place in under-examined geographical locations, where different family constellations use languages beyond the more commonly studied Germanic and Romance languages (Curdt-Christiansen 2018; King 2016; King and Lanza 2018; Lanza and Lomeu Gomes fc.; Lomeu Gomes 2018; Smith-Christmas 2017). Yet, this subfield has reproduced a substantial limitation present more generally in sociolinguistics, namely, the over-reliance on northern voices, experiences, and epistemologies to the detriment of southern ones (Levon 2017; Milani and Lazar 2017). Working towards redressing the lack of southern voices, experiences and epistemologies, in this article I examine the ways Brazilian parents make sense of their

transnational and multilingual experiences in Norway, and the language ideologies that inform their language practices in the home. In doing so, my goal is to advance family multilingualism into novel empirical and theoretical directions.

Feeding into the burgeoning body of research on family multilingualism in Norway (e.g. Johnsen, forthcoming; Lanza 1997; Obojska 2019; Obojska and Purkarthofer 2018; Purkarthofer and Steien 2019), the empirical focus on Brazilian parents in Norway allows us to gain a better understanding of this understudied group of people in their South-North migration trajectories as they raise their children multilingually (for Brazilian families in the UK, see A. Souza 2010, 2015; for Latin Americans in Norway, see Pájaro 2011).

Theoretically, I emphasise the relevance of unveiling the connections between the lived experiences of parents in intercultural encounters and broader social, cultural, economic, and political processes from a southern perspective. This gives us a more nuanced understanding of the language ideologies and practices of multilingual families, particularly those engaged in South-North migration. More specifically, in this article my interests lie in understanding:

- how Brazilian parents make sense of their transnational, multilingual experiences in Norway, and
- what discourses inform parental language practices in the home as they raise their children multilingually.

While these foci resonate with current research on family multilingualism (e.g. Curdt-Christiansen 2016; Moustaoui Srhir 2019; Soler and Roberts 2019), I argue that an express engagement with epistemological and ontological assumptions akin to a southern perspective (e.g. Castro-Gómez and Grosfoguel 2007; Connell 2007; Mignolo and Walsh 2018; Santos 2014, 2018) opens up the field of FLP in ways that incorporate into its agenda issues and discussions that remain untapped by current literature. More precisely, the overarching claim put forth in this article is that a southern perspective allows us to understand the racialised structures of inequality that the participants have to navigate in their daily lives; to incorporate the intersectional dynamics of social class, gender and race/ethnicity into analyses of language ideologies and practices of families; and to examine the historical links between contemporary language ideologies and practices, and social hierarchisations that date back to colonial times.

In the following, I first present contextual information about Brazilians in Norway. Subsequently, I discuss how family multilingualism research has been carried out within the Eurocentric canon of knowledge production in the past two decades. Then I describe the data generation and analysis processes and discuss my locus of enunciation. In the analysis I examine data from interviews with two Brazilian mothers living in Norway. Before presenting some concluding thoughts, I discuss how this particular case can contribute to family multilingualism research more broadly.

2 Brazilians in Norway: South-North entanglements

The South-North migration trajectories experienced by the participants in this study are part of a broader flow of people. Considering the scarcity of published studies about Brazilians in Norway, it is worth scrutinising the discourses about each country that circulate in the media. On the one hand, it is not uncommon for Norway to be portrayed by Brazilian and international media outlets as the happiest country to live in (Borenstein and Keyton 2017). A solid welfare system that grants free access to healthcare and education, high salaries, and policies to promote gender equality are usually some of the highlighted characteristics in representations of Norway. On the other hand, Brazil has regularly been represented as one of the countries with the greatest gaps between the richest and the poorest in the world (Canzian et al. 2019) where the public healthcare and education systems are deficient, violence marks the lives of many, especially the black, male youth, and corruption scandals involving politicians have been very frequent in the past few years (for more on inequality in Brazil, see Arretche 2018 and Schwarcz 2019). The warmth and resilience of its more than 200 million people, great achievements in football, the flair of samba dancers, especially women, and its delicious and varied cuisine give less distasteful tinges to some representations of Brazil in the media and possibly populate the imaginary of people across the globe. Fundamental to the overarching argument presented here is that these representations are deeply rooted in histories of colonialism. And if we want to better understand how these representations and histories are interlocked in the lived experiences of people engaged in South-North migration, a suitable framework is needed. Inspired by and feeding into similar endeavours (Heugh and Stroud 2019; Milani and Lazar 2017; Pennycook and Makoni 2019; L. M. T. Souza 2019), a potential alternative is the southern perspective employed here.

The stereotypical generalisations mentioned in the media representations above could be – and in fact are, as I demonstrate – made relevant in the ways participants make sense of themselves (and are perceived) as immigrants in Norway. In particular, the cases in this article speak to processes of exclusion similar to those discussed by Goffman (1963: 139) in relation to how stigmatisation of certain ethnic/racial groups serves as a way of keeping them from "various avenues of competition".

Focussing on a certain group of immigrants based on their nationality, however, brings about certain methodological issues. One of these issues relates to how the category immigrant is defined. For example, Statistics Norway (2019) has six different immigrant categories, as shown in Table 1 (adapted from Statistics Norway 2019) below.

Table 1 - Brazilians in Norway

Born in Norway to Norwegian-born parents	559
Immigrants	5042
Norwegian-born to immigrant parents	309
Foreign-born with one Norwegian-born parent	608
Norwegian-born with one foreign-born parent	3077
Foreign-born to Norwegian-born parents	529
Total	10124

A related (and not less problematic) issue is that dealing with such fixed categorisations risks essentialising national identities in ways that do not correspond to one's self-identification. Furthermore, official data usually fail to consider those whose migratory status does not conform to national immigration laws. Based on the criteria employed in the categorisation of table 1 (i.e. country of birth and nationality of parents), the mothers in this study would belong to the group of 5,042 people (i.e. born in Brazil to non-Norwegian parents), while their daughters would belong to the group of 3,077 people (i.e. Norwegian-born with one foreign-born parent).

Moreover, the gender differentiation available in official data is also bound by a binary understanding of gender. For instance, within the "immigrants" category (i.e. 5,042), the dichotomic division between males and females (roughly 25% and 75%, respectively) overlooks the need to consider a fuller spectrum of gender and sexuality identities and expressions, mirroring a current limitation of FLP studies (King 2016).

With these remarks in place, the understanding of national identity employed here is motivated by Alcoff's (2005: 42) more general definition of identities as "positioned or

located lived experiences in which both individuals and groups work to construct meaning in relation to historical experience and historical narratives".

One of the few publications about Brazilians in Norway is Horst, Pereira and Sheringham's (2016) study on the role of social class as a factor to account for the incentive or inhibition of further migration of Brazilians to Norway. Combining quantitative and qualitative methods, they demonstrate that there are two main reasons for Brazilians to migrate to Norway: family reunification and work. Moreover, among Brazilians in Norway, there seems to circulate an idea that women from the poorest areas in Brazil migrate to Norway through family reunification once they marry Norwegian men; whereas middle class professionals come from wealthier regions in Brazil and migrate due to work (Horst et al. 2016).

Another case in point is Zapponi's (2015) investigation of psychological constructs such as motivation and expectation as they relate to the migration experiences of Brazilian women in Norway. Drawing on the analysis of narratives elicited through semi-structured interviews, she claims that having access to the Norwegian welfare system had a positive impact on the participants' adaptation process.

The findings of these two studies serve as good entry points to start an investigation about the intersection of class and gender in the examination of the lived experiences of Brazilians raising their children multilingually in Norway. Family multilingualism research has already considered the pertinence of these social categorisations in examinations of the language practices of families. Yet, its theoretical apparatus has been fundamentally limited in that it either conceals its ontological underpinnings or draws largely on Eurocentric ways of conceptualising social reality, as I discuss below.

3 Family multilingualism within the Eurocentric canon

In one of the pioneering childhood bilingualism studies focussing on parents' perspectives and expectations regarding their children upbringing, Piller (2001) examined the choices parents made in relation to what languages to use in the home, the ideologies that informed these choices, and how they were put into practice. She (Piller 2001: 61) pointed out that parents who make careful choices about what languages to use in the home are particularly "elite bilinguals", highlighting the relevance of social class as an analytical construct to investigate family multilingualism.

Expanding Piller's (2001) findings, King and Fogle (2006) claim that such careful planning is not a phenomenon restricted to the elite as many of the participants in their research belonged to the middle class. In this study, I follow King and Fogle's (2006) proposition that parents evaluate information from external sources against their personal beliefs, and suggest that, in order to better understand the language practices of transnational parents engaged in raising children multilingually, it is crucial to also examine the experiences of these parents in intercultural encounters as they make sense of their transnational trajectories.

Similarly, Curdt-Christiansen (2009) examined the circulating ideologies drawn upon by Chinese families in Canada. Among her findings, Curdt-Christiansen highlights the relevance of parents' educational expectations for the development of family language policies. Curdt-Christiansen (2009: 353) asserts that more attention should be paid to the role of social factors on the ways in which parents think about literacy and language and define their literacy and language practices: "there are various forces and contexts in society that will exert influence on family language ideologies and practices and may give rise to different language agendas."

High educational expectations and aspirations of parents are also noted by Kirsch (2012) in her investigation of Luxembourgish multilingual mothers raising their children in Great Britain. Kirsch (2012) contrasts the circulating discourses about multilingualism in Luxembourg, where the use of more than two languages is highly valued, with the prevailing discourses in England, where a monolingual ideology is more salient. Kirsch (2012) finds that the mothers demonstrated to be willing to promote the acquisition of Luxembourgish by their children. However, the mothers themselves felt pressured to be integrated into British cultural practices, which ended up reflecting on the more frequent use of English in interactions with their children.

In general, these studies have highlighted the relevance of in-depth examinations of how parents (re)appropriate circulating discourses about language and culture as they make sense of themselves and raise their children multilingually. Particularly, they have stressed the importance of categorisations such as social class (e.g. level of education of parents, aspirations for social mobility) and gender (e.g. mainly mothers have been interviewed) in better understanding the relations between language practices and ideologies in the home and broader social, cultural, economic, and political processes. Nonetheless, the theoretical frameworks that anchor the analysts' understandings and operationalisation of such categorisations (i.e. social class and gender) are left unclear.

In her interdisciplinary conceptual framework of FLP, for example, Curdt-Christiansen (2018) appropriately calls attention to how processes taking place in the sociolinguistic, sociocultural, socioeconomic, and sociopolitical contexts exert influence on (and are influenced by) language practices in the home through the mediation of language. An aspect of this framework that could benefit from further attention is the ontological and epistemological underpinnings of these broader social, cultural, economic, and political processes. Thus, the southern perspective employed here moves in this direction by drawing on social theory to provide a theoretical anchoring for analyses of social reality; also, it exposes the imbalance between northern and southern perspectives in family multilingualism research.

Furthermore, it builds on an ongoing discussion about the epistemological and ontological limitations of Eurocentric critical thought. For example, Latin American scholars involved with the decolonial turn (e.g. Castro-Gómez and Grosfoguel 2007) suggest that frameworks aiming at discussing social, cultural, and epistemic inequalities, and economic-political relations between the centres and peripheries would be severely limited unless they attend to the historical links between the European colonisation in Latin America and hierarchisations of social categorisations such as social class, gender, and race/ethnicity.

In turn, Santos (2018) points to the affinities between conservative and critical European thought. That is, considering the contemporary levels of social and epistemic inequalities, and the global rise of political forms that are strengthened by and perpetuate these inequalities, Santos suggests that Marxian-inspired (but not only) scholarship that self-identifies with the label "critical" have not been particularly successful in understanding and, more importantly, changing the world in order to diminish or end these inequalities, especially for those in or from the global South. An "alternative thinking of alternatives" (Santos 2018: 6) is required, he claims.

In a similar vein, Connell (2007) advocates for a kind of social science that expressly engages with knowledge produced beyond the European-American canon. She suggests that in theoretical texts in sociology, it is usually the case that ideas developed in the peripheries are exotically mentioned in passing, rather than being central to the process of theory building.

To summarise, the southern perspective employed here examines, in light of the historical links of colonialism and hierarchisations of social categorisations, how participants engaged in South-North migration make sense of their transnational

trajectories and their language practices in the home. Taking a step towards increasing social and epistemic justice, it also engages with alternative ways of thinking of alternatives, without overlooking the important contributions developed in the North. In doing so, it brings epistemological and ontological assumptions about social reality developed in the global South to the centre of the debate, while establishing a South-North dialogue (Kerfoot and Hyltenstam 2017; see also Coetzee 2018).

4 Data generation, data analysis, and locus of enunciation

This study is part of a larger, three-year ethnographic project in which I examined the language practices and ideologies of Brazilian parents raising their children multilingually in Norway. Participants were recruited via online posts on social media groups and in social events catered to Brazilians in Oslo, Norway.

Focussing on data generated in semi-structured interviews with two Brazilian mothers raising their respective child multilingually in Norway allowed me to tap into how they make sense of their transnational experiences in intercultural encounters in Norway, and their language practices in the home. The interviews covered themes such as participants' transnational practices, language beliefs and practices, and life before migrating to Norway. They took place between June and August 2017, and each lasted just over one hour. The names are pseudonyms and some details have been purposefully omitted to protect the participants' identity.

The audio recordings were fully transcribed and each generated a Word document containing between 10 and 11,000 words. Upon transcribing and listening to the recordings multiple times, certain social categorisations (i.e. social class, gender, and race/ethnicity) emerged as relevant for the present analysis. Thus, subsequently, instances where participants oriented to such categorisations were coded under the respective social categorisation. For example, references to education, employment, and lifestyle were coded under social class; references to social roles of men and women were coded under gender; references to skin colour, body attributes, and national and regional affiliations were coded under race/ethnicity. This procedure was analytically helpful for it provided an overview of how salient such references were in the whole corpus.

A complicating, and illuminating, factor was that certain passages could be coded under more than one category, which is what was done. Therefore, the categories here are not

conceived of as mutually exclusive. Rather, in line with an intersectional approach (Cho et al. 2013), they are understood as interconnected, hierarchical constructs traversed by complex, multi-layered relations of power.

Drawing on epistemological assumptions of discourse analysis, critical sociolinguistic, and linguistic ethnographic approaches (Copland and Creese 2015; Heller et al. 2018, Martin-Jones and Martin 2017; Pennycook 2001), I acknowledge that my social position as a Brazilian male university researcher could have influenced the participants' responses in many ways. Likewise, my social position also shapes the locus of enunciation from which I develop my analysis.

For example, attending to the reflexive nature of data generation and analysis in ethnographic research, it became clearer to me how certain aspects of my social position gained specific meanings in the interview context. I told the participants about how certain events and experiences of my life trajectory coalesced into my current research interests: e.g. moved to the United States to study English upon completing secondary education in Brazil, worked in Brazil in the field of language education for over ten years, pursued a postgraduate degree in the UK, and a yet higher academic degree in Norway.

It could be argued, then, that education was perceived to be the main driver behind my moving to different countries, which is a somewhat sound, though certainly partial, perception. However, this perception might as well have concealed my background growing up in Brazil on the blurred fringes between working class and middle class. Still, having the choice and the material means to go abroad to study is a privilege enjoyed by few who belong to the capital, cultural, and academic elites in Brazil.

This short autobiographical note about my transnational practices and socioeconomic background illustrates a few of the multiple ways my social position might have influenced participants' responses. In fact, in the next section I point to ways it arguably did.

I move on now to analyse excerpts of interviews with each of the two focal participants to discuss (i) how they oriented to social categorisations such as social class, gender and race/ethnicity as they made sense of their transnational, multilingual experiences as Brazilians in Norway, and (ii) the language ideologies informing parental choices in relation to language use in the home as they raise their children multilingually.

5 Brazilian parents in Norway: intercultural encounters and family multilingualism

The analyses that follow do not aim at providing a snapshot of "Brazilians in Norway", as if such generic and abstract entity existed. Rather, examining the particular case of two Brazilian mothers shows precisely how such overriding categories can be problematic, but it also allows us to consider certain similarities. This is in line with Santos' (2014: 356) understanding of culture, which further motivates the ethnographic approach of this study: "Cultures are monolithic only when seen from the outside or from afar. When looked at from the inside or at close range, they are easily seen to comprise various and often conflicting versions of the same culture."

Below I present ethnographic portraits of the two focal participants, Berenice and Adriana, and analyse data excerpts where they narrate certain intercultural encounters they experienced in Norway. This is followed by analyses of data excerpts related to their children's multilingual upbringing. Their cases are particularly interesting because they reveal how two Brazilian women with different backgrounds orient to social categorisations such as social class and race/ethnicity as they navigate complex life circumstances, disputed identity positions, and multilingual language practices in Norway. Moreover, examining their cases through an intersectional approach allows us to gain a better understanding of the connections between broader social, cultural, economic, and political, and language ideologies and practices in the home.

5.1 Intercultural encounters

Berenice: 'No, I don't dance samba.'

Berenice (47) came to Norway in 2006 for a sabbatical year in which she wanted to take a Master's degree and ponder upon her life. She met her Norwegian husband, William, who was also attending a course at the Norwegian higher education institution where she studied, and they have a 7-year-old, Norwegian-born daughter, Claire. Before moving to Norway Berenice lived in England two times in the 1990s, first to study and travel, then to do an internship. She reported to speak Portuguese, Spanish, English and Norwegian.

(1)

> eu vivo aqui há 11 anos, e sem— e sempre tem algum episódio que, que— sim, que me julgam rapidamente pelo, né, esse estereótipo de ser brasileira. De ser por exemplo "Ah então tu dança samba." "Não, (@@@) não danço samba. Eu sou do Sul do Brasil (@@@), a gente não sabe dançar samba, nós somos muito sem graça." (@@) Ou, por exemplo, a

própria, essa [atributo físico da pessoa referida] aqui, que é 100% norueguesa. Quando eu a conheci ela disse "Ah que legal, do Brasil, é? Ah então, mas tu já é assim norueguesa, né?" eu disse "Não. Eu já moro há 11 anos." "Ah então tu já é norue—" "Não! Eu sou brasileira morando aqui."

I have lived here for 11 years, and al—there's always an episode where, where—yes where [they] judge me quickly for, right, this stereotype of being Brazilian. Of being for example "Oh, so you dance samba." "No, (@@@) [I] don't dance samba. I'm from Southern Brazil (@@@), we can't dance samba, we are very dull." (@@) Or, for example, the very, this with [physical attribute of the referred person] here, who is 100% Norwegian when I met her she said "Oh how nice, from Brazil, eh? Oh so, but you already are like Norwegian, right?" I said "No. I have lived here for 11 years". "Oh then you already are Norwe— "No! I'm Brazilian living here."

Berenice starts off by emulating a dialogue with a generic interlocutor about her dancing skills. Her interlocutor assumes that, being from Brazil, she can dance samba. She squarely rebuts it and elaborates on it, relating her inability to dance samba to her place of origin (i.e. Southern Brazil).

In what follows, a shift from singular personal pronoun (*I'm from Southern Brazil*) to plural personal pronouns (*we can't dance samba*, *we are very dull*) takes place. This pronominal shift can be understood, at an interactional level, as a strategy employed by Berenice in order to negotiate her identity as belonging to a larger community whose members are not particularly highly-skilled in dancing samba (for the role of pronominal switches in narratives of immigrants, see De Fina 2003). Moreover, it can be argued that Berenice attempts to deconstruct a supposedly stereotypical assumption that, stemming from an understanding of cultures as homogenous entities, circulates at a societal level, namely, that Brazilians dance samba.

However, although the social categorisation race/ethnicity is not explicitly mentioned, the reference to a region of Brazil with a large concentration of white people descending from, mainly, German immigrants is made as a way to distinguish between people from Southern Brazil (dull, can't dance samba) and Brazilians from other regions. Interestingly, what lies behind this distinction is the reification of Brazilians from other regions, with different racial/ethnic backgrounds, as supposedly good samba dancers. Therefore, while she seems to challenge stereotypes about Brazilians in Norway (or abroad), by making a distinction between people from Southern Brazil and from other areas in Brazil, Berenice, albeit inadvertently, legitimates and reproduces these stereotypes, and distances herself from them. This illustrates how, at a discursive level, practices of differentiation based on racial/ethnic markers that originate in colonial times in Brazil linger on to this date. The intersectional links between race, gender and

nationality, and the ability to dance samba have also been discussed by Melo and Ferreira (2017). In their multimodal analysis of t-shirts marketed in the occasion of the FIFA World Cup of Soccer 2014, they note that while the racialised, hypersexualised bodies of black women are discursively construed as being able to dance samba and having extraordinary skills in bed, the bodies of white women do not carry these indexical meanings.

Excerpt 2, below, immediately followed excerpt 1:

(2)

e várias outras situações assim, muitas, muitas. De um— de tu ter que explicar o tempo inteiro o teu background, explicar da onde tu veio. E— e às vezes, sabe o que que eu tô fazendo? (mmm) Uma coisa que eu não— assim, eu nunca faria isso, mas eu tenho feito. É exagerar um pouco— é…assim, quase uma coisa um pouco feia assim "Olha, eu venho de uma família que tem dinheiro" (ah) ai, é super feio dizer isso (@@@@@@) "…que tem educação. Eu estudei em colégio particular. Eu estudei." eu sei que isso parece um pouco assim elitista mas é pra eles— é porque eles, o norueguês como tem essa, essa cultura muito homogênea, ele não consegue entender essas diferenças culturais e de educação que nós temos, que eles praticamente não tem. E eles sempre botam então "Ah Brasil é terceiro mundo, é— veio pra cá pra ter uma vida melhor" sabe?(uhum) Tem muito esse— "Não, olha, eu vim de uma família que sim, que todos são advogados, tem educação. Sim, na minha casa tudo funciona direitinho."

and many other situations, like, many, many. Of a— of you have to explain all the time your background, explain where you come from. And— and sometimes, do you know what I'm doing? (mmm) One thing that I'm not— like, I'd never do this, but I have been doing it. It is to exaggerate a bit—yes…like, it's almost one thing [that's] a bit ugly, like "Look, I come from a family that has money…" (ah) oh…it's super ugly to say this (@@@@@@) "…that has education. I studied in private school. I have studied." I know this seems a bit elitist but it's for them— it's because they, the Norwegians, since [they] have this, this very homogeneous culture, they can't understand these cultural and educational differences which we have, which they basically don't have. And they always put then "Oh Brazil is Third World, it's—[you've] come here to have a better life." you know? (uhum) there's a lot of this— "No, look, I come from a family that yes, they are all lawyers, have an education. Yes, at home everything works properly."

In this excerpt Berenice suggests intercultural encounters as the one narrated in excerpt 1 are recurring (*and many other situations, like, many, many*). Later on, Berenice hesitatingly admits to saying certain things as a way to prevent her interlocutor from making erroneous assumptions about her background. The hesitance is marked by interruptions and hedges (*like*). Also, she seems to be in conflict with her own decision, noted in the contradiction in her explanation that what she has been doing is something that she would '*never*' do. Moreover, she evaluates negatively her exaggeration when presenting herself using the term *ugly*, supporting the idea that she experiences a degree of conflict. This sort of hesitance, (e.g. with interruptions and hedges) has been referred to as disclaimer (Hewitt and Stokes, 1975: 3), "a verbal device employed to ward off and defeat in advance doubts and negative typifications which may result from intended

conduct". Additionally, it could be argued that our (perceived) shared class position and my laughters could have influenced what Berenice decided to share with me in this part of the interview.

Moreover, Berenice feels compelled to say such, in her account, reprehensible things as a way to provide her interlocutor with a more nuanced understanding of the heterogeneity of the Brazilian society related to the distribution of wealth, in opposition to the homogeneity that allegedly characterises the Norwegian society. The use of first (we) and third (they) person plural pronouns serves as clear markers that distinguish Brazilians from Norwegians by discursively constructing Norwegians as a homogenous group.

Towards the end of this excerpt, Berenice illustrates another seemingly recurring exchange between a generic Norwegian interlocutor and herself. Her interlocutor is represented as relating the socio-economic context of Brazil to Berenice's reason to migrate to Norway (to have a better life). Again, she quotes herself explicitly talking about the socio-economic status of her family and making reference to the material conditions of her Brazilian household where '*everything works properly*'. Therefore, transplanting the socioeconomic stratification present in Brazil to the Norwegian context, Berenice indicates that social class and race/ethnicity are relevant social categorisations to which she orients in the negotiation of her identity in intercultural encounters in Norway.

Adriana: 'because they look at you and come to a conclusion'

Adriana (37) came to Norway in 2013 to live with her Norwegian boyfriend (now husband) Håkon, and to do a postgraduate degree (Master). They have a 2-year-old, Norwegian-born daughter, Emma. Besides Portuguese, Adriana reported to speak Norwegian, English, French, and another Germanic language; she learned the latter three in another European country, where she lived for more than five years before moving to Norway. Adriana was looking for a job as a school teacher.

(3)
porque eles já olham pra você e tiram a conclusão, entendeu? Então eu acho que a língua é a questão geral de todas as profissões, é a primeira coisa você #### a língua. E como eu disse, eu acho muito difícil você ahm... ter a língua igual a eles, a gente nunca vai ter, nunca, nunca vai falar igual eles. Podemos falar muito bem, podemos falar corretamente a gramática, mas você sempre vai falhar numa palavra. E...*ja* em alguns casos é... é suficiente

because they look at you and come to a conclusion, you know? So I think that language is the general question of all professions, it's the first thing you #### the language. And like I said, I think it's very difficult you erm…to have the language like them, we will never have,

never, never going to speak like them. We can speak very well, we can speak correctly the grammar, but you will always fail in a word. And… ja in some cases it's… it's enough

The excerpt above begins with a reference to the close association between one's physical attributes and their ability to speak Norwegian made by interviewers when coming in contact with job applicants for the first time. That is, Adriana, who has curly black hair, suggested that by one's looks, the recruiters make (possibly wrong) assumptions about their proficiency in Norwegian, leaving immigrants (whose looks deviate from a stereotypical image of what a typical Norwegian looks like, whatever this may be) behind in hiring processes. Though somewhat implicitly, Adriana orients to physical attributes related to race/ethnicity and linked to language competence. This interpretation is strengthened considering other parts of the interview. For example, when Adriana mentioned how her daughter Emma greets people in Portuguese if their hair is like her mother's: '*Sometimes she sees someone like with the hair like mine and she says "Hello"*'.

As Adriana continues, she draws on a native speaker ideology that positions Norwegians as possessors of a degree of proficiency in Norwegian unattainable to her and other immigrants. It is noteworthy, nevertheless, that Adriana reported to have acquired the necessary level of knowledge of Norwegian to work as a school teacher after living in Norway for two years. Moreover, while still talking about job recruitment processes, Adriana suggested that having connections was crucial for a positive outcome in the selection process: '*Yes, unfortunately it's like this. You only get a job if you know someone.*'

In sum, in reflecting upon her multilingual experiences in the Norwegian labour market context, Adriana presented three interconnected factors that might hold immigrants back in relation to Norwegian job applicants: knowledge of Norwegian, networks, and physical attributes. In a sharp analysis of the intricate relationships between language competence and performativity of selves in job interviews, Pájaro (2018) proposes that the resources that are valued in the Norwegian labour market are not evenly distributed among different speakers. Adriana's case supports the idea that, despite having sufficient knowledge of Norwegian according to what is formally required, in the job interview context this resource is not accessible to her because of her looks. In fact, her case draws attention to how physical attributes linked to race/ethnicity may not only play a role in recruitment decisions, but also gain more weight than other supposedly objective criteria such as language proficiency attested by standardised exams.

(4)

> Pra mim é bom, porque eu...eu não tenho a vida de imigrante. A maioria dos imigrantes, vamos falar a verdade, tem a vida mais difícil. Você tem que trabalhar, você tem que fazer isso...eu tenho sorte, entendeu. Eu tenho sorte, tenho uma vida mais, melhor, então, eu não tenho problema, né. ### arrumo um trabalho...tanto que eu pude esperar todo esse tempo pra poder arrumar um trabalho que eu quero. Então, pra mim a adaptação não é, não foi tão difícil.Tenho família, a gente faz esqui...então eu levo a vida igual...os noruegueses
>
> *It's good for me, because I… I don't have the immigrant life. Most immigrants, let's speak the truth, have a harder life. You have to work, you have to do this…I'm lucky, got it. I'm lucky, I have a more … better life, so, I have no problem, right. ### get a job… so much so that I could wait all this time to get the job I want. So, for me the adaptation is not, wasn't difficult. I have a family, we go skiing…so I live a life like...the Norwegians*

In excerpt 3, Adriana sees herself in disadvantage in relation to Norwegians when looking for a job and, thus, aligning herself with other immigrants. Interestingly, when talking about her adaptation process upon migrating to Norway (excerpt 4), Adriana positions herself in alignment with Norwegians and in disalignment with immigrants. She acknowledges that her privileged position ('*I'm lucky'*, '*I have a more… better life*') distinguishes her from other immigrants, who have to work in whatever kind of employment is most readily available to them. In contrast, Adriana has had the possibility of not working until finding the job she wants as a school teacher.

Finally, Adriana made it clear in the interview that it was a combination of reasons that brought her to Norway: her relationship and her studies. Knowing that I moved to Norway to work towards my doctorate, Adriana explained '*Like you. I came to study.*' This gains particular relevance when we consider the stereotypical image that circulates locally already mentioned, that is, that Brazilian women married to Norwegian men in order to move upwards socially (Horst et al. 2016).

Excerpts 1–4 are accounts of how Adriana and Berenice were perceived by their interlocutors to belong to social positions participants felt did not correspond to their own perceptions. It was evident that participants' orientation to social categorisations such as social class, gender, and race/ethnicity was paramount in the renegotiation of their identities, be it in the interview context or in the intercultural encounters themselves.

Looking at it from an intersectional perspective helps us to gain a better understanding of the phenomenon at hand. Moreover, a decolonial approach affords a suitable framework to analyse the intersection of social categorisations in light of historical colonialism and contemporary transnational relations of global coloniality. Castro-Gómez and Grosfoguel (2007: 13, my translation) claim that "the international division

of labour between centres and peripheries, as well as the ethnic-racial hierarchisation of populations, formed during the many centuries of European colonial expansion, have not been significantly transformed with the end of colonialism and the formation of nation states in the periphery." Put differently, the judicial-administrative independence of former colonies has not been accompanied by a significant structural change in the relations between centre and peripheries in that social hierarchisations of gender, race/ethnicity and class are still sustained nowadays. This assumption is particularly useful to think with when we consider the South-North transnational trajectories of the participants.

5.2 Family multilingualism: language ideologies and language practices

As noted, language beliefs and practices in the home are influenced by parents' own lived experiences which, in turn, are connected to broader social, economic, cultural, and political processes. The southern perspective employed in the analyses in 5.1 helped us to scrutinise these connections as parents make sense of their transnational, multilingual experiences in intercultural encounters. Also, I pointed to how these broader processes are yoked to colonial histories, in that hierarchisations of class, gender and race/ethnicity have outlived, though assuming different forms, the independence of former colonies. With this in mind, I now turn to an examination of the language ideologies that inform parental language practices in the home.

Berenice: "And even the way of perceiving the world"

(5)

> Ahmmm então eu acho que só tem vantagem. Primeiro por isso, que é uma língua que ela aprende de gra— gratuitamente. Segundo que eu acho que ela vai ter uma visão de mundo muito maior, uma f—, uma coisa de adaptação assim melhor do que as crianças que têm só uma língua. (uhum). Ahmmm eu vejo que pra ela aprender inglês é ridículo de tão rápido, também.
>
> *Ermmm so I think there's only advantage. First for that, that it's a language that she learns for fre— free of charge. Second that I think she is going to have a worldview much greater, a f—, one adaptation thing like better than the children who only have one language. (uhum). Ermmm I see that for her learning English is ridiculously quick, also.*

In the passage above, Berenice answers my question about potential advantages and disadvantages of bilingualism. She notes three perceived advantages of Claire knowing more than one language from birth. The first advantage can be framed within an understanding of learning languages as an investment that would generate an asset to be capitalised on in the future; a similar view was held by parents in Curdt-Christiansen's (2009) and Piller's (2001) studies. The second suggests that knowing more than one

language can influence one's worldview to the point of enabling greater adaptability. And the third points to a potential cognitive advantage afforded by learning more than one language, that is, learning two languages from birth can facilitate learning another language afterwards.

It is difficult to grasp what Berenice meant exactly by greater worldview or better adaptation. However, after mentioning that she had read that a bilingual child has greater ability to learn more languages and to learn in general, Berenice continued:

(6)

> E até a forma de perceber o mundo, sabe? É dife— eu vejo que é diferente, exatamente pelo fato de elas viajarem mais pra outro país (mmm), de conviverem com crianças— com outra, em outra língua, não é? (uhum) De vivenciarem outras coisas, de comerem outra comida, de brincarem de outra forma (mmm).
>
> *And even the way of perceiving the world, [you] know? It's diffe— I see that it's different, exactly by the fact that they travel more to another country (mmm), that they live with children— with another, with another language, isn't it? (uhum) That [they] live other things, eat other food, play in another way (mmm).*

It becomes clearer now what was meant by greater worldview and better adaptation. It seems Berenice believes that being bilingual yields the possibility of experiencing alterity or 'otherness': going to another country, playing different games, eating different food, and being with others. However, it is not only a matter of doing different things, but rather doing different things differently. What Berenice seems to be getting at is that multilingualism enables her daughter to be more culturally aware and acceptant of diversity, a sort of a lay version of linguistic relativism: knowing one language influences how one perceives the world; knowing multiple languages allows one to perceive the world in multiple ways. Kirsch (2012) also found this to be a belief about advantages of bilingualism reported by a mother.

As we have seen, in Excerpt 2, Berenice suggests that the lack of appreciation of her interlocutor for the heterogeneity present in Brazil was motivated by the alleged homogeneity present in the Norwegian culture. Raising Claire to have Portuguese in her repertoire could then be seen as a way of giving her the resources needed to perceive the world differently, and, thus, be appreciative of cultural differences. Additionally, appreciating cultural differences, knowing multiple languages, and travelling to different countries can be conceived of as socialising practices that constitute a cosmopolitan class *habitus*, a distinctive trait of the Brazilian upper classes (Pulici 2014).

Adriana: "I see how good it is to speak many languages"

(7)

> Eu acho que é natural. Eu acho que falar a minha língua é natural eu falar– eu sei ela, ela entende, entendeu. Mas, eu acho que é importante. E pra ela é bom, porque eu vejo como é bom falar várias línguas e se eu falo com ela é uma coisa simplesmente de graça pra ela. Que ela vai aprender. Então– mas assim eu acho que é natural falar sua língua.
>
> *I think it's natural. I think that speaking my language is natural for me to speak– I know she, she understands, you see. But I think it's important. And for her it's good, because I see how good it is to speak many languages and if I speak to her it's something completely free for her. That she will learn. So– but like I think it's natural to speak one's language.*

The passage above suggests that Adriana bases her beliefs about multilingualism and her language practices in the home on her own life experiences. For example, elsewhere she talked about how knowing English, the language of instruction of her master's degree, was crucial to her decision to move to Norway: "*If I didn't know English I wouldn't have done the master's here.*" In addition, a fuller picture of Adriana's language beliefs and practices cannot disregard the discriminatory situations in recruitment processes she reported to have experienced. So when she says she can pass on Portuguese to Emma at no cost just by speaking it to her, it is relevant to consider how Adriana experienced the negative outcome of assumptions that correlate physical traits to language proficiency.

Elaborating on possible advantages and disadvantages of bilingualism, Adriana commented "*I think that not knowing languages deprives you of opportunities*". Interestingly, the main reason Adriana gave for learning Norwegian was her pregnancy. Learning Norwegian was not a priority upon her arrival, for she was focussing on her postgraduate studies in English. However, when Adriana knew she was pregnant, she reported to have thought "*Now I have to learn, right? Having a child who speaks a language I don't know…no, for me that won't work*."

The underlying assumption there is that, growing up in Norway, Emma is going to learn Norwegian anyway. Therefore, not only it feels natural for Adriana to speak Portuguese to Emma, but doing so would also benefit Emma in the future, potentially in the labour market too.

In this subsection, I analysed data excerpts in which parents talked about their language practices in the home, revealing certain language beliefs they seem to hold. As I hope it has become clear, I do not expect to draw causal relationships between the ways Brazilian parents make sense of themselves based on intercultural encounters they reported to have with their language practices in the home. Yet, in line with the studies reviewed above, I underline the importance of scrutinising the social, cultural,

economic, and political processes relevant to parents' lives in order to better understand how they make sense of themselves as members of multilingual families raising their children multilingually. My overarching claim has been that carrying out this endeavour from a southern perspective elucidates a set of problematics that has not been attended to in family multilingualism research. In the section below I elaborate on what I mean by a southern perspective and sketch out its potential contributions to family multilingualism research.

6 Contributions of a southern perspective to family multilingualism

Building on the claim that family multilingualism research has been limited in reach because of its Eurocentric bias (Smith-Christmas 2017), I suggest that an important part of addressing this limitation entails examining critically the epistemological tenets upon which current family multilingualism research draws, as well as its implications. Moving in that direction, a helpful epistemological stance can be that taken by Castro-Gómez (2007) who, in the context of decolonising the university in Latin America, proposes the notion of *hubris* of the zero point: an epistemological model which presumes the objectivity of the place from which the analyst produces knowledge (i.e. the zero point). A similar discussion is proposed by L. M. T. Souza (2019) in his analysis of theoretical developments in applied and sociolinguistics related to recent conceptualisations of language that do not acknowledge the locus of enunciation as a fundamental aspect of theory building. In dialogue with these positions, I suggest taking a southern perspective is a way of addressing this current limitation in family multilingualism research.

Drawing on epistemological assumptions of southern theory (Connell 2007), epistemologies of the South (Santos 2014, 2018), and decoloniality (Castro-Gómez and Grosfoguel 2007; Mignolo and Walsh 2018) the southern perspective proposed here is an analytical position that: (i) assumes the situatedness of knowledge production; (ii) aims at increasing social and epistemic justice; (iii) opposes the dominance of Western-centric epistemologies; (iv) sees the global South as a political location, not necessarily geographic, but with many overlaps.

Like the participants in this study, my life trajectory has also been marked by South-North migrations and it is undeniable that these experiences have shaped my current research interests.

Moreover, a Southern body trained in academic institutions in the global North permits me to inhabit a locus of enunciation that resembles Anzaldúa's (1987) borderlands, a location of border culture where border thinking (Mignolo 2000) takes place. As such, in this article I have attempted to put forward a South-North dialogue in a critical sociolinguistic vein, expressly engaging with epistemological assumptions present in the theorising done by scholars from the global South, while also employing concepts developed in Northern contexts.

More specifically, conceptualising intercultural encounters as events where intercultural translation takes place allows us to conceive of them as sites for reaching cultural understandings that acknowledge differences. Santos maintains that intercultural translation

> consists of searching for isomorphic concerns and underlying assumptions among cultures, identifying differences and similarities, and developing, whenever appropriate, new hybrid forms of cultural understanding and intercommunication that may be useful in favoring interactions and strengthening alliances among social movements fighting, in different cultural contexts, against capitalism, colonialism, and patriarchy and for social justice, human dignity, or human decency (Santos 2014: 212).

While Santos (2018) highlights the collective dimension of intercultural translation as a tool that allows for different social movements to share experiences that might be mutually beneficial in their struggles against different forms of oppression, I explore it at an individual dimension as persons from different cultures come together on mundane encounters. A particularly helpful concept that strengthens the analytical potential of intercultural translation is 'contact zones' (Pratt, 1991: 34), understood as "social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today." Santos himself elaborates on this concept and proposes translational contact zones as spaces where

> rival normative ideas, knowledge, power forms, symbolic universes, and agencies meet in usually unequal conditions and resist, reject, assimilate, imitate, translate, and subvert each other, thus giving rise to hybrid cultural constellations in which the inequality of exchanges may be either reinforced or reduced. Complexity is intrinsic to the definition of the contact zone itself. (Santos 2014: 342).

However, the work of intercultural translation does not imply completeness or finitude as if a static culture A would find in its particular, predefined sets of practices and ideas expressions that could be perfectly transposed into culture B, matching culture's B respective sets of practices and ideas. Rather "[t]ranslation […] implies incompleteness and ignorance and the need to overcome both; translation refers also to the fact that overcoming both of these in order to attain the desire of completeness is beyond realization." (L. M. T. Souza 2019: 20).

Similarly, Viveiros de Castro (2004) characterises the work of translation as essentially marked by equivocation. This is not an understanding of translation as a practice that is doomed to failure. Rather, what should be envisioned as a premise of translation is, in fact, the realisation that communication by differences is possible. Arguing that equivocation is at the foundation of relations, Viveiros de Castro (2004: 10) proposes that: "[t]o translate is to presume that an equivocation always exists; it is to communicate by differences, instead of silencing the Other by presuming a univocality—the essential similarity—between what the Other and We are saying."

In sum, combining the notions of intercultural translation (Santos 2014) and equivocation (Viveiros de Castro 2004) opens up the possibility of conceiving of intercultural encounters taking place in contact zones (Pratt 1991) where different cultures meet. Importantly, these notions spouse an understanding of culture as dynamic, complex and marked by heterogeneity. While these ideas would not sound too unfamiliar to family multilingualism scholars working with ethnographic approaches, the southern perspective I propose here gives adequate theoretical grounding to the analysis and shifts the power/knowledge imbalance of contemporary sociolinguistic research.

7 Conclusion

The South-North entanglements illustrated by the migration trajectories examined in this study pose questions that have underpinned the endeavour undertaken here:

- How do the Brazilian histories of colonialism influence the continuous structural reproduction of inequality in contemporary migratory flows?
- In what ways do power relations at the intersection of social class, gender, and race/ethnicity operate in the participants' account of intercultural encounters in Norway?

- How does the lived experience of Brazilian parents abroad shape their language beliefs and language practices in the home?

I suggest that a southern perspective gives a suitable theoretical anchoring for the particular kinds of questions brought about the South-North entanglements analysed here. That is, a southern perspective to family multilingualism is particularly relevant to analyse the experiences of Brazilians in Norway because, following Castro-Gómez and Grosfoguel (2007), it considers that despite having gained independence at a political level, the hierarchical economic and cultural relations between centres and peripheries have not been significantly transformed with the end of colonialism. Also, it perceives the complex interweaving of power relations that reifies hierarchies of social class, gender, and race/ethnicity. Finally, in trying to unveil the forces that operate in transnational migration flows between central and peripheral countries, it gives equal footing (unlike Marxian World-system analyses in general, and most Anglo-Saxon postcolonial approaches) to the political economic dimension of the material relations of production, and to the symbolic, discursive realm where these relations gain meaning (Castro-Gómez and Grosfoguel 2007).

The studies reviewed here underlined the importance of scrutinising the social, cultural, economic, and political processes relevant to parents' lives in order to better understand how they make sense of themselves as members of multilingual families raising their children multilingually. In Section 5, I explored how parents made sense of their transnational, multilingual experiences in intercultural encounters in Norway. As noted, the participants reported experiencing conflicting situations in which their interlocutors positioned them in places they felt did not capture well their complex social positions. Attending to their orientations to social categorisations such as social class, gender, and race/ethnicity from an intersectional perspective was crucial to better understand how power relations – that encompass social, cultural, economic, and political dimensions – between centre and periphery are discursively reproduced and challenged in intercultural encounters.

In conclusion, drawing on a decolonial approach, the southern perspective proposed here reveals how hierarchisations of social categorisations present in the Brazilian context are transplanted in complex ways to the Norwegian context as multifaceted power relations are discursively and materially reproduced and resisted. This helps us to gain a better understanding of how the broader social, cultural, economic, and political

processes, particularly those relevant for those engaged in South-North migration trajectories, shape the ways parents make sense of their transnational, multilingual experiences which, in turn, influence their language practices in the home.

Transcription Conventions

—	Em dash indicates self-interruption
( )	Parentheses enclose backchannels
“ ”	Quotation marks enclose reported speech
@	Laughter (the number of @ roughly indicates the number of pulses)
[ ]	Square brackets enclose insertions[1] and omissions[2] at the transcription stage
#	Number sign indicates incomprehensible speech

[1] Portuguese is a null-subject language; subjects have been inserted in the English version of transcripts if they were dropped in the original recording.

[2] In Excerpt 1, Berenice refers to a physical attribute of the person she was talking about. I chose to omit it because it is irrelevant for my analysis, but it could facilitate the identification of the referred person.

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Article III

Talking multilingual families into being: Language practices and ideologies of a Brazilian-Norwegian family in Norway.

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Talking multilingual families into being: language practices and ideologies of a Brazilian-Norwegian family in Norway

This article sets out to explore the relationships between parental language ideologies, and language use and negotiation in parent-child interaction. The primary dataset is composed of around 10 hours of audio recordings of everyday interactions of family members (i.e. a Brazilian mother, a Norwegian father, and a 3-year old Norwegian born daughter) during a three-year ethnographic project undertaken in Norway. A discourse analytical approach with a focus on instances of language negotiation led to the identification of a set of seven parental discourse strategies in the corpus: addressee-bound, code-bound, code rebuttal, filling gaps, rephrase, say 'x', and 'what is–' frame. Results indicate that, contrary to what parents might expect, drawing on discourse strategies that make explicit references to language names might hinder the active use of the child's full linguistic repertoire. Conversely, discourse strategies that only implicitly serve as requests to use a given language can foster continuous multilingual language use. Finally, I suggest that strategies that make explicit references to named languages could be linked to a one-person-one-language-one-nation ideology, and I demonstrate how these strategies help us understand the ways family members navigate their complex national affiliations and talk their multilingual selves into being.

Keywords: parental discourse strategies; family multilingualism; language socialization; family language policy

Introduction

In the evening of 02 February 2018, the following interaction took place between a Norwegian father (Håkon, 45), a Brazilian mother (Adriana, 37), and their Norwegian-born daughter (Emma, 3) in their home in Oslo, Norway, just as Adriana prepared dinner. Håkon picks up a drinking glass (Figure 1) and, addressing Emma, says "Se pappa er brasileiro" (Look daddy is Brazilian). Emma promptly replies "neeei det er ikke din" (nooo that is not yours), and Håkon repeats "brasileiro". Trying to elicit Portuguese from her daughter, Adriana intervenes – "fala é meu copo" (say it's my glass) – but Emma screams "não" (no). As a closure to this 10-second event, Adriana says "du– du liker å provosere Emma" (you– you like to provoke Emma).

Figure 1. Glass with Brazilian Flag

This short excerpt shows how Håkon mobilises multimodal affordances of the glass as he draws on linguistic and semiotic resources to achieve interactional goals. Perhaps more than claiming Brazilianess, Håkon's act could be interpreted as teasing, as noted in Adriana's closing comment. Interestingly, Håkon must have known picking up

that specific glass and saying those specific words could have somehow startled Emma. Also interesting to note is Adriana's attempt to elicit Portuguese from Emma (i.e. "fala é meu copo").

Despite its brevity, this excerpt taps into a number of interrelated issues that are worth further investigating, namely, the role of language in the construction of national identity, the forging of familial roles, and negotiations of language choice. Framing these issues within current debates in family language policy (FLP) (Curdt-Christiansen 2018; King 2016) and language socialisation (Garrett and Baquedano-López 2002; Ochs and Schieffelin 2008) allows us to ask questions such as: how do transnational families navigate their complex national affiliations as they go about mundane tasks in the home? What discourse strategies may encourage or hamper the use of one's multilingual language repertoire? What language ideologies inform these language practices?

In this article, I explore possible answers to these questions. Moreover, by anchoring the analysis of the interconnections between language practices and ideologies on debates about recent conceptualisations of language, I aim to expand the theoretical scope of current research on family multilingualism.

Multilingual family making

A steady growth in the number of publications going under the umbrella term 'family language policy' has been noted in the past decade (AUTHOR XXXX). Longitudinal ethnographic studies have become more common (e.g. Gallo and Hornberger 2019; Smith-Christmas 2016), the language practices and ideologies of diverse family constellations have been investigated (e.g. da Costa Cabral 2018; Coetzee 2018; Kendrick and Namazzi 2017; Zhu Hua and Li Wei 2016), and child agency has been foregrounded (e.g. Fogle 2012; Said and Zhu Hua 2019; Wilson 2019). In fact, the

central position of child agency in recent studies echoes a foundational assumption in language socialisation studies, namely that "the child or the novice (in the case of older individuals) is not a passive recipient of sociocultural knowledge but rather an active contributor to the meaning and outcome of interactions with other members of a social group" (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986, 165).

Apart from following previous studies in the employment of an ethnographic approach and in the emphasis on child agency in language socialisation processes, this study draws on interactional sociolinguistic and discursive analytic approaches to analysing parent-child interactions. Specifically, it assumes family members' identities are interactionally constructed and negotiated through talk as families go about their daily routines and exigencies (Gordon 2009; Tannen, Kendall, and Gordon 2007).
Lanza (1997) pointed to some of these issues in her seminal sociolinguistic study, which provided new insights concerning the roles of language input and context on early bilingualism. Building on the assumption that context and language are co-constitutive of one another, Lanza (1997; 1998) examined the influence of discourse strategies (Gumperz 1982) employed by parents in the negotiation of contexts that supported or discouraged bilingual language use (see also Juan-Garau and Pérez-Vidal 2001).

While I share Lanza's (1992; 1997; 1998) interest in exploring the dialectical relationship between language and context, I take heed of current debates promoted by recent conceptualisations of language. Specifically, I follow García and Li Wei's (2018, 1) understanding of language as "a dynamic repertoire and not as a system with socially and politically defined boundaries."

However, it is worth noting that the terms *Portuguese* and *Norwegian* are used to describe the participants' language practices because, as I will show, they are made relevant from an emic perspective. Likewise, the term *multilingual* used to describe the

families in my article is not to be confounded with an understanding of language as an abstract entity that can be separated, labelled and counted. Building on debates stemming from recent conceptualisations of language (e.g. Busch 2017; Jørgensen 2008; Li Wei 2018; Otheguy, García, and Reid 2018), I am interested in how the employment of a "translingual lens" can shed new light on the entanglements between monoglossic language ideologies (García and Torres-Guevara 2009) and multilingual language practices in the home.

A few studies have started to move precisely in this direction. In line with current trends in language policy research, Van Mensel (2018) draws on an understanding that family language policies emerge through practice and, as such, are dynamic and contextually bound to propose the somewhat overlapping notions of 'multilingual familylect' and 'multilingual family language repertoire'. Analysing interactional data from two multilingual families in Belgium, Van Mensel discussed the role of shared language practices (e.g. use of certain linguistic features such as lexical items or pronunciation, as well as language alternation practices) in forging family ties.

Similarly, Hiratsuka and Pennycook (2019) conducted a longitudinal ethnographic study investigating the language practices of an English, Japanese, and Spanish speaking three-generation family in Australia. The notion 'translingual family repertoire' is introduced to capture how the language practices in the home serve both to promote the construction of familial bonds and to express the dynamism that characterises tasks in which family members are engaged in their daily lives.

In sum, the lines of inquiry laid out above instantiate a broader shift in current sociolinguistic approaches to family multilingualism, namely, from the hitherto prevailing focus on the relationship between language input and language output to how

family members deploy linguistic and semiotic resources available to them as they make sense of their multilingual, transnational selves in their daily lives (King 2016).

This shift has also yielded the foregrounding of agency, identity, and ideology in the agenda of researchers investigating the complex, multi-layered entanglements between language practices and ideologies of multilingual, transnational families (King and Lanza 2017). Feeding into this debate, this article unpacks the connections between the multilingual language practices of family members as they go about their daily lives and language ideologies that inform these practices.

Context of the study

In the past fifty years, transnational migration flows have affected considerably the demographic makeup of Norway. A ninetyfold increase in the number of Norwegian-born to immigrant parents, from 2 000 in 1970 to nearly 180 000 in 2019 has been recently reported (Statistics Norway 2019). The category "Norwegian-born to immigrant parents" can be problematic because, having an essentialist undertone, it risks obfuscating the complexities involved in self-identified national affiliations. Yet, the shifting ethnoscape (Appadurai 1996) in Norway has motivated investigations in fields such as education, social anthropology, and sociolinguistics (e.g. Aarset 2016; Beiler 2019; Bubikova-Moan 2017; Opsahl and Røyneland 2016; Svendsen 2018).

Little is known, however, about the language practices and ideologies of Brazilian parents and their children in Norway (but see Lindquist and Garmann 2019). Relatedly, the language practices and ideologies of parents engaged in migration trajectories from the Global South to the Global North as they attempt to raise their children multilingually still require further elucidation (AUTHOR XXXX; Smith-Christmas 2017). This study takes a step towards addressing these limitations.

Circulating language ideologies in Brazil and in Norway

As noted by Cavalcanti and Maher (2017), a circulating hegemonic ideology characterises Brazil as a markedly monolingual country. This ideology is the result of concerted efforts initiated in colonial times and followed up by national language policies implemented in the twentieth century that aimed precisely to promote Portuguese as the national language of Brazil (Cavalcanti and Maher 2017). These processes conceal the *de facto* linguistic diversity that has been part of the Brazilian history from before the invasion of the Portuguese in the 1500s. Moreover, these processes are integral to the circulation and sedimentation of the one-language-one-nation ideology that has informed contemporary language practices in various ways.

In urban centres in Norway such as Oslo, recent sociolinguistic research has focused on the linguistic diversity accompanying transnational flows of people that have taken place in the past decades (e.g. Svendsen and Røyneland 2008). Moreover, current language ideologies across different contexts in Norway have been infused by normative assimilationist discourses (e.g. Connor 2019; Lane 2010; Røyneland 2018; Sollid 2013).

One important similarity between Norway and Brazil is that the linguistic diversity of both countries is oftentimes overridden by discourses of homogeneity sustained by, and feeding into, a monoglossic language ideology. As I will argue, this monoglossic language ideology, rendered here as a one-person-one-language-one-nation (OPOLON) ideology, informs certain parental discourse strategies observed in interactions of the members of the family who participated in this study.

Participants and methods

In the past three years, I have followed three Brazilian-Norwegian families raising their children multilingually in Norway to better understand the connections between their

language practices and language ideologies. The methods of data generation used in this project included an online questionnaire, semi-structured interviews, participant observations and field notes, and audio recordings made by the participants themselves (AUTHOR XXXX). Triangulating the different methods allowed me to gain a more in-depth, multifaceted understanding of how parents make sense of themselves and their practices in raising their children multilingually.

In this article, I focus on the language practices and ideologies of one particular family because, as I will argue, it is a telling case of how a child as young as three years of age, (Emma) negotiates language use in the home in interactions with her mother (Adriana) and father (Håkon) in response to discourse strategies used by her mother that make explicit references to named languages and national identities.

Adriana was born in Brazil, where she worked as a school teacher, and lived there until she moved to Luxembourg in the mid-2000s. Since 2013, Adriana has been living in Norway with her partner Håkon, a state-agency employee. They have a daughter, Emma, who was born in Norway and turned 3 years and one month old (3;1) before the audio recordings started. Adriana reported to be able to speak Norwegian, English, French, and Luxembourgish, and Håkon reported to speak English and Norwegian. Håkon enrolled in Portuguese classes early in 2017, but he stopped attending the classes after a few months. The self-recordings, made by Adriana between October 2017 and May 2018, amounted to nearly 10 hours of interactional data that were partly transcribed using ELAN 4.9.4[1].

As noted, one of the goals of this study is to better understand the extent to which certain discourse strategies supported the use of one's multilingual language

[1] I thank research assistant Ingeborg Anna Bakken for transcribing parts of the audio recordings.

repertoire. Therefore, the passages that were transcribed were those where language negotiation and elicitation between family members took place. Furthermore, the longitudinal design of the research allowed me to ask the participants, in follow-up visits, about contextual information that the audio recordings failed to capture (for example, objects participants were using in certain interactions).

In the following two sections, I discuss the roles of discourse strategies employed in parent-child interactions in hindering or promoting multilingual practices and the ways in which a monoglossic language ideology, namely OPOLON (one-person-one-language-one-nation), is both enacted and resisted in interactions.

Talking a Multilingual Family into Being

In this section, I explore how the participants draw on their multilingual language repertoires to talk their multilingual selves into being as they go about mundane tasks in their everyday lives. To do so, I took three iterative analytical steps. First, I identified the parental discourse strategies (PDSs) in the corpus. Then, I examined the pragmatic functions of the PDSs and compared these PDSs with those reported in previous literature. Finally, I analysed the role the PDSs had in encouraging or hindering Emma's multilingual language use. Attending to the reflexivity of qualitative data analysis, the iterative aspect of the analysis allowed me to move back and forth between the three distinct, yet interrelated, analytical steps in a non-sequential way (Srivastava and Hopwood 2009; Wortham and Reyes 2015). In the following subsections, I unpack each stage of this three-step analysis.

Parental Discourse Strategies: definitions and examples

Following Lanza's (1997) notion of parental discourse strategies, I focused initially on the identification of discourse strategies employed by parents in child-parent

interactions to negotiate language choice. Listening to the recordings multiple times, making notes, and preliminarily coding allowed me to identify a set of seven PDSs that were used in interactions between Adriana, Emma, and Håkon to negotiate language choice.

This set of strategies is not conceived of as a normative array of strategies employed universally in parent-child interactions across time and space. On the contrary, the underlying assumption is that these strategies are locally and temporally situated. As such, it is possible that other strategies are employed in interactions in this family, but the recordings failed to capture them. Relatedly, even though Adriana was instructed to make recordings of at least 20 minutes, we cannot rule out the possibility that the frequency of use of certain discourse strategies by the participants was influenced by the participants being aware of the recorder. Still, the PDSs discussed here are relevant for explicating certain multilingual aspects of family-making in the case of this family and can shed light on specific aspects of theories of multilingual language practices and language ideologies.

In Table 1, I present each of the seven PDSs (i.e. addressee-bound, code-bound, code rebuttal, filling gaps, rephrase, say 'x', and what is– frame), their respective definitions, and examples to illustrate how they appeared in the corpus.

In order to better understand the role of the PDSs in language negotiation in parent-child interactions, I examined what the PDSs accomplished interactionally, as shown in the following section.

Parental Discourse Strategy	Definition	Example
Addressee-bound	Speaker refers to self or other as a determiner of code.	How do you speak with mummy?
Code-bound	Speaker refers to code eliciting production in referred code.	How do you say it in Portuguese?
Code rebuttal	Speaker explicitly rebuts production of their interlocutor in a given code.	Enough. It's not *nok*, it's enough.
Filling gaps	Speaker leaves utterances incomplete expecting interlocutor to complete them.	Little shells of my lo–
Rephrase	Speaker rephrases what their interlocutor uttered.	Emma: jeg er ikke baby (I'm no baby) Adriana: não, não é bebê, é criança (no, [you] are not baby, [you] are a child)
Say 'x'	Speaker gives explicit directions as to what their interlocutor should say.	Say 'Bye, see you later.'
What is– frame	Speaker asks open-ended questions.	What is this figure?

Table 1. Parental Discourse Strategies: Definitions and examples.

Pragmatic functions of Parental Discourse Strategies

The focus of this analytical step was on what the PDSs accomplished in interaction. This allowed me to identify the different pragmatic functions of each PDS in my corpus, described in Table 2.

Some of these PDSs have been reported in previous literature. For example, in Lanza's (1997) "repetition", the adult repeats what the child said using the other language. The *rephrase* identified in my corpus encompasses the repetition of words uttered previously in Norwegian and in Portuguese (see also Abreu Fernandes 2019 and Norrick 1991 for a similar strategy used with a corrective purpose).

Additionally, the *say 'x'* strategy has received ample coverage in the language socialisation literature (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986). Ochs (1986, 5) claims this "prompting routine" is usually (but not necessarily) characterised by the presence of an

imperative verb form initiating the utterance. In my corpus, instances where the imperative verb form was in sentence-final position were also found (i.e. Excerpt 4, line 10).

Parental Discourse Strategy	Pragmatic Functions
Addressee-bound	explicit requests to speak Portuguese (and not Norwegian).
Code-bound	explicit requests to speak Portuguese (and not Norwegian).
Code rebuttal	explicit requests to speak Portuguese (and not Norwegian).
Filling gaps	teach and elicit polite forms ("plea–", "than–"), prayer, and songs; also to elicit lexical items ranging from animals ("dragon-fl–"), demonym ("Brazi–"), and terms of address ("my lo–").
Rephrase	expand, correct, or introduce terms in Portuguese of what was said just before in Norwegian or in Portuguese; also to demonstrate agreement or understanding.
Say 'x'	elicit production of specific words, phrases, or full sentences in Portuguese.
What is– frame	initiate, change (e.g. "Emma what are you going to do tomorrow?"), or elaborate on topics ("Why are you doing like this, my love?").

Table 2. Pragmatic Functions of Parental Discourse Strategies

What is– frame resembles Lanza's (1997, 262) "minimal grasp" in which "the parent relies primarily on the child to resay the repairable utterance". In the corpus analysed here, however, the use of the *what is– frame* was not intended to encourage the child to resay something, but it was used oftentimes to initiate a conversation (see also 'leading questions' in Ochs 1986).

Notably, the PDSs addressee-bound, code-bound, and code rebuttal shared the same interactional goal, namely, to have the interlocutor switch to Portuguese. Gafaranga (2010, 256) referred to the strategies used by participants to request that a

certain language is used as "other-initiated medium repair". However, though present in some of the excerpts analysed by Gafaranga (2010), explicit references to named languages (i.e. Kinyarwanda) were not particularly relevant in the analysis. In contrast, I suggest references to named languages are crucial to better understand negotiation of language choice in parent-child interactions. Particularly, I show in detail below that explicit requests to use Portuguese might not reach the intended goal (i.e. excerpts 2, 3, and 4), whilst implicit forms of language elicitation allow Emma to draw more freely on her linguistic repertoire, which includes Portuguese (i.e. excerpt 1).

PDSs promoting or hindering multilingual language use

Here I explore the extent to which the use of certain PDSs allowed Emma to draw more freely on her linguistic repertoire or hindered the (intended) use of Portuguese. Furthermore, the analysis below points to the complexity of parent-child multilingual interactions as sites where family members go about their daily activities while simultaneously accomplishing multiple interrelated social actions such as the employment of discourse strategies to sanction or promote the use of certain languages, the ongoing construction of parent-child ties, and the negotiation of national identities.

In excerpt 1, below, Emma had just wet part of her clothes so Adriana was going to change them.

(1) *eu sou criancinha feliz*
16.02.2018 (00:08:50 – 00:09:57)

01 Emma:	**esse aqui não**–
	this here is not–
02 Adriana:	**vem cá vem • vem cá**
	come here come • come here
03 E:	**não é minha • mamãe não é minha**
	it's not mine • mummy it's not mine
04 A:	**não é da mamãe**
	no it's mummy's
05 E:	**esse aqui** fra **mamãe**

this here from mummy
06 E: hva står det mamma?
what does it say?
07 A: Adriana
08 E: Adriana
09 A: mhmm
10 E: det er ikke buksa min
these are not my trousers
11 A: **não**
no
12 E: det er ikke min
these are not mine
13 A: **não não é Emma [não**
no it's not Emma no
14 E: [jeg har ingen som denne som like deg
I have no one like this like you
15 A: mm
16 E: jeg har ikke like som deg
I don't have like you
17 A: **não sabe por quê? porque você é criança • mamãe é grande**
no [you] know why? because you're child • mummy's big
18 E: [((starts crying))
19 A: [**Emma quem é criança?**
Emma who's child?
20 E: ((continues crying))
21 A: **quem é criança da mamãe?** hm?
who's mummy's child?
22 E: jeg er ikke baby
I'm no baby
23 A: **não • não é bebê é criança**
no • [it/you] is/are not baby is/are child
24 E: **eu sou bebê não**
I'm baby not
25 A: **não é criancinha [feliz**
no [you] are happy little child
26 E: [**eu sou– eu sou criancinha feliz**
I'm– I-m happy little child
27 A: [/ja/
/yes/
28 E: [fra mamma
from mummy
29 A: **criancinha feliz da mamãe**
mummy's happy little child

Excerpt 1 illustrates how Emma drew on lexical items belonging to different named languages in a way that communication with Adriana was, arguably, not hampered by explicit language negotiation strategies. Put differently, none of the PDSs used – i.e. rephrase (lines 13, 23, and 29) and what is– frame (lines 19 and 21) – make explicit

references to any named language; yet, Emma produces utterances fully in Portuguese (lines 03, 24, and 26).

The first 17 lines revolve around Emma's realisation that she does not have clothes like her mother's. In line 17, working with contrastive categories to teach about intergenerational differences, Adriana explains this is the case because Emma is a child and Adriana is an adult. Emma then starts crying for, based on how the conversation unfolds, she understands 'child' to mean 'baby' (lines 21 to 24), a categorisation she refuses.

From line 25 onwards, perhaps attempting to raise her daughter spirits, Adriana positions Emma as mummy's happy little child (*criancinha feliz da mamãe*). This position is taken up by Emma, who draws on her emerging multilingual repertoire to say "eu sou criancinha feliz–" (line 26) "fra mamma" (line 28). This is finally rephrased once again by Adriana in the end of the excerpt (line 29).

In contrast to excerpt 1, in the following excerpt (2) the use of PDSs that made explicit references to languages (i.e. code-bound and code rebuttal) did not actually encourage Emma to draw on her full linguistic repertoire and speak Portuguese, as Adriana intended her to.

(2) *Emma é Norueguesa?*
23.10.2017 (00:06:16 – 00:06:50)

01 Emma:	kan jeg hjelpe deg? *can I help you?*
02 Adriana:	nei kan du ikke ikke hjelpe meg *no you can't can't help me*
03 A:	**não precisa não** *there's no need*
04 E:	jeg vil *I want*
05 A:	**como é que fala em português?** *how do you say it in Portuguese?*
06 A:	**como é que fala em português?** *how do you say it in Portuguese?*
07 E:	kan jeg hjelpe deg? *can I help you?*

08 A: **não não é aí é norueguês • Emma é norueguesa?**
no no it's not then it's Norwegian is Emma Norwegian?
09 E: **não Emma é brasile–**
no Emma is Brazili–
10 A: **então fala mamãe posso te ajudar?**
then say mummy can I help you?
11 E: fordi jeg va– kan jeg knappen– fordi– trykke tre
because I wa– can I the button – because– push three
12 A: **trê– aí no meio aqui pode só nesse**
thre– there in the middle here [you] can just in this
13 E: **esse aqui**
this here
14 A: ja
yes
15 A: ah
16 E: jaaaa
yeeees
17 A: **ah muito bem Emma**
ah well done Emma
18 E: nå trykker vi [/tre/?
now we push /three/?
19 A: [**não é só um**
no it's just one
20 E: **não**
no
21 A: **e a comida agora? vamos bora soprar? vamos soprar?**
and the food now? come let's blow? let's blow?

In this passage, possibly trying to emulate actions that Adriana and Håkon do, Emma wanted to get things done (i.e. set the table – line 01 – and push buttons of a certain electronic device – lines 11 and 18). On the other hand, Adriana kept the (rather unsuccessful) language negotiation going for the first 10 lines. Emma did not draw on Portuguese to reformulate the question as Adriana wanted, despite the use of explicit references to language (PDS code-bound in lines 05 and 06, and PDS code rebuttal in line 08).

Also relevant in this excerpt is Emma's national identity being explicitly referred to as an implicit request to use Portuguese. When asked by Adriana if she is Norwegian (line 08), Emma, born in Norway to a Norwegian father and a Brazilian mother, answers negatively and adds "Emma is Brazili–" (line 09).

While it could be argued that Emma's few utterances in Portuguese from line 09 were triggered by Adriana's insistent negotiation, Emma did not ask to help her mother in Portuguese, which seemed to be Adriana's goal in the first place. In response to Emma's utterance in line 13 (but also in line 02), Adriana used a Norwegian word (line 14), breaking the rigid rule Brazilians must speak Portuguese.

In sum, in a context where parents speak more than one named language, excerpt 2 points to the difficulties involved in strictly adhering to what has been termed OPOL (one-parent-one-language or one-person-one-language) to describe a strategy of bilingual acquisition in childhood in which parents "each speak their own language to the child from birth" (Romaine 1995, 184). Excerpt 3, below, is another case in point where not only Adriana does not follow an OPOL strategy, but also has little success in eliciting from Emma the formulaic polite phrase she expected.

(3) *tusen takk for maten min*
30.10.2017 (00:03:46 – 00:04:30)

01 Emma:	tusen takk for maten min
	thank you for my food
02 Adriana:	tusen takk for maten min? **e como é que fala em português? o**–
	thank you for my food? and how do you say it in Portuguese?th–
03 E:	**bigada, mamãe**
	ank you, mummy
04 A:	**pela comi**–
	for the foo–
05 E:	**comi**
	foo
06 A:	**comida fala • obrigada pela comida, mamãe**
	food say • thank you for the food, mummy
07 E:	mamma
	mummy
	(3.31)
08 A:	**fala obrigada pela comida**
	say thank you for the food
09 E:	jeg tror jeg våt der
	I think I wet there
10 A:	**que que você tá desenhando Emma?**
	what are you drawing Emma?
11 E:	jeg t– vet ikke
	I d– don't know

12 A: vet ikke? **fala eu não sei • que isso? é um monstro?**
don't know? say I don't know • what's this? a monster?
13 E: se
look

In the passage above, Emma and Adriana were drawing. Emma had just finished having a snack and put away an empty bottle with milk that she had drunk while drawing. In the beginning of the excerpt, Emma thanks for the food she had just had using a formulaic phrase (i.e. "takk for maten", thank you for the food), common in certain contexts of shared meals in Norway.

Using a combination of PDSs code bound and filling gaps (line 02), Adriana attempts to elicit the production of the same phrase in Portuguese, which is only partially successful, as Emma fills in the gap with "bigada mamãe (as in, "obrigada mamãe"). Adriana tries to expand the production by adding another filling gap (line 04), and Emma simply repeats the incomplete word "comi" (instead of "comida"). The PDSs say x is then used two times by Adriana (lines 06 and 08), which are not taken up by Emma.

A more pressing issue might be at stake for Emma seems to have noticed that she wet her clothes (probably when she put her bottle of milk away) and tries to draw Adriana's attention to this (lines 07 and 09). Adriana does not notice it (or does not respond to it immediately) as she asks questions about Emma's drawings (lines 10 and 12). Then Emma tells her mother to look at her clothes (line 13) and after the end of this excerpt Adriana asks if Emma wants to change her clothes.

To summarise, excerpt 3 is an example of how dealing with daily tasks (i.e. changing wet clothes) takes precedence over attempts at negotiating language, even when discourse strategies that make the request explicit are employed. This is another example showing the simultaneous and interrelated social actions taking place in a fast-paced interactional event such as those involving parent-child multilingual

conversations. Such conditions, which are not atypical in households with young children, can contribute to the difficulty of maintaining a strategy such as OPOL. In fact, I argue OPOL might be a better notion to describe an *ideology* rather than a *strategy*. Before elaborating on this point in the following section, I present one final excerpt (4) of interactional data.

Excerpt 4 is a telling example of the bidirectionality of language socialisation, that is, children are socialised to use language and through the use of language (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986) at the same time as their agency has important consequences in interactions with peers, caregivers and/or parents.

(4) *du må leke Norge på papa*

25.02.2018 (00:01:37 – 00:02:30)

01 Adriana:	# sove litt
	# sleep a little
02 Emma:	**mamãe**
	mummy
03 A:	nei • hvorfor ikke?
	no why not?
04 Håkon:	nei jeg skal ikke sove nå [jeg er ikke trøtt
	no I'm not going to sleep now I'm not tired
05 A:	[# slappe av
	# relax
06 H:	ja
	yes
07 H:	det går bra
	it's fine
08 E:	mamma
	mummy
09 E:	Håkon • gå å slapp av
	Håkon • go relax
10 A:	**vai dormir fala**
	go to sleep say
11 E:	sove
	sleep
12 E:	hu heter ikke Brasil mamma • hu heter Norge du må leke Norge på [pappa
	she isn't called Brazil mummy she's called Norway you must play Norway with daddy
13 A:	[**mamãe tem que falar norueguês com o papai?**
	mummy has to speak Norwegian with daddy?
14 E:	**sim**
	yes
15 A:	**ok**
16 E:	pappa

daddy

17 A: du må sove
you must sleep

18 E: du må sove du må slappe ave
you must sleep you must relax

19 A: ja pappa **vai** slappe av pappa • **tá [cansado**
yes daddy go relax daddy [he] is tired

20 E: hu vil ikke • hun vil ikke
she doesn't want to• she doesn't want to

21 A: **ele não quer?**
he doesn't want to?

22 E: da leker vi • mamma [leker vi
then we play mummy we play

23 A: [**agora mamãe não** heter **norueguês**, **não mamãe fala português**
now mummy isn't called Norwegian, no mummy speaks Portuguese

24 E: mamma– hvis– mamma –
mummy– if– mummy–

25 A: **que língua você fala com a mamãe**?
what language you speak with mummy?

26 E: **mamãe • brinca** med **eu**
mummy play with me

27 A: mmm

In the passage above (excerpt 4), Adriana and Emma were playing with Emma's toys. Adriana is usually the one who attempts to negotiate language use (oftentimes unsuccessfully) by making explicit references to language based on purportedly fixed connections between person-nation-language. In this excerpt, however, Emma is the one who reproduces what Adriana says as she tries to regulate which language should be used in addressing Håkon. Moreover, not only language was being negotiated in this excerpt, the activity was also at stake. So perhaps Emma conceded to her mother's explicit request to use Portuguese in order to persuade Adriana to continue playing with her. It is worth unpacking this excerpt in detail.

From line 01 to 07, a conversation unfolds between Adriana and Håkon, who was elsewhere but walked into the room where Adriana and Emma were playing. During this exchange, Emma tries to get Adriana's attention by calling her in Portuguese (line 02) and in Norwegian (line 08). Not being successful, Emma tells

Håkon to relax (line 09). Adriana uses the PDS 'Say x' (line 10), but Emma gives another directive (i.e. sleep, line 11).

Emma's utterance in line 12 needs clarification. *Hu* (also *hun* in some dialects in Norway) is a third-person singular feminine pronoun. It could be that Emma was referring to one of her toys. Another plausible interpretation, especially considering Emma's age and how she addresses Håkon in lines 09 and 16, is that Emma might have used the feminine form, rather than the masculine, to refer to Håkon. Adriana herself seems to have understood it this way, for Adriana asks (line 13) if she must address Håkon in Norwegian. In fact, when I played this back to Adriana in a subsequent visit, she confirmed Emma was addressing Håkon and that *heter* (is called) in this context meant *kommer fra* (comes from). Emma confirms she wanted Adriana to speak Norwegian to Håkon (line 14) and manages to have Adriana tell Håkon, in Norwegian, he should sleep (line 17).

Emma repeats what Adriana said, adding that Håkon should relax (line 18). In line 19, Adriana reaffirms her compliance to the terms laid out by Emma and continues using Norwegian, though drawing on Portuguese too (i.e. "vai" and "tá cansado") . In line 20, Emma says Håkon doesn't want to rest, perhaps subtly indicating they should focus on something else now. Adriana uses the PDS rephrase (line 21), and Emma proposes a resolution: since Håkon does not want to rest, Emma and Adriana should carry on playing (line 22). In line 23, Adriana craftily retrieves Emma's terms of language negotiation (line 12) to say she is not Norwegian and, thus, she speaks Portuguese (yet, drawing on Norwegian i.e. *heter*). Emma does not seem to abide by this rule for she continues to address her mother in Norwegian in line 24. Adriana then, in line 25, uses the PDS addressee-bound and finally manages to elicit some Portuguese from Emma (line 26).

Excerpts 1 to 4 tell us a few interesting things about the role of PDSs in promoting or not the use of Portuguese and, relatedly, and how participants draw on their multilingual repertoires in forging familial bonds as they go about their daily lives. The first excerpt contained no explicit requests for Emma to use Portuguese, and Emma drew more freely on her emerging linguistic repertoire, producing utterances fully in Portuguese. Conversely, excerpts 2, 3 and 4 illustrated how the use certain PDS (i.e. addressee-bound, code-bound, and code rebuttal) employed by Adriana did not necessarily lead to the intended use of Portuguese by Emma.

Interestingly, demonstrating contextual sensitivity to the languages used by her parents (cf. Lanza 1992), Emma incorporates Adriana's discourse strategies into her own language practices (i.e. excerpt 4). In doing so, Emma regulates the languages her parents should use according to their respective nationalities. The picture is more complex than this, however, because when Emma suggests Håkon should be addressed in Norwegian because he is Norwegian, she implicitly concedes it is acceptable that Adriana, admittedly Brazilian, speaks Norwegian. Rather than purposefully drawing on abstractions such as people, nation and language, what Emma seems to be doing is safeguarding Portuguese as a label to describe the language as a practice (Pennycook 2010) in and through which intimate, affective daughter-mother ties between her and Adriana are constructed.

In Gafaranga's (2010) study of the language practices of Rwandans in Belgium, he highlighted the crucial role of children in processes of language shift. Drawing on Fishman's (1991) call for investigations of face-to-face interactions in studies of language shift, Gafaranga (2010) demonstrated how a community-level process of shift from Kinyarwanda to French was taking place in interactions between children and adults, or language shift was talked into being.

Drawing on and feeding into contemporary sociolinguistic discussions about the ontological status of language, negotiation of identities, and practice-based understandings of language policy (García, Flores, and Spotti 2017; Tollefson and Pérez-Milans 2018), I move away from a Fishmanian language maintenance and shift paradigm, and advance studies on family multilingualism in an underexplored direction.

That is, the overarching goal of this article is not exactly to understand whether the language practices of Adriana, Emma, and Håkon could be representative of a broader process of maintenance of Portuguese (or shift to Norwegian) in future generations of a supposedly homogeneous Brazilian diaspora. Rather, the analysis of excerpts 01 to 04 focused on how family members draw on their multilingual language repertoires to forge family ties and navigate complex national affiliations as they negotiate language choice and go about daily tasks. Put differently, in this article I illustrate how members of this family talk their multilingual selves into being. In order to better understand this process, it is crucial to investigate the language ideologies that inform the language practices observed in the home, a discussion I now turn to.

One-person-one-language-one-nation ideology

Emma telling who should speak what language to whom seems to be a recurring situation which Adriana demonstrated being aware of, as the interview data illustrates. In the excerpt below from an interview (5), Adriana gives examples of what Emma says to regulate language use in the home:

(5) Interview with Adriana (30.08.2017)

> Mas ela, ela não deixa ele falar português. Aí se ele fala "obrigado", "obrigado, mamãe". E ele não– "Pappa er Norge" ela é bem clara nisso "Pappa er Norge. Mamma, Emma brasileira", "Emma brasileira", "Emma, você é norge?", "nei er ikke norge"@@@ (@@@). Aí eu falo com ela "Nós falamos– nós falamos português".
>
> *But she, she doesn't let him speak Portuguese. Then if he says "thank you", "thank you, mummy". And he no– "Daddy is Norway" she is very clear in it "Daddy is Norway. Mamma, Emma Brazilian", "Emma Brazilian", "Emma are you Norway?","No [I] am not Norway" @@@ (@@@) Then I say to her "We speak– we speak Portuguese".*

Moreover, in the following excerpt (6), I asked Adriana if she had established rules of language use in the home. Adriana said there are no rules, but she acknowledged telling Emma that they are Brazilian and, as such, they speak Portuguese, which suggests Adriana is the originator of this negotiating move. Also, Adriana seems to be aware of certain PDSs reported here, such as addressee-bound ("Emma, how do you speak with mummy?"), and rephrase ("So what she doesn't know I repeat.").

(6) Interview with Adriana (30.08.2017)

> Quando ela fala norueguês eu falo assim "Emma, como é que fala com a mamãe?" Aí ela vai– ela repete, ela sabe. O que ela não sabe eu falo, porque eu sei que ela não sabe [umhum] ela não sabe tudo. Então, o nível de norueguês dela é muito alto em relação ao nível de português [umhum]. Ela sabe se comunicar muito bem em norueguês. Então o que ela não sabe eu repito. Mas assim não regras (tá) não. Eu deixo mais– mas ela sabe /que/ comigo ela fala português. (umhum) @@@ "Mamãe não fala norueguês, mamãe er ikke norsk" @@@
>
> *When she speaks Norwegian I say: "Emma, how do you speak with mummy?" Then she goes– she repeats, she knows. What she doesn't know I say, because I know that she doesn't know (umhum) she doesn't know everything. So, her level of Norwegian is very high in relation to the level of Portuguese (umhum). She can communicate very well in Norwegian. So what she doesn't know I repeat. But like not rules (ok) no. I leave more– but she knows /that/ with me she speaks Portuguese. (umhum) @@@ "Mummy doesn't speak Norwegian, mummy is not Norwegian." @@@*

The interview data suggests that Adriana might use OPOL as a strategy. The interactional data presented here, however, shows that Adriana actually does draw on Norwegian in certain occasions (i.e. excerpts 2 and 4) when addressing Emma. Thus, instead of describing what parents do (cf. Romaine 1995), OPOL seems to be more appropriate to label the strategies that parents *report* to use. Contradictions between reported language use and language practices resonate with previous research findings (e.g. Curdt-Christiansen 2016) and motivate the analysis of interactional data undertaken here.

Furthermore, employing a "translingual lens" to analyse the conflation of parental reported language use with interactional data helps us see that OPOL as *strategy* carries in itself the assumption about the separateness of languages. From a "translingual lens",

rather than a *strategy*, it is more helpful to think of OPOL (or OPOLON) as a multilayered *ideology* carried on by parents. At an interactional level, it substantiates an understanding that in order to successfully raise children bilingually, parents should avoid drawing on their multilingual language repertoire and should, instead, use solely one language (but see De Houwer 2007). At a societal level, it speaks to the political dimension of the interconnections between the formation of modern nation-states, the invention of traditional understandings of language, and imagination of peoples as homogenous groups, all of which have been amply scrutinised and criticised (e.g. Makoni and Pennycook 2007; Piller 2016; Wright 2016).

Rethinking the notions of explicit and implicit in FLP

In her recent definition of FLP, Curdt-Christiansen mentions "explicit and overt" as well as "implicit and covert" to characterise the language planning of family members in the home. In her words: "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." (Curdt-Christiansen 2018, 420).

The analysis of interview data combined with the analysis of the interactional data suggests the distinction between explicit and implicit proposed by Curdt-Christiansen (2018) is insufficient to account for the language practices of Emma, Adriana and Håkon. It can be helpful to work with the notions of explicit and implicit, nonetheless, when examining the PDSs employed to negotiate language use, as shown in Table 3:

Parental Discourse Strategy	Type
Addressee-bound *How do you speak with mummy?*	Explicit references
Code-bound *How do you say it in Portuguese?*	
Code rebuttal *Enough. It's not nok, it's enough.*	
Filling gaps *Little shells of my lo–*	Implicit requests
Rephrase *Emma: jeg er ikke baby* *Adriana: não, não é bebê, é criança*	
Say 'x' *Say 'Bye, see you later.'*	
What is– frame *What is this figure?*	

Table 3. PDSs as Explicit References or Implicit Requests

Limiting the notions of explicit and implicit to distinguish discourse strategies, I propose that family multilingual practices can be regimented by discourse strategies that make explicit references to named languages or addressees, and discourse strategies that may serve as implicit requests for a certain named language to be used. Whether implicit or explicit, this is a categorical interactional property whose value can be empirically identified and described. Put differently, whether participants make implicit requests to elicit language or explicit references to named languages (or people who are expected to use those languages) is something that can be verified empirically through

analysis of interactional data. Additionally, interviews can be a productive way of examining if parents are aware of the discourse strategies employed by them, as I have shown.

Yet, discussing with parents the interactional consequences of the use of certain PDSs is something that was not covered in this study, but could generate insightful analyses. Similarly, the relevance of multimodal resources in multilingual interactions, noted in the drinking glass event (Figure 1), can be more aptly addressed if video recordings are employed.

Conclusion

The arguments put forward in this article tap into two levels of analysis. The first level concerns the interactional consequences, with an emphasis on language negotiation, of the parental discourse strategies employed in parent-child interactions. After identifying a set of seven PDSs used by members of this family (Table 1), I described the pragmatic functions these strategies accomplished in interaction (Table 2). Moreover, I suggested that while the use of certain PDSs might contribute to the flow of communication by allowing Emma to draw more freely on features belonging to her emerging linguistic repertoire, PDSs that make explicit references to the language or to the addressee as a way to request use of Portuguese does not necessarily lead to the actual use of Portuguese by Emma. I further argued that a close analysis of the interactional data led to rethinking the notions explicit and implicit, much used, but undertheorised, in FLP literature. I suggested these notions can be employed in the context of analysing language practices to distinguish PDSs that make explicit references to named languages and addressees with the intention to negotiate language from PDSs that can be thought of as implicit ways of eliciting language (Table 3).

The second level of analysis relates to the role played by PDSs in the ways family members make sense of their transnational, multilingual selves. Triangulating analysis of interactional data with interview data allowed me to identify a language regime (Kroskrity 2000) where language practices, informed by an OPOLON ideology, serve as metapragmatic indicators of who should speak what language to whom. This ideology resonates with a programmatic construction of a nationalist ethos that binds together a people to a language and a nation (Piller 2016; Wright 2016).

To be sure, my point is not to interpret the attempts by Emma, a three-year-old child, to regulate what languages should be used by/to whom as the result of ideological workings. However, in discussing how master narratives enter minor ones in reference to the role of monolingual state ideologies, Busch (2012, 13) reminds us that "constructs of national identity are internalized in the course of socialization". In this article, I demonstrated how circulating monoglossic language ideologies can inform localised language practices and influence parent-child interactions and the ways they make sense of their transnational, multilingual selves and socialise their children.

Finally, for over one century (cf. Ronjat 1913) studies have shown that parents can be very diligent in their planning of raising multilingual child. However, excerpts 1 to 4 showed that multiple social actions happen simultaneously in multilingual households, negotiating language choice being one of them. All these actions require different levels of engagement of parents or caregivers. In certain occasions, negotiating language choice might, quite understandably, not be prioritised over attending to more urgent needs. This would not sound as any novelty to people who have raised, taken care of, taught, observed, or interacted with children in another capacity.

Linking this discussion to an axiomatic assumption of a framework of language policy pervasively employed in FLP (i.e. Spolsky 2009; 2012) leads to the following

question: is language policy all about choices? Considering the points I made above, my answer is: maybe not (see also Pennycook 2017). I do not mean to suggest, however, that a better framework is needed to account for the language practices of families in general. Perhaps the question that is really worth asking, then, is: what are the consequences of employing epistemological models that aim at universality to analysing localised language practices of multilingual families? Trying to answer this question is beyond the scope of this article. However, exploring alternatives to universal models through critical, ethnographic approaches to multilingualism has proven to be a constructive endeavour (e.g. García, Flores, and Spotti 2017; Heller and McElhinny 2017; Makoni and Pennycook 2007; Martin-Jones and Martin 2017; Tollefson and Pérez-Milans 2018). Thus, drawing on such approaches could advance family multilingualism research in directions worth exploring.

Transcription Conventions

Roman type	Used for Norwegian
Bold type	Used for Portuguese
Italics type	Used for English
—	Em dash indicates self-interruption
?	Question mark indicates rising intonation
•	Dot indicates pauses
( )	Parentheses enclose backchannels
(( ))	Double parentheses enclose researcher annotation
[	Left square bracket indicates onset of overlap at word level
[ ]	Square brackets enclose insertions
“ ”	Quotation marks enclose reported speech

@	Laughter
/ /	Slashes enclose uncertain transcription
#	Number sign indicates incomprehensible speech

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Article IV

“The affective dimension of the linguistic repertoire of multilingual families.”

Rafael Lomeu Gomes

To be submitted