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Between pride and shame
Linguistic intermarriage in Australia from the perspective of the English-dominant partner

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For my parents,
Daniela Antoinette Torsh
and
Louis Avery Irving (1950-2016)
with all my love, gratitude and admiration.

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Abstract

Linguistic diversity in Australia is widely considered a social good, yet it exists in a context dominated by English monolingualism. This research sets out to examine this tension in a heretofore unexamined domain: linguistic intermarriage between English-speaking background (ESB) native-born Australians and language other than English (LOTE)-background migrants.

The research uses two main data sets, interviews and questionnaires, to examine participants' discursive representations of language learning, LOTE interactions, language challenges of migration for their partner and language issues in the family. Using a qualitative, theme-based analysis, this research seeks to identify the contradictory ways that participants engage with the LOTE(s) spoken by their partner.

The findings show that ESB participants create and invest in a discourse of multilingual pride while simultaneously problematising LOTE use in practice. This is most obvious in the context of LOTEs used locally as opposed to overseas. Moreover, ESB participants felt proud of their partner's bilingualism and, at the same time, expressed shame about their own monolingualism, a phenomenon I call "language cringe". With regard to bilingual practices, in the domain of the family, gendered parenting roles mean that it is predominantly women who assume the responsibility for both their children's LOTE skills and communication with LOTE-speaking in-laws even when they do not have the linguistic proficiency to do so effectively.

I argue that the seemingly contradictory approach to LOTEs and multilingualism rests on conflicting social approaches to bilingualism more generally. On the one hand, linguistic diversity is practically subjugated to monolingual English-centric norms. On the other hand,

discourses which valorise LOTEs and multilingualism are widely cherished as symbolic of tolerance. This research has implications for multilingualism and migration research, as well as language in education research. Moreover, it has the potential to provide a framework for those in linguistic intermarriages to understand and negotiate language/s in their relationship.

Statement of Candidate

I certify that the work in this thesis entitled "Between pride and shame: linguistic intermarriage in Australia from the perspective of the English-dominant partner" has not previously been submitted for a degree, nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree, to any university or institution other than Macquarie University. I also certify that the thesis is an original piece of research and that it has been written by me. Any help and assistance that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself have been appropriately acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis. The research presented in this thesis was approved by Macquarie University Ethics Review Committee, reference number: 5201200545 on the 8th of August 2012.

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Hanna Irving Torsh

Date 30/07/2018

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questions about "youni", and to my son George, who will not remember a time when both

mama and papa were not doctors of one kind or another.

Glossary, Abbreviations and Acronyms

ALLP   Australia's Language and Literacy Policy

AMEP   Adult Migrant English Program

DIAC   Department of Immigration and Citizenship (current Department of Home Affairs)

ELT   English Language Teaching

ESB   English-speaking background

FLL   foreign language learning

FLP   family language policy

L1/2   first/second language

LL   language learning

LOTE   language other than English

NESB   non-English-speaking background

NPL   National Policy on Languages

OPOL   One-parent-one-language

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Transcription Conventions

…   pause

-             truncation

,   clause final intonation ("more to come")

.   sentence final falling intonation

!   sentence final high-fall intonation

?   sentence final rising intonation

[…]   indicates parts of the utterance have been left out of the excerpt

[unclear]   inaudible utterance

(word)   possible incorrect transcription

CAPS   emphatic stress

italics   Language other than English utterance

"…"   changing voice quality to mark reported speech

[laughs]   paralinguistic output (laughter, coughing etc.)

1   Introduction and background

1.1   Motivation

I first became interested in attitudes towards languages other than English (henceforth LOTEs) in bilingual couples when an English language student asked me anxiously what language she should speak to her daughter. It was 2011 and I was working as an English language teacher at a university in Sydney after taking some time off to have my first child. Negotiating with my partner about our new roles and responsibilities as parents was at the top of my mind. My student, a model learner with a great attitude, was looking at me anxiously, wanting my opinion on her family's language choices in raising their child. Her husband, she told me, was from the United Kingdom and they had met in Thailand, where she had run her own business. They married there and had a child. Their recent migration to Australia had also brought about an unexpected challenge to their ideas about the value of using their different first languages at home. In Thailand, where she had a large social network and was a successful businesswoman, her use of her first language, Thai, with her daughter was not an issue. However, in Sydney, that same linguistic practice had become the subject of disagreement with her monolingual English-speaking husband who wanted her to speak English.

I told her she was right to insist on speaking to her daughter in her preferred language and she seemed happy with my reply. However, the conversation stayed with me as it revealed a domain where different language beliefs and practices meet – the bilingual couple. Along with negotiations about whose turn it was to wash up or do bedtime, it seemed this couple had to also negotiate in which language bedtime happened. Although I was the child of a couple with different first languages myself, I do not recall such interactions from my childhood. My parents and grandparents spoke to me only in English; a language choice I – along with them – came to see as 'natural' in Australia, even for a family such as mine which used to be characterised by multiple migrations and multilingualism. My mother's family is Czech Jewish and my grandparents and their cousins spoke Czech, Slovak, German, Hungarian and probably many

other European languages. My father's family are Anglo-Australians of English, Irish and Scottish heritage. Yet despite my family's rich linguistic diversity, only English was passed on to me and I cannot help but wonder how and why my family arrived at the decision to make English their sole family language and what kinds of negotiations and conflicts were involved in implementing that decision. I was intrigued by all the previously invisible aspects of language beliefs and choices behind mixed-language couples and their families.

While developing my research proposal I worked as a research assistant on the Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP) Longitudinal Study, a three-year Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) funded study into the relationship between language training and settlement outcomes of newly arrived migrants from non-English-speaking backgrounds. I found stories in the research which echoed the experience of my Thai student, such as the following:

> Anne, from the Philippines, reported that her husband asked her to use English at all times in the house so that his children from a previous relationship who do not share her L1 know what is going on, and she has become linguistically marginalised in the family as a result (Yates et al., 2010, p. 34).

Anne's son, who used to speak to her in Tagalog, now only spoke to her in English and the authors of the study warn that "this is potentially a very distressing situation for a migrant, usually a mother, and for the family as a whole."(Yates et al., 2010, p. 34) It seemed that motherhood in Australia presented an extra burden to these migrant women. But the issue of a difference in language skills was not only present for mothers. Another participant, Lucia, reported that:

> …she felt that she in some way had 'a reduced personality', since she had to express herself through a language in which she was not fully proficient. She noticed that her partner spoke differently to her than to his friends and he had told her that he did not like to correct her language because he thought her mistakes were cute (Yates et al., 2010, p. 33).

Being in a bilingual couple in Australia seemed to amplify some of the gendered power relations which I was experiencing first-hand as a new mother. Moreover, there were stark differences in the ways each couple member *saw* language and language learning. The English-speaking background (henceforth ESB) partners seemed not to see the language challenges of their migrant partners as issues of language proficiency and language learning, rather they were seen as choices about ways of speaking which were particular to the individual. Why were language proficiency and learning so invisible to these partners and how much did the English-speaking background partners' attitudes and expectations affect the migrant partners' choices and decisions about language use? How did language negotiations work in these couples and how important was language as a site of contestation to them? In other words, going beyond language maintenance, what does language mean to these mixed-language couples?

Having outlined the original inspiration for the research, this chapter will address some of the key background to the research and define key concepts in the thesis. The first section discusses why the mixed-language couple is a relevant object for sociolinguistic study. The second section describes the context of language research in Australia where the dominant understanding of language is largely through a monolingual lens. I then describe the linguistic diversity present in Australia as a result of migration and the prevalence of linguistic intermarriage. Finally, I will outline the thesis as whole, previewing the conclusions found. This research is situated in multilingualism and migration studies. It deals with migrant language issues from a new perspective, that of a majority language speaker in a relationship with a bilingual minority language speaker. Thus it is also situated at the intersection of language learning, bilingual parenting and language ideological research. It engages with the idea of language difference being part of the challenge of migration and that how multilingual language practices are seen is relevant to how they are experienced by speakers.

1.2 Linguistic intermarriage as an object of sociolinguistic study

In the literature mixed-language couples are referred to in a number of ways, as intercultural, exogamous, cross-cultural, bilingual, intermarried, inter-racial, mixed or migrant marriages or marriages with foreign spouses (Gonçalves, 2013a; Heller & Lévy, 1992; Lim, 2010; Luke & Luke, 1999; Pauwels, 1984; Penny & Khoo, 1996; Piller, 2002). The term linguistic intermarriage (Piller, 2001a; Stevens & Schoen, 1988) is the most useful for this research study as it focuses on marriage (or long-term partnership) as a process and foregrounds the coming together of two different language backgrounds over issues of ethnicity or nationality. However, this term oversimplifies the extent to which all individuals are unique in their linguistic repertoires and relies on a particular construction of linguistic difference to be understood. In this thesis I will use the term linguistic intermarriage to describe partnerships between first language (henceforth L1) speakers of languages other than English (LOTEs) and Australian English (henceforth English). In the research context any LOTE constitutes a minority language while English constitutes the dominant or majority language. Moreover, I use the terms bilingualism and multilingualism to refer to the use of more than one linguistic code. I follow the literature in using bilingualism specifically in regards to second language learning and use, specific language ideologies about the use and learning of two languages and in the field of family language policy (e.g. Garcia & Li, 2014; Gogolin & Neumann, 2009; Heller, 2002; Piller, 2009; Romaine, 1995). Thus research question 4 specifically asks how the ESB partner supports bilingualism in the family. When referring to research into migration and societal language use I follow the research in referring to multilingualism (e.g. Blackledge, 2002; Clyne, Hajek, & Kipp, 2008; Han, 2011; Weber & Horner, 2012).

Linguistic intermarriage is relevant as an object of sociolinguistic study for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is a site where existing methodologies in language contact studies have yielded new approaches to understanding the sociolinguistic realities within nation-states within the context of increased migration and movement of people across borders (see Section 2.1). As an

interpersonal context where speakers of different language backgrounds engage in regular

communication, linguistic intermarriage between migrants and locals is embedded in processes

of globalisation and mass migration which form the background to studies of multilingualism

and linguistic diversity. Secondly, linguistic intermarriage is potentially a site where hegemonic

beliefs about language meet diverse linguistic practices. In addressing the emergent consensus in

sociolinguistics that "the contemporary global linguistic landscape is characterised by

multilingual superdiversity", Piller (2013) argues that:

> The research frontier in sociolinguistics is not in linguistic
> diversity per se but at the fault zones where multilingual
> practices meet monolingual ideologies.
>
> (p. 464)

Linguistic intermarriage between minority and majority language speakers is an example of

precisely this fault zone. Thirdly, various kinds of intermarriage are commonly seen as a site

where social boundaries are made, crossed and remade (Heller & Lévy, 1992). In population

research, for example, intermarriage is seen as an indicator of "the erosion of social boundaries

between ethnic groups"(Walker & Heard, 2015, p. 53). It follows that there is potential in

linguistic intermarriage for the erosion of linguistic difference. In language maintenance

research, intermarriage is seen as a barrier to successful maintenance of the minority language

(e.g. Clyne & Kipp, 1997; Pauwels, 1984) precisely because of this erosion. However, Heller

and Lévy's comment about their 1992 study still rings true:

> despite the plethora of demographic analyses of rates of
> exogamy and assimilation [in Canada], no-one ….has ever
> bothered to ask any questions about what actually goes on
> in the lives of people who are involved in such linguistically
> mixed marriages (p. 14)

In Australia LOTEs and language maintenance are seen to be exclusively migrant issues, as

though migration and integration occurred entirely outside of the experience of mainstream

Australia. Thus, there is a potential for conflict which may arise in an intimate interpersonal

relationship as a result of minority and majority language speakers having different language

practices, beliefs and values. These conflicts (or negotiations) can illuminate societal language ideologies on a micro level (see Section 2.2). However, there is also potential for the challenging of those broader social beliefs and attitudes towards languages within those relationships, where new ways of using and understanding language may emerge (e.g. Piller, 2002).

In addition, a focus on the attitudes of the ESB partner in linguistic intermarriage in the Anglosphere allows for the development of a number of research directions which are absent from the field. Firstly, it shifts the attention in multilingualism and migration research away from migrant mothers and their children, and towards majority language speaking fathers and mothers, husbands and wives. This focus on the linguistically privileged is an essential part of exploring the relations between language and social inclusion of migrant minority language speakers. Secondly, it focuses on adult language learning rather than the usual focus in language maintenance research on those of children and adolescents. This approach takes language ideological research into an intimate domain and thus allows an exploration of how it intersects with other powerful discourses such as those about gender in the family. Importantly, the research aims to focus on multilingualism as a social process, moving beyond seeing multilingual repertoires through a monolingual lens, as they continue to be seen in policy and educational discourse in the Australian context (see Section 1.3.1).

The next section describes the background to the research in terms of the dominant language ideologies in Australian history, namely, the fact that English monolingualism exists in tension with various levels of linguistic diversity.

1.3   Language in Australia

This section will examine three relevant background areas to the research: the monolingual mindset, linguistic diversity and linguistic intermarriage in Australia.

1.3.1 Australia's monolingual mindset

Ellis has argued that monolingualism as a term has three main conceptualisations in the research: as the "unmarked case", as a "limitation of potential" and finally as a "pathological and dangerous worldview" (2008, pp. 314-316). In this section I will use Clyne's term, the "monolingual mindset" (2005, p. 81), which draws on each of these aspects to take a critical stance towards approaches to language in the Australian context. He argues that since the beginning of the nineteenth century there has been a persistent and widespread monolingual mindset in Australia, which he defines in the following way:

> […] the mindset sees everything in terms of monolingualism being the norm, even though there are more bi- and multilinguals in the world than monolinguals and in spite of our own linguistic diversity. It views multilingualism as outside the possible experience of 'real Australians' or even in the too-hard basket. […] The monolingual mindset finds it hard to distinguish between 'bilingualism' and 'monolingualism in a language other than the national language' (in this case English) and sometimes believes that using another language is an indication of inability or unwillingness to speak English at all (Clyne, 2005, p. 81).

Although the growth of multicultural activism in the 1970s and 80s gave linguistic diversity credibility as a social good, there remains in Australian social discourse a tension between a celebration of linguistic diversity and a desire for linguistic homogeneity arising out of a monolingual mindset. Since the federation of the Australian states in 1901, the link between English as a national language and an authentic Australian identity has been part of national myth making. In this context LOTEs are largely imagined as being part of an outsider identity, despite the linguistic diversity of the First Australians, convicts and other first settlers, and successive waves of migrants from a non-English-speaking background (henceforth NESB).

Underlying this mindset are two linked ideological positions: the territorial principle and the one-nation-one-language ideology. The former maps "a particular abstract language onto a particular place" (Piller, 2016 p. 35) leading to the exclusion of those who live there but do not speak the

"right" language. Meanwhile, the latter both creates and sustains an imagined unified nation of people for whom one language is the natural and right expression of their national identity (Weber & Horner, 2012 p. 18). Furthermore, Clyne (2005) and others (e.g. Schüpbach, 2009) have argued that negative attitudes towards speakers of LOTEs have led to language shift and loss from the second generation onwards at two key periods in the country's history. The first was the rapid attrition of indigenous languages after contact with the British invaders. When the First Fleet entered Australia and claimed the country as their own, there were at least 250 languages spoken by the First Australians present on the continent. Many of these languages were causalities of the wars and devastation of Indigenous peoples which followed British invasion and today all remaining 'traditional' (i.e. not contact languages) Indigenous languages are under threat (Marmion, Obata, & Troy, 2014).

The second key period of nation-building was the establishment of the White Australia Policy and the Immigration Restriction Act which curtailed the "flowering of linguistic and cultural diversity" (Smolicz & Secombe, 2003, pp. 6-7) resulting from the immigration mix of the time. In the period during World War I, legislation was passed which outlawed second-language medium schooling. In the period following World War II, migrants were expected to assimilate, to become monolingual English speakers and to lose their home languages as quickly as they could. In her examination of Swiss German speaking migrants in Australia, Schüpbach (2009) maintains that there is a relationship language transmission and social attitudes towards LOTEs, as families in the more assimilationist period were less likely to have maintained the LOTE compared to those who migrated later.

However, although language maintenance efforts may have become more popular among some multilingual migrants, the belief that being (only) English-speaking is an expression of authentic Australian identity continues to be seen in social attitudes which conflate multilingualism and non-assimilation. A recent example of the latter was the online abuse a sports commentator received for pronouncing foreign names correctly while covering the 2018 World Cup for SBS

television (see Figure 1.1). The commentator was criticised on Twitter for pronouncing players'

names as they are pronounced in their home countries rather than saying the name in Australian

English, according to media reports (Murray, 2018). Another example which directly linked

language and terrorism was the public outcry in 2015 which resulted from a commercial

advertisement for a phone company in Arabic in a number of Sydney shopping malls (Howden,

2015). The advertisement was removed from one suburban mall after staff in the shop were

threatened. The media reported that many of those who commented on the advertisement drew a

link between using Arabic, being a terrorist and not being Australian or speaking English (see

Figure 1.2).

Australia is not unique in its historical adherence to an approach to language which links national

identity with a single national language. The belief in "one nation, one language" dates from the

French revolution and was part of the nation building project of nineteenth century Europe,

which can be seen in contemporary European conceptions of language as linked to territory. In

this context immigrant languages are unsupported and constructed as a problem for integration

into the host society. Piller (2016) describes this process as the "subordination of linguistic

diversity" and argues that the monolingual mindset both problematises and obscures diversity in

various ways (p. 31). The power of the monolingual mindset as a focus for beliefs about

language varieties and practices is fundamental and should be seen as a background to

discussions about the value of multilingualism. Even where it is actively resisted and reshaped,

this collection of beliefs about language or language ideologies is always present in connection

with languages in Australia. Against this background I will now discuss the current presence of

LOTEs in Australia.

Nathan Glennie
@Glendog207

World Cup starts tonight. Can't wait for a month of Lucy Zelic over pronouncing foreign players in a fake accent

11:24 PM - Jun 14, 2018

♡ 19 ○ 26 people are talking about this

Im sorry but lucy zelic needs to stop trying to use an accent when prounouncing countries & players... pls no.. just stop 😂😂
— Dana ✌️ (@gotmegood_xo) June 19, 2018

Figure 1.1: Social media users criticise sports commentator Lucy Zelic for her pronunciation of foreign names in her sports coverage (Murray, 2018).

@Optus what country is Casula in? That's right Australia. What is the national language of Australia? ENGLISH.

Figure 1.2: An advertisement in Arabic in a shopping mall in Sydney which was the subject of criticism and abuse such as the comment above on the company's Twitter feed in 2015 (Thackray & Carney, 2015).

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1.3.2 Linguistic diversity in Australia

In response to the monolingual mindset, a counter-movement for the social inclusion of migrants and a corresponding place for linguistic diversity arose as part of migrant activism in the period following World War II. The right to learn languages the post-war migrant groups brought with them (Italian and Greek dominated although many other languages were present) became part of the demands of "ethnic representative politics that begun to have direct influence on policy" (Ozolins, 1993, p. 119) in the 1970s. In part as a result of this activism, as well as widespread support from an Australian community developing an identity independently of Great Britain, the National Policy on Languages (NPL) was created in 1987. A cornerstone of this policy was English plus another language for all, making it "the first multilingual language policy in an English-speaking country" (Lo Bianco & Slaughter, 2009, p. 16). However, it was rapidly superseded by a much narrower policy, Australia's Language and Literacy Policy (ALLP). Despite this, the NPL did lead to increased funding for language programs in schools, particularly in primary schooling.

However, the promise of the NPL remains unfulfilled due to a series of backward steps away from genuine linguistic pluralism (Chiro, 2010; Lo Bianco, 2010; Scarino & Papademetre, 2001), and the ongoing lack of value of LOTEs can be seen in the ongoing low levels of foreign languages taught at all levels of education in the country (Feneley & Calixto, 2016). The most common six languages studied at a senior level in Australia are Japanese, Mandarin, Indonesian, French, Italian and German (Curnow, Kohler, Spence-Brown, & Wardlaw, 2014; Lo Bianco & Aliani, 2013; Lo Bianco & Slaughter, 2009). In the final two years of schooling enrolments in languages other than English are significantly lower than in any other subject area and have remained at around 11 per cent over the previous twenty years despite a range of attempts to increase them (Curnow et al., 2014). Thus the largest source of linguistic diversity in Australia remains the languages brought by migrants and spoken in the home (Lo Bianco & Slaughter, 2009). At the same time, over the last twenty years linguistic diversity in Australia, as measured

by the number of languages spoken at home, has both increased and been increasingly celebrated in mainstream discourse as part of a celebration of diversity (Piller, 2014).

A question about home language use was first included in the 1976 census (Clyne & Kipp, 2006). The largest group of LOTE home speakers are first generation migrants, 58% of whom spoke a LOTE at home in the 2016 census (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017c) and overall the number of Australians who speak only English continues to drop, from 78.5% in 2006 to 76.8% in 2011 to 72.7% in 2016 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2012, 2017c). Furthermore, as researchers have pointed out, the number of total LOTE speakers is likely to be an underestimate as it excludes such speakers as second generation migrants who have moved out of the family home but continue to speak their first language with their parents, as well as foreign language learners who do not use the language in the home (Clyne et al., 2008).

Nationally, the highest numbers of LOTE speakers live in Sydney (total population 4.82 million) and Melbourne (total population 4.49 million), the largest and second largest cities in Australia respectively (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017a). The 2016 census showed that 38.2 (Sydney) and 34.9 (Melbourne) per cent of the population speaks more than one language in the home in each city compared with 22.2 per cent of the population Australia-wide. These numbers are not surprising given that not only are the two states in which these cities lie, New South Wales (NSW) and Victoria, the most populous states but they also have the highest numbers of migrants from NESB countries (defined here by the Australian Bureau of Statistics as countries other than the United Kingdom, Ireland, the United States of America and Canada) (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013b). Sydney has the highest number of overseas-born Australians (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017c) and the number of LOTE speakers continues to increase. Between 1996 and 2016 the number of speakers of LOTEs at home rose by 10.9 per cent (see Table 1). The top five LOTEs spoken in the home in Sydney are: Mandarin (4.7%), Arabic (4%), Cantonese (2.9%), Vietnamese (2.1%) and Greek (1.6%) (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017b).

1996	2001	2006	2011	2016
27.3	29.2	31.4	35.5	38.2

Table 1: Percentage of LOTE speakers in Sydney 1996-2016 (based on data from Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013a, 2017b; Clyne et al., 2008; Clyne & Kipp, 2006)

Despite the increasing presence of linguistic diversity in Australia as well as the trend towards both a more positive public discourse of linguistic diversity and its increase, language maintenance of migrant children continues to be unsupported by current language in education policies (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2010; Lo Bianco, 2010; Scarino & Papademetre, 2001). Moreover, foreign language education as a whole has been continually eroded and the teaching of LOTEs which exist in the community, sometimes called community languages, continues to be provided largely by ethnic communities themselves. Those government-funded community language programs which exist vary greatly from state to state and are often poorly supported and executed (Lo Bianco & Slaughter, 2009). Support for LOTE education in the last thirty years has been framed in a discourse of instrumentalism. In this discourse, languages are valuable because of their economic benefits to the country rather than their use in communities in Australia and thus the focus is on monolingual Australians learning "strategic" languages rather than second or third generation migrant children being supported to develop their competence in both the minority language/s and the majority language (Scarino & Papademetre, 2001; Torsh, 2012). Thus, in discussions of linguistic diversity we need to consider not only who is and is not constructed as the object of language policy interventions but which language varieties are under discussion. There are significant differences in the ways that different language varieties are valued and supported by education policies and within families, as evidenced by the distinction in language education between *foreign* (in the past these were predominantly European languages although Japanese and Indonesian were then added in the 1980s) and *community* (migrant) languages.

This section has provided a background to the current state of linguistic diversity in Australia, with a focus on Sydney, the city where the research was conducted. The next section will narrow the focus further, to linguistic intermarriage between ESB locally-born Australians and NESB migrants.

1.3.3   Linguistic intermarriage in Australia

In this study linguistic intermarriage is defined as a marriage or long term partnership between a migrant who speaks a LOTE as an L1 and an Australian who speaks English as an L1. Many couples with different language repertoires but the same first language would be excluded from this definition and I recognise that this assumes there is something inherently different about language background or first language which affects communication between speakers and which grossly oversimplifies an individual's sociolinguistic repertoire. Moreover, this definition is also problematic when considering speakers of different varieties of national languages, such as a speaker of British English who is married to a speaker of American English. However, because the research focus is issues connected with majority/minority language differences, specifically in relation to migrant languages other than English these kinds of couples are excluded from the definition used here. This recognises that the concept of linguistic intermarriage is, like the concept of named languages themselves (Ricento, 2014), a social one that draws boundaries between groups which may be imposed by others rather than identified by the individual themselves.

In recent times in Australia the opportunity for linguistic intermarriage of this kind has increased. Shifts in Australia's immigration policies in response to global changes have led to new categories of temporary migrants: international students, skilled workers and working holiday makers (Wright, Cibborn, Piper, & Cini, 2016). Due in part to the emergence of a global English language teaching industry and the push for English in compulsory education, these migrants have different language repertoires to earlier generations of post-war migrants from countries outside the Anglosphere and their growth has contributed to a higher number of younger

English/LOTE bilinguals in the country. Moreover, the emergence of the same teaching industry as well as the increased wealth and opportunity for international travel since the 1970s in Australia has led to more young Australians travelling overseas to countries outside the Anglosphere. The results of the 2016 census show that NESB migration has continued to increase in Australia. The third and fourth origin countries for migrants (after the United Kingdom and New Zealand) were China and India, and the number of migrants from these countries has doubled in number the last ten years (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017d). The partnerships which have arisen against this background are embedded in a new transnational migrant identity, where frequent opportunities for communication with and travel to the country of origin stand in marked contrast to the experiences of the previous generations of migrants and Australians.
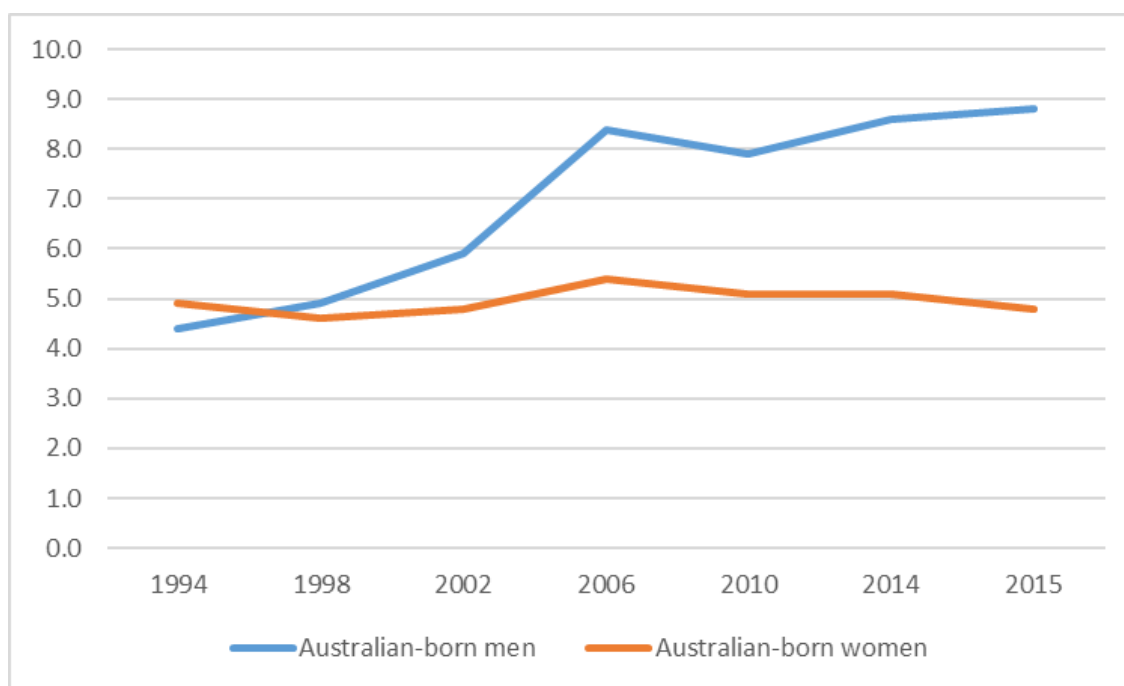
Figure 1.3: Linguistic intermarriage in Australian 1994-2014 by gender, based on (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1995, 1999, 2003, 2010, 2015b)

In order to establish the prevalence of linguistic intermarriage in Australia using publicly available data I have used place of birth as a proxy for linguistic repertoire. Overall the number of registered marriages between people born in different countries has remained stable at around

30% of all marriages between 1995-2015 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2015a). Note that this chart includes all people, both citizens and non-citizens, with valid identity documents who were married in Australia, but excludes all overseas marriages. By excluding inner circle (Kachru, 1985, p. 16 cited in Hilgendorf, 2018) countries it is possible to ascertain some general trends using country of birth as a proxy for language. Using this data reveals that this kind of ESB/NESB intermarriage has increased over the period from 1994, from 9.3% to 13.6% of all marriages registered (see Figure 1.3). This increase has been entirely due to the increasing number of Australian-born men marrying overseas-born women, while the number of Australian-born women marrying overseas-born men has remained stable. However, these figures may be overestimating the total number of linguistic intermarriages as they do not take into account the mismatch between country of birth and linguistic repertoire. In particular, it does not account for the many so-called second-generation migrant Australians (children of migrants) who speak a LOTE as a first language and may or may not have been able to maintain that language. Moreover, excluding only those born in "inner circle" countries may be overestimating the numbers as many countries with high numbers of first language English speakers or those with English as part of a multilingual repertoire were included, such as the Philippines. This means that some couples are counted as linguistically intermarried when they may very likely share a variety of English as their first language. Finally, this data may underestimate the number of partnerships, as it only deals with registered marriages and thus excludes those who could not legally marry or who had chosen not to marry. Nonetheless, it is significant that approximately fifteen per cent of Australian-born individuals who marry each year (approximately 38,000 people) get married to partners whose primary education is likely to have been through the medium of a LOTE and thus speak English as a second language. It is also significant that this trend has continued to hold for women and increase for men over the last twenty five years. Currently this comprises an understudied group in Australian society and an ideal group for the study of language attitudes and practices on the fault line of monolingual ideologies and multilingual practices.

This section has outlined the research background and described Australia's monolingual mindset and its impact on policy and social discourse. I have described the current state of linguistic diversity in Australia and Sydney in particular and shown how linguistic intermarriage is increasing between ESB Australians and NESB migrants. In the final section I will outline the thesis and preview the findings.

1.4   Outline of the thesis

This research aims to understand how L1 English speakers understand and approach the LOTEs spoken as first languages by their migrant partners. It is situated in multilingualism, migration and family research but has a novel focus on the linguistic majority, those of an English-speaking background. Following this introductory chapter, in Chapter 2 I review literature which shows that language is a common site of negotiation and struggle in linguistic intermarriage, yet much of the research focus is on migrants rather than the native-born. I then turn to the domain of language in the family and show that in this study, in line with Okita (2002), both bilingual childrearing and kinwork are invisible language work, which are often undertaken by mothers as primary caregivers. The research thus highlights the intersections between gendered family roles and language work in the family. Finally, I address the position of English globally and its effects on ESB language learners. The chapter ends by identifying the research lacunae: the attitudes and approaches of L1 English speakers towards LOTEs and how this intersects with migration and family language practices.

In Chapter 3 I then justify and describe the approach taken, which was qualitative and interview-based. I describe the recruitment and selection of the 44 participants and how the interviews and supplementary data (field notes and a research journal) were collected and treated. I then discuss how my position as a researcher impacted the research, and how ethical issues were dealt with.

Chapter 4 begins the analysis by describing the language learning trajectories of ESB participants from schooling to adulthood, including their learning of the LOTE spoken by their

partner, and draws out the key elements of their frequent lack of success. I then compare these with the contrasting case of one participant, Mary (P02-ESB), who was successful in learning a LOTE, Japanese, to high levels through compulsory education. The chapter then describes selected language learning trajectories of LOTE background migrant partners which highlight the contrast between the two groups in that LOTE partners usually achieve high levels of proficiency in English.

Chapter 5 then provides an analysis of the individual language repertoires of the 30 ESB participants in terms of proficiencies, choices and home language practices. It then outlines the exceptional cases of two ESB participants who were highly proficient bilinguals. For both Marnie (P05-ESB) and Abigail (P23-ESB) their learning and use of a LOTE was a key aspect of their identity, beyond being the first language of their partner.

Chapter 6 turns to an analysis of language in the relationship, focusing on two key areas, LOTE interactions and language support for the migrant partner. The chapter addresses ways in which linguistic difference was a challenge for the couple in these two areas, focusing on different evaluations of LOTEs spoken in Sydney (at home) or overseas as well as the issues of employment and sharing domestic responsibilities after migration. Chapter 7 then focuses on language in the family and analyses the role of language in two areas of family communication: bilingual childrearing and communication with extended family or kinwork. In both these areas gender is key to the ways in which roles and responsibilities for linguistic practice in the family are framed by participants.

Chapter 8 revisits the research questions, answering each in turn and reviews implications for research. It finds that the privileged position of English speakers in Australia may preclude any deep engagement with language learning of the LOTE, beyond an at times superficial valorisation of multilingualism. Moreover, gender is also a significant factor in the way LOTEs are experienced by speakers, both in terms of their engagement with language learning, their

reception by others and in their roles in family communication. Finally, I suggest directions for future research into multilingualism and migration, and language-in-education.

2 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The central theme of this research is to explore the meaning of language in minority/majority linguistic intermarriages. More specifically, how the majority language speakers relate to the LOTE spoken by their partner. That is, this study is concerned with the orientation of the majority language speaker in linguistic intermarriage to public and private language ideologies (Irvine & Gal, 2000; Piller, 2015) around language and multilingualism. These ideologies are undergirded by broader discourses of power concerned with membership and belonging in the nation-state (Duchêne & Heller, 2012; Heller, 2006). The chapter begins with a review of studies into linguistic intermarriage. I explore the issues of language learning, language choice and bilingual childrearing and demonstrate that language is often a key site of negotiation in linguistically intermarried couples. This negotiation about language is in turn affected by gender roles and the gendered division of labour. Thus the second section of the chapter will explore research into language in the family domain with a focus on gendered parenting roles. I begin by reviewing research into invisible work and argue with Okita (2002) that bilingual childrearing is invisible gendered work which needs to be placed alongside other gendered work such as kinwork. I will then describe the tensions around bilingual childrearing that exists due to contradictory discourses about language value. Finally, as much research into intergenerational language transmission focuses on the mother-child dyad I will review research into the role of fathers in bilingual childrearing.

The chapter then turns to a focus on the language learning of L1 English speakers. The learning and use of a second language is mediated by macro factors, among them the language policies and practices of the states in which the speaker is educated. Different experiences of language learning are one factor in the linguistic practice of couple members. As this research takes place within an English-dominant society, the final section will review research into language learning for L1 English speakers with a focus on Australian language policies and language-in-education

research. The problems of language education situated in a context where a monolingual mindset prevails will be described. Furthermore, the global spread of English can be considered to constitute a disincentive for L1 English speakers in terms of their own language learning of foreign and second languages because of factors which work against their motivation and opportunity to learn. Finally I will summarise the state of the field and identify the research lacuna: the position the majority language speaker in linguistic intermarriage takes to their partner's multilingualism.

2.2   Linguistic intermarriage

In this section I will review the existing research into bilingual couples and language and draw out some of the central themes, namely the intersections between language choice in the couple and wider societal language ideologies and practices. I will describe the state of the field and then review three key interconnected areas: language learning, language choice and bilingual childrearing.

2.2.1   State of the field

Intermarriage research exists across a range of disciplines, however, much work on difference within couples ignores language as an issue over more socially salient categories such as race or class (e.g. Bystydzienski, 2011; Karis & Killian, 2009; Luke & Luke, 1998; Owen, 2002). The body of research which has language as its focus is concerned with language maintenance and language shift, and thus the interrelationship between exogamy and linguistic assimilation (Castonguay, 1982; Clyne & Kipp, 1997; Gal, 1978; Joshi, 2014; Kuo, 1978; Pauwels, 1984; Rubino, 2010; Schwartz, 2010; Stevens & Schoen, 1988; Tindale, 2014; Walker & Heard, 2015). However, a body of research has emerged over the last few decades into linguistic intermarriage with a primary focus on the couple members' relation to language choice and linguistic practice (Campbell & Grondona, 2010; De Klerk, 2001; Gonçalves, 2010, 2013a, 2013b; Heller & Lévy, 1992; Jackson, 2009; Kirsch, 2011; Okita, 2002; Piller, 2001a, 2002, 2008; Takahashi, 2010; Walters, 1996). Key themes in this work are: factors in language choice, linguistic practices in

multilingual families, tensions and challenges in bilingual childrearing and public and private discourses about language and their effects. The research frequently focuses on the issues which arise out of migration where the research focus is the minority-language speaking partner, usually a woman (e.g. Kirsch, 2011; Okita, 2002; Sigad & Eisikovits, 2009). Other research focuses on linguistic intermarriage between ethnolinguistic groups within one nation-state and is concerned with understanding changes within a society brought about by political or social change (e.g. Campbell & Grondona, 2010; De Klerk, 2001; Heller & Lévy, 1992). In this research I aim to explore linguistic intermarriage in Sydney and specifically the orientations of the locally-born ESB couple member to their migrant partner's multilingualism. Therefore I will mainly review research into linguistic intermarriage in migration and briefly discuss aspects of linguistic intermarriage within the nation-state which are relevant here. I will first turn to language learning as a key issue in linguistic intermarriage in migration.

2.2.2 Language learning

Linguistic intermarriage often arises out of migration decisions and in some cases marriage may be the primary goal of migration, particularly for women in developing countries (e.g. Constable, 2004). Migration can result in many language challenges for new migrants who do not speak the national language/s and this is further complicated by linguistic environments which are complex, such as diglossia. Migrants in a linguistic intermarriage may feel ambivalence about learning a language which has few resources and is of low value. This is shown to be the case in two studies of linguistic intermarriage in different settings (Tunisia and Switzerland) both involving Anglophone partners migrating to non-Anglophone spaces which are marked by diglossia. Walters's (1996) study of Anglophone wives of Tunisian husbands focuses on the Anglophone wives' attitudes towards learning and using (or not) Tunisian Arabic (henceforth TA). Walters argues that the learning of TA was a site of conflict or ambivalence for the majority of couples in his data. Gonçalves's (Gonçalves, 2010, 2013a) work on Anglophone/Swiss couples points to this issue with regard to the access to the Bernese dialect for

the L1 English partners. In both these contexts, the diglossic situation complicated the language learning opportunities for the migrant partners in various ways, while their access to high status "world" languages (French or English) gave them other options for developing a personal and professional identity.

The language learning choices of the Anglophone women in Walters's study were a product of the complex linguistic environment in Tunisia. TA is a low status variety of Arabic while the speech community in Tunisia is characterised by Arabic diglossia and Arabic/French bilingualism. The author spoke informally with approximately a dozen mixed marriage couples living in Tunisia, all of whom consisted of an Anglophone wife (largely from the US but a minority from Canada and Britain) and a Tunisian husband. Many couples met in an Anglophone country while the husband was a graduate student and went to Tunisia to live. Because TA is a low status variety that indexes belonging to Tunisia, the Anglophone wives found that their access to it as outsiders was limited. This was due to a lack of resources and perhaps more significantly issues around language and power which the learning and use of TA foregrounded for the couple. The majority of wives, themselves language teachers, found their husbands unable to teach them TA, the grammatical conventions of which the men were unfamiliar with as they differ from Modern Standard Arabic, the language of Tunisian education. Moreover, many of the wives spoke French and the standard practise of educated speakers of TA was to code-switch between French and TA. This limited the access which Anglophone wives had to TA input, as their interlocutor would simply switch to French while speaking with them. The data also suggested that poor proficiency in TA was a source of embarrassment for some Tunisian husbands and children, so they preferred the wives to speak French in which they were more proficient. Diglossia meant that the Anglophone wives were limited in their ability to improve their TA through their usual social interactions and this meant that their access to monolingual TA speakers was limited. As a result, many wives had an ambivalent attitude towards learning,

speaking and being part of an Arabic speech community and preferred to use French and English with their families and social networks.

Having access to English was equally valuable for the Anglophone partners of Swiss citizens because of the diglossic situation in Interlaken, a tourist town in Switzerland. Gonçalves (Gonçalves, 2013a) researched 10 Anglophone/Swiss couples in mixed marriages where both English and the local Bernese dialect were highly valued. In contrast to the usual diglossic situation with a high (H) and low (L) variety, Gonçalves argues that Swiss speakers subscribe to an "ideology of the dialect" (Watts 1999, cited in Gonçalves, 2013a) which rates the Swiss German dialects more highly than standard or high German in local contexts. However, the Federal Office of Migration urges all immigrants to learn national languages, in this case Standard German, and thus it is this language and not the dialect which has the educational resources available. As a result, participants who learned German as a second language were frustrated by their failed attempts to find interlocutors willing to speak German with them rather than switch to English. Moreover, in some cases their ability to participate in English-speaking communities of practice both personally and professionally meant their need for, and opportunity to learn, the dialect was diminished. One participant, Conny, maintained that learning the Bernese dialect had only become important once her son started school, although she had been living in the country for a decade prior to that. In that time her business was in English and the family often travelled to English-speaking countries for part of the year. However, once her son started school she was presented with many Bernese dialect speakers and the language became important to her. Having access to English as a lingua franca meant that these migrant spouses were not compelled to learn local languages for education or occupational reasons.

Studies such as these suggest that speaking English as a first language may be a disincentive to successful language learning of the L2 for those in linguistic intermarriage. The language-in-education policies and de-facto national policies of monolingualism in Anglophone countries may work against Anglophone citizens having high proficiencies in foreign languages (see

Section 2.4.1). Where the couple configuration is L1/L2 English the non-English speaker is usually more proficient in English than the English speaker is in the other language (e.g. De Klerk, 2001; Heller & Lévy, 1992; Jackson, 2009; Okita, 2002). However, even when they do have high proficiencies, their language learning trajectories work against gaining a sense of ownership over their second language/s (Piller, 2002). Piller's work on English-German speaking couples living in Europe or the United States examines the sense of ownership couple members have over their second languages (English or German). She found that the L2 English speakers had similar language learning trajectories. They consisted of many years of formal education followed by a naturalistic language acquisition period in an English-speaking country. This was due to the fact that English is compulsory in school curricula across Germany. Furthermore, powerful public and academic discourses in that country about the value of quality English language teaching and English language skills have meant that there are many professional and adult educational opportunities to learn English. In contrast, the L2 German speakers and learners were educated in school systems where foreign language learning was fragmented, often not compulsory and undervalued as a skill in public discourse. Piller (2002) argues:

> While all the L2 English speakers had at least some English before they met their partners, this is not true of the L2 German speakers […] The reasons for this discrepancy are obvious. First, there is the status of English as a world language, which means that getting an education necessarily includes learning English for most non-native speakers of English, and certainly for the Germans, as well as Danes and Norwegians, in my sample. By contrast, none of the educational systems in the English-speaking countries from which the L2 German participants hail has such a strong language requirement, and the foreign language teaching that does occur in Australian, British, and US-American secondary schools is spread out over a number of languages (p. 95).

As a result the L2 German speakers learnt German at an older age and often first through naturalistic exposure accompanied by some formal learning. This led to an ongoing linguistic insecurity. Piller argues that although there is no evidence for an objective difference between

the proficiencies of the L2 English and L2 German speakers among her participants, there is a difference in terms of ownership of the second language. The L2 English speakers have a "comparatively strong sense of ownership" (Piller, 2002, p. 99) towards their second language in contrast to the L2 German speakers as a result of their different language learning trajectories. A similar phenomenon is observed by Walters (1996, p. 523), who argues that the Tunisian Anglophone wives as first language speakers of English had experienced language learning as "matters of personal choice or enrichment" in contrast to their husbands who were "forced" to learn languages of wider communication as members of a multilingual colonised state where languages are highly stratified. Walters further maintains that these language choices are the result of "the very different structural positions these groups occupy in larger world systems", pointing to the fact that the wives' professional success required them to be fluent only in their first language, English, while their Tunisian husbands had to learn English as a foreign language in order to achieve a similar level of success. Thus the power of English as a global language also empowers L1 English speakers at the expense of L2 English speakers in terms of the burden of language learning imposed upon them. Although Germany is not a former colonised state, it has been argued that English is a colonising force in Europe in terms of its domination of other languages (Phillipson, 2009). Thus, the different language learning trajectories of these groups of speakers arise out of the intersection between language and global power asymmetries.

To summarise, language learning differences between linguistically intermarried migrant/local couples are situated in global power relations, particularly in relation to speaking or learning English. Where the local linguistic situation is complex, such as diglossia, migrant spouses may feel ambivalent about investing in language learning. In addition, Anglophones have both less need and fewer opportunities to learn foreign languages because of the status of English. Moreover, they have more linguistic insecurity as second language speakers due to their language learning experiences within a fragmented and undervalued system (see Section 2.4).

2.2.3   Language choice

Language proficiency is the most basic constraint on language choice in a linguistically intermarried couple (Piller, 2002, p. 75). Whether or not individuals choose to learn a language may then lead to a negotiation of language choice in the relationship, which has effects on identity and power (Jackson, 2009; Takahashi, 2010; Walters, 1996). Takahashi (2010) in her personal account of a multilingual relationship shows how each couple members' language learning and use involves them both in a negotiation of power and identity. Language choice may be ongoing and it may be experienced as a struggle or a contradiction (Heller & Lévy, 1992). In their interviews with Francophone women married to Anglophone men Heller and Lévy argued that mixed marriages do not automatically or easily lead to linguistic assimilation, rather language choice changes over time and place, as individuals invest in competing language ideologies. Gendered family roles may also account for language choices and language choices may in turn affect the performance of family roles (Jackson, 2009; Okita, 2002; Walters, 1996). For example, in his study of Japanese mothers and English-speaking fathers raising children bilingually in Japan, Jackson (2009) argues that both language proficiency and orientations to father roles affected the fathers' performance of the language work involved in bilingual childrearing. He argues that when both partners were bilingual there were fewer problems resulting from one partner feeling isolated or disenfranchised in regards to family language planning. He discusses one father who ascribed to a more traditional father role of the breadwinner, and argues that this kind of father identity then precluded him from doing domestic labour, including the language work of speaking to the children in English. Similarly, in Okita's (2002) research into the language choices and practices of Japanese women married to British men living in the United Kingdom, she argues that those women who chose not to raise their children bilingually were rejecting a "Japanese" mother role which they found oppressive.

The link between family roles and language learning and choice was also present in Walters's study. Not being proficient in TA for one participant meant she was unable to manage certain

administrative tasks in everyday life, which suited her and her husband. This was because, as a working wife, she was already quite independent from him and the dependency engendered by her lack of TA balanced this out in a cultural context which was more gender-segregated and family-oriented than in the US. Walters further notes that many of the older women in Tunisia were not literate and therefore monolingual speakers of TA. The role of women in the family in childrearing and housekeeping was more fixed in Tunisia than in the wives' countries of birth, which meant that for many Anglophone wives they spent a significant time with their mothers-in-law. These women were often cited as their teachers of TA and in fact the majority of the Anglophone wives had some proficiency in TA which the author suggests is a direct result of the gendered nature of domestic work and family care in Tunisian society. Choosing not to participate in TA learning thus allowed some women to avoid this kind of gendered family role, just as Jackson's English-speaking husband chose not to speak English to his children and thus avoided an unwanted parenting task.

Language choice may also arise out of language desire (Takahashi, 2010, 2013), which Piller (2002, 2008) defines as having two aspects: the romantic desire for a partner with another language background and the desire to raise bilingual children. For a significant number of Piller's participants language desire led them to tertiary language study abroad which is where they met their partners and subsequently led to their marriage. She argues that language desire as it is found in her data is made up of:

> A range of desires […] to begin with, there is the desire to master another language. Second, there is the desire to become a member of the community of speakers of that language. The road to such membership is envisaged via romantic involvement with a native-speaking partner in the cases under discussion. Third, there is a romantic desire for a type of masculinity (or femininity) that is stereotypically associated with another language (2008, p. 57).

For those learning a second language, marrying a person who speaks another language may give them something all language students require to achieve proficiency: access to a community of

speakers. Piller points out, however, that this forms part of a bundle of motivating factors which contribute to the desirability of the partner rather than being the only driver of attraction. Furthermore, there is an asymmetry of language desire with many more participants expressing desire for English and English-speaking partners than German. Piller goes on to assert:

> Unsurprisingly, there are many more expressions of desire for English, English-speaking partners, and English-speaking communities found in my data than the other way round. This is not a German-specific phenomenon, as evidence from around the world testifies to the use of English in the media to connote desirability […]. In the face of the hegemonic status of English in ever-expanding areas of the globe, desire for languages other than English—be it from English- or non-English-speaking societies—is less likely to emerge (2008, p. 57).

Piller argues that the close relationship between language choice and identity performance led couples to continue to use the language they met in, which was more likely to be English than German due to the language learning opportunities and choices of continental Europeans compared with those in the Anglosphere (see Section 2.4).

Language status is a key mediator in the way couples talk about their language proficiencies and choice. Piller (2002) found that the many participants who were speakers of mixed varieties or passive or "uneven" bilinguals had doubts about the validity of their claim to proficiency in the face of monolingual standardism in institutions and families which places a low value on bilingual speech. Moreover, although Piller's participants were more likely to use a mixed code than the majority language, this resulted in lengthy justifications which those who used the majority language did not engage in. Similarly, Heller and Lévy's (1992) research participants who spoke the lower status, (formerly) stigmatised language Quebecois French expressed ambivalence about the use of this language in the family. Language status is context-dependent and relates to how the use of a particular language can index particular social relations such as belonging and affiliation (Blommaert, 2005). Where a speaker is seen not to belong they may be coerced into a different language choice. This can be seen in the data from Walters (1996) and

Gonçalves (2013) where speakers of local varieties would code-switch rather than speak the local language with outsiders.

In sum, language choice is complex and embedded in issues of identity and power. Language choice can further come about due to language desire for what that language represents or as a result of linguistic insecurity in the second language. Moreover, it is linked to gender roles in families and can be experienced as a struggle. This is made more salient by the issue of children's language learning and use which is discussed in the next section.

2.2.4   Bilingual childrearing

Bilingual childrearing can be a key area of tension and negotiation for linguistically intermarried couples (Demont-Heinrich, 2016; Heller & Lévy, 1992; Jackson, 2009; Okita, 2002; Sims & Ellis, 2014). Language maintenance is linked to strongly held beliefs about personal and group identity and the failure to transmit language can lead to a sense of failure in parenting and be a source of conflict for couples and families (De Klerk, 2001; Okita, 2002; Piller, 2002). While demographic and language maintenance studies often indicate that exogamy leads to linguistic assimilation (Clyne & Kipp, 1997; Pauwels, 1984), other research on family language policy points to a complexity of factors in successful language transmission (Heller & Lévy, 1992; Jackson, 2009; Pauwels, 2005; Piller, 2001a; Schwartz, 2010). Nonetheless, in the context of bilingual parenting in linguistic intermarriage, the migrant parent is often constructed as the "native speaker" primarily responsible for language transmission. Thus the majority of research focuses on this parent while the attitudes of the local partner towards language maintenance are made absent. The widespread belief in native speakerism and monolingual approaches to language learning affect both the research into and the practice of bilingual childrearing. Monolingual approaches overlook what is involved in bilingual childrearing and this is exacerbated by interactions with educational and healthcare institutions whose approach is similarly monolingual (Kirsch, 2011; Okita, 2002). Finally, the link between language and

identity in contexts where there are social divisions between speakers of different languages is also an issue for bilingual childrearing in linguistic intermarriage (Heller & Lévy, 1992).

Tensions around bilingual childrearing can arise out of tensions between different language ideologies, about what languages represent and what is valuable about language. The value of each language on the linguistic marketplace (Bourdieu, 1977) can be challenged by investing in learning other languages. However, in order to compete with a majority language which is the legitimate language of education and employment, the minority language must be actively promoted and supported. The process of raising bilingual children can be disappointing for parents in that it may not produce the desired levels of bilingualism despite many years of commitment (Okita, 2002). In English-speaking countries the economic or instrumental motivation to use and acquire high-status English over other languages is amplified by the value of English globally. Research in Australia, South Africa, Canada and the UK shows that bilingual childrearing in linguistic intermarriage in this context is both an isolating and often unsupported project for the migrant speaker of another language married to a speaker of English (De Klerk, 2001; Heller & Lévy, 1992; Mejia, 2015; Okita, 2002; Yates & Terraschke, 2013).

For mothers who are also speakers of minority languages, the tensions between the different values of the two languages across time and space is particularly acute, because they are "members of a dominated linguistic minority, and at the same time they have the major responsibility for bringing up their children" (Heller & Lévy, 1992, p. 16). In their study of Francophone women married to Anglophone men, Heller and Lévy used interviews and life histories to examine how these women positioned themselves in regards to the competing and changing language ideologies in their societies. In the lifetimes of their participants, the value of French had changed significantly from being a stigmatized language to having economic value in government employment. They found that the public debates about language value and practise had significant effects on the participants' relationships with their Anglophone husbands as well as their feelings about passing the language on to their children, and that for these women

bilingualism was an experience of ongoing contradiction, which had both positive and negative life effects. The women had to negotiate contradictory discourses about the value of French and English, where both languages could be "sources of prestige and economic mobility as well as sources of shame" (Heller & Lévy, 1992, p. 15). The change in official language policy (the official recognition of French as a national language in Canada) and the increasing mobilisation of a Francophone rights movement increased employment opportunities for French speakers while simultaneously problematising the tolerance for the encroachment of English into the lives of these Francophone wives, and thus of their children also.

Bilingual childrearing in linguistic intermarriage intersects with power differences where the migrant couple member is a multilingual speaker and the local partner is largely dismissive of multilingualism. Where majority language speaking partners have low or no proficiency in the minority language and perceive it as having a low value or indexing an undesirable identity, their support is likely to be limited. In their study of migrant women married to Australian men, Yates and Terraschke (2013) found that five of the 13 women they interviewed retained the use of their L1 with their children after several years of migration. However, almost all of the examples from the data contain evidence of the lack of support and often open antagonism towards the L1 from the Australian husband. For example, the use of the L1 is irritating to one husband, and by another it is described as "rubbish second language" (p. 115). Examples such as this from the research on migrant mothers in linguistic intermarriage provide tentative evidence that L1 maintenance may be a subject of tension in linguistic intermarriage where the use of a language other than the majority language is seen as a waste of time or an imposition on the majority language speaking partner (see Section 2.2.2).

Thus far, I have argued that where language indexes a particular, stigmatised identity it affects language maintenance efforts. This is the case not only for migrant languages, but for local languages as markers of particularly politicised identities. De Klerk's (2001) study of Afrikaans-English couples in South Africa shows that the "unfortunate negative connotations of Afrikaans

in the new political order" (p. 210) – that is, its low value in post-Apartheid South Africa – as well as the high value of English globally, contributed to the low rates of language maintenance of that language in intermarried couples. De Klerk interviewed ten mixed couples who answered a newspaper advertisement. She describes the deep social and political divide between the Afrikaans and the English in South Africa which caused some marriages to be a source of tension for family members and social institutions such as the church, and was made manifest through issues of language such as accent, proficiency or language choice. De Klerk points out that unlike in many minority language situations where the use is restricted to one or two domains such as the family and the religions institutions, Afrikaans is available in many social domains, notably educational. Despite this, and the strong sense of identity many Afrikaans speakers felt about their culture, only three out of 10 Afrikaans speakers continued to describe themselves as "utterly Afrikaans". The majority of them had made some switch to English as the language of their daily life but not without "an inner struggle". Moreover, the English speakers had made fewer attempts to learn their partner's language and were less likely to have switched to it.

Even where migrant languages are not stigmatised at home, however, they are still constructed by monolingual institutions in Anglophone countries as a problem. Studies of linguistic intermarriage in the UK have identified monolingual ideologies which lead to a lack of institutional and partner support for raising children bilingually (Kirsch, 2011; Okita, 2002). Kirsch examines the success of Luxembourgish-speaking women living in the UK with their English-speaking husbands in raising bilingual children. She argues that the UK has a strongly monolingual and assimilationist language policy and that this is reflected in the institutional response to bilingual parenting. The mothers claimed that the schools did not consider Luxembourgish a valuable resource and that key institutional figures, teachers and social workers, had advised against various aspects of bilingual childrearing. Furthermore, Kirsch suggests that the language learning experiences the women had growing up in Luxembourg had

led them to be flexible multilingual speakers, code-switching to the dominant languages where appropriate. She suggests that the women's tendency to switch to English both with their children and with English speakers in the UK as a result of the monolingual environment had negative consequences for language maintenance. Switching to English led to a reduction of Luxembourgish input in the home domain, and thus the children were less likely to develop the desired bilingual and multilingual competence. Kirsch frames this as a conflict between a multilingual way of communicating (accommodating the needs of the other speaker) and a monolingual society (seeing other languages as a problem).

In terms of partner support, monolingual ways of seeing obscure the work of bilingual childrearing. If the majority language partner does not see their partner's efforts in bilingual childrearing it could constitute a major imbalance in the relationship (Okita, 2002). Okita followed a group of Japanese women with children married to British men living in the UK and studied their reports of language use over time. She found that British husbands saw their Japanese wives' concern for and investment in the children's successful bilingual development as cultural rather than as arising from their migrant status. Okita argues that in fact it was the women's migration situation in which employment was constrained and language education was largely a private matter for parents which contributed to the anxiety felt by the Japanese mothers. She argues that mothers who were invested in bilingual childrearing ("pro-activist" mothers) experienced language work as both invisible and gendered. The English-speaking background fathers in her study saw bilingual childrearing as "natural" for the mothers, particularly those with low English proficiency. Moreover, as early childrearing corresponded to their early career-building, bilingual childrearing was not shared by the fathers, nor was the anxiety about the children's English development experienced by mothers. Okita's work illuminates the negatives of bilingual childrearing for migrant mothers and is one of the few studies which theorises the work of bilingual childrearing in terms of gender.

The intersection of gendered family roles and monolingual approaches to language thus results in a double disadvantage for multilingual women married to English speakers in Anglophone countries. They are disadvantaged both as mothers who are engaged in the unpaid work of raising children and as multilingual speakers who are expected to teach their children their first language in a majority language environment with little personal or institutional support. Two key areas of inequality are: the sharing of the communicative burden and accommodating the needs of speakers, and seeing the work involved in bilingual childrearing in a monolingual society. Moreover, the combined role of gendered parenting roles and native speakerism normalise (and thus make largely invisible) the language transmission of bilingual mothers compared with bilingual fathers. This means that bilingual mothers are often described in the research as feeling guilty and distressed about their children's lack of bilingualism. Where linguistic intermarriage takes place within one nation state, languages can form the borders of social groups and crossing them can have strong social consequences. In this context language choice is charged with other social meanings of affiliation and belonging. This was the case for Heller and Lévy, who found some potential participants too upset by the topic to discuss it with the researchers while others burst into tears during the interview, as well as in De Klerk's study, where in particular, Afrikaans-speaking mothers felt guilty about their children's lack of bilingualism.

It can be seen thus far that the research focus in bilingual childrearing is predominantly on mothers and mother-child transmission. Mothers are constructed as native speakers who are held responsible for passing their first language on to their children. Native speakerism sets up a linguistic hierarchy perpetuated in educational systems where language learning is modelled on an idealised native speaker and teaching methods and approaches are mediated by an implicit chauvinism which constructs the non-native speaker as the "problematic generalised other to the unproblematic self of the native speaker" (Holliday, 2006, p. 386). Moreover, native speakerism is a key ideology in bilingual childrearing approaches which seek to produce double

monolinguals who bear no trace of language contact in their linguistic repertoires (Gerber, 2015; Heller, 2006). Some adult bilinguals, particularly those from Anglophone countries, may have ongoing linguistic insecurity about their lack of normative language learning undergirded by notions of native speaker norms (see Section 2.2.2). However, there remains a lack of research into how native speakerism, inculcated in educational experiences, plays out in intimate relationships particularly between those who learned English and those who taught English in a context of ELT dominated by the construct of native speakerism.

In sum, bilingual childrearing is a context in which tensions between language, power, gender and identity are foregrounded. Although languages have a given value in relation to each other, they also have different values across time and space. The contradictions in the value of languages in various marketplaces (e.g. education and employment) is part of the lived experience of bilinguals and affects their engagement with bilingual childrearing. In addition, gendered family roles have a key role in bilingual childrearing and intersect with the status of minority languages to produce particular tension and challenges for bilingual parents. With this in mind I now turn to the intersection of gendered roles and bilingualism in the family domain.

2.3   Language in the family

In this section I will review language work in the family domain and introduce the idea of language work as part of the invisible work of childrearing and maintaining family relationships. I define language work here as both bilingual childrearing and kinwork, that is, maintaining relationships and communicating with in-laws and relations. The family domain can vary according to the context. Much of the research I review here focuses on heterosexual nuclear families, although a wide body of research exists which includes the role of grandparents' and other family members' involvement in bilingual childrearing (e.g. Ishizawa, 2004; Ruby, 2011). The section then turns to the parenting discourses which shape relations to bilingual childrearing. Bilingual parenting is constructed as part of being a good parent yet it is a particular kind of bilingual parenting which is aspired to, where proficiency in English (or another majority

language) is all important. Moreover, bilingual parenting is only seen as beneficial when it results in double monolingualism and all traces of language contact are absent. Finally, I will review the role of fathers in family language practice which points to the intersection of orientations to the father role and employment characteristics as being pivotal in the involvement of fathers in bilingual childrearing.

2.3.1 Language work

In this section I focus on language work as part of carework, which refers to "the work of caring for others, including unpaid care for family members and friends, as well as paid care for wards and clients" (Lan, 2010, p. 438) and argue that in the family it constitutes invisible gendered work. I focus on two aspects: bilingual childrearing and kinwork. Finally I describe research which suggests that when minority-language fathers engage in similar kinds of work they also become invisible, in this case to the mainstream schooling system.

Caregiving involves keeping the family cohesive and harmonious, which is part of "symbolically creating family" (Daniels, 1987, p. 411). This kind of emotional carework in the family is proto-typical invisible work in that it contributes to the wellbeing of family members while being largely invisible in the division of household tasks (Delphy & Leonard, 1992). In her longitudinal study of Japanese mothers raising their children bilingually in the UK, Okita (2002) details the emotional carework the women undertook to balance their family's needs for both good relationships and language development. This consisted of supporting the majority language, which was supported and assessed in the school system, and the minority language, which was not supported and had to be managed privately, in an unfamiliar cultural context. She maintains that this work of continuously monitoring the family needs is more complex and demanding in linguistically intermarried families because of the often contradictory language goals:

> I referred to the need for mothers to balance various
> demands. In fact it would be more accurate to say that they

needed to accommodate different demands and satisfy different goals simultaneously. Without grasping the importance of simultaneous accommodation, it is impossible to understand childrearing and language use in these families. Mothers had to juggle demands of providing an environment for minority language acquisition, ensuring that the majority language competence of their children did not create a problem at school, that children were exposed to appropriate extracurricular activities but that they also had enough time to relax and be children, in addition to their (mothers') other housework, looking after younger children and family-related work, and of course any independent aspirations they might have had for themselves, for their husband or to maintain their marriage (Okita, 2002, p. 226).

She further argues that because bilingual childrearing is emotional work, it is largely invisible in the same way as other emotional work within the family. In particular, it is invisible to the majority-language husbands which leads to a lack of support and recognition for the bilingual childrearing project. Thus, bilingual childrearing became invisible language work.

Caring for family members outside of the nuclear family can also be invisible language work, particularly in transnational families. Caregiving to family members involves sustaining an emotional connection with them across time and space and can change according to the stage of life. In her account of transnational caregiving Baldassar (2007) characterises the caregiving between migrants and their parents and family members in their country of origin as often unacknowledged or underappreciated emotional work. She draws on the work of di Leonardo who defines kinwork as "the conception, maintenance, and ritual celebration of cross-household kin ties" (di Leonardo, 1987, p. 442) and Hochschild's (1985) concept of "emotional work" to argue that the work of transnational caregiving serves to create an ongoing emotional attachment between transnational family members drawing on the same activities as family members who live close to one another. Although not addressing language directly, Baldassar's explication of caregiving between transnational family members implies that (the minority) language is key to performing the activities of routine (e.g. phone conversations) and ritual (e.g. sending birthday gifts) caregiving which attempt to maintain cohesive and persistent relationships between

transnational family members. In her study, both men and women carry out this work although it is more commonly engaged in by women, particularly mothers.

A related concept to kinwork is "family identity management" which involves not only relations within the family but also how others see the family members (Edwards, 2004). Edwards identifies family identity management as "encompass[ing] a range of mental, emotional and instrumental tasks done to develop and present a particular characterisation of one's family" (p. 516) and argues that this kind of work needs to be acknowledged as part of the previously ignored domestic or household work performed by women. Comparing two groups of working-class women living in a rural trailer park in the United States Edwards found that the women who were economically and emotionally stable were much more invested in family identity management than those who were economically and emotionally vulnerable. Through their labour the former group attempted to create a group identity for themselves and their family members as "decent people". In a similar fashion, Okita's participants tried to maintain a view of themselves as competent parents of successful bilingual children within the UK education system as well as to in-laws, while Baldassar's participants often managed their communication with their overseas family members to minimise their emotional distress at their children's migration overseas. Viewing both bilingual childrearing and kinwork through the lens of family identity management draws out the ways in which this kind of work is interconnected with other kinds of invisible emotional work within the family.

Although I have thus far only addressed invisible (language) work carried out by women, there is some evidence that the work of fathers in raising their children may also be invisible or contested in some contexts due to normative discourses of gender and culture. Dominant discourses of "the breadwinner" may downplay or deride men's involvement in carework and childrearing and perpetuate the traditional gendered divisions of household labour even where modern working practices may make them less stable (Halford, 2006). Fathers who are involved in their children's upbringing need to negotiate discourses which posit traditional male roles as more

worthwhile than more equitable ones (Gottzen, 2011; Stevens, 2015). For example, Gallo (2014) investigated the phenomenon of Mexican fathers' trajectories of socialisation into parental involvement in their children's schooling among recently arrived immigrants in Pennsylvania, United States of America. She studied naturally occurring interactions at home and in school to examine the positioning of Mexican fathers by the school in relation to their involvement with their children's education. Gallo found that "teachers tended to mention, notice, and engage with mothers much more than fathers when it came to family-school relationships" (p. 193) and argues that a belief in traditional gender roles undergird teachers' positioning of Mexican fathers' involvement in their children's education. In particular, she draws on data where the fathers' involvement was overlooked or attributed to the mothers by the teachers and the school, even when they were actively participating in school-parent interactions. Gallo maintains that the fathers' migrant status affected their positioning by the school in terms of their involvement in their children's schooling. She argues that the school drew on essentialist notions of Mexican identity to position parents in a traditionally gendered relationship to parent involvement, rather than considering the dynamic and complex trajectories of the immigrant families.

To summarise, bilingual childrearing and kinwork are invisible gendered carework in the family domain. This work is associated with mothers and mothering and when migrant men participate in it their work is often rendered invisible. In general, with the exception of the research cited here, language maintenance and FLP research rarely conceptualise language work as part of the unpaid and invisible emotional labour of parenting.

2.3.2 Bilingual parenting

In the next section I will discuss the ways in which bilingual childrearing has become part of what is discursively constructed as "good" parenting and how this is often in tension with dominant language ideologies which privilege English over other languages, particularly where it is also the language of education and employment. In recent decades there has been an increased focus on families as a site of intergenerational language transmission, bringing

together interdisciplinary studies from family studies, psychology and within linguistics, language ideological research and language policy and planning. This field is known as family language policy (FLP) research. Drawing from language planning studies, researchers have identified private language planning as central to the FLP of bilingual childrearing (Gerber, 2015; King & Fogle, 2006; Piller, 2001b). Raising bilingual children has become part of what constitutes a "good parent" in many contexts. King and Fogle (2006) examine how parents explain and defend their goal to raise bilingual children against a backdrop where bilingualism is both increasingly popular and yet constructed as the exception. They interviewed 24 parents (18 mothers and six couples) in Washington, D.C who were actively raising their young children with two languages. The authors argue that although public discourse and personal networks have some impact on parents, in fact it was the parents' own experiences with bilingualism, biculturalism and second language learning which influenced their decisions about bilingual childrearing. They found that parents selectively took on public discourse or information from personal networks to justify decisions they had taken as a result of their own experience, and that they would also reject these sources if they did not confirm their own opinions.

Parental opinions about language learning and the underlying ideologies which they draw from are thus central to understanding how FLP is formulated and acted upon. Gerber (2015) found that despite a professed commitment to bilingualism many parents' approaches to raising their children with two language were low-ambition and informed by a narrow understanding of what constitutes bilingualism. Her research focused on publicly available data from one of Australia's largest parenting websites and looked at comments on online forums regarding raising a child bilingually. Using a combination of thematic and critical discourse analysis Gerber shows that the monolingual mindset shapes parents' understanding of what bilingualism is and how to achieve it. She argues that being a "good" parent is constructed as investing in the "bilingual bonus", that is, investing in English first and then a second language. Bilingualism is seen in this approach as a generic skill for competitive advantage over monolingual peers. Rather than being

seen as a linguistic resource to draw on in social interaction, bilingualism is conceived of as a marketable skill in economic terms. Moreover, bilingualism is defined narrowly as acquiring two languages simultaneously and to the same high "native-like" level, with consecutive bilingualism being evaluated negatively. In this contexts, she argues, "the main objective of successful bilingualism is therefore to render the presence of two languages invisible." (Gerber, 2015, p. 62)

In contexts where English has immense prestige value as part of multilingual repertoire, some parents construct bilingual childrearing as "English plus", that is, "native-like" English plus an/other language/s (Benz, 2017; Curdt-Christiansen, 2016; Piller & Gerber, 2018). For example, Curdt-Christiansen's (2016) research into FLP in Singapore illuminates how the language policies of the state, enacted in linguistic practices in schools and employment, relate to the professed and observed FLP of three multilingual families from the three major ethnic groups (Chinese, Malay and Indian). While both English and "mother tongues" (Mandarin, Malay and Tamil) are official languages in Singapore, the privileged status of English as the dominant language in education and the professions has resulted in a shift towards English over the last thirty years. The author shows how parents and caregivers had conflicting approaches to the question of language choice which arose from different language ideologies concerning the role and value of the different languages. In one family, although there was a professed commitment to raising bilingual children from the mother, in the recorded data it became clear that the child was in fact taught the mother tongue like a foreign language and as an absolute beginner. That is, bilingualism here was seen as English plus low proficiency in the mother tongue, and English was entirely dominant in the home environment. Curdt-Christiansen argues that the government policy, which leads to the dichotomy of English-instrumental/mother tongue-cultural and creates a clear hierarchy of languages, will inevitably lead to a shift to English in the home domain.

To conclude, bilingual parenting is constructed both as good parenting at the same time that English proficiency is valued over multilingual repertoires. Even when there is a professed

commitment to maintaining multilingual repertoires, as in the Singaporean language policy, monolingual language-in-education policies impact on the implementation of family language policies and perpetuate low-ambition bilingualism and the ongoing valorisation of English over other languages. The tension inherent in the contradictory discourses in which bilingual parenting is embedded manifests itself in this low-ambition bilingualism and in feelings of guilt, failure and regret, especially on the part of mothers (see Section 2.2.4). However, fathers are also parents who must engage with this tension. Although the majority of the FLP research focuses on mothers, as primary care-givers and often also as minority language speakers, there is a recent growing counter-trend in a focus on fathers' impact on and role in their children's bilingualism (Gallo, 2014; Jackson, 2009; Kim & Starks, 2010; Menchu & Telon de Xulu, 1993). Thus in the next section I will discuss the role of fathers in bilingual childrearing where the fathers are multilingual migrants.

2.3.3 The role of fathers

In this section I review research which focuses on the role of fathers in bilingual childrearing. Despite the tensions around bilingual childrearing which arise from parental differences (see Section 2.2.4) and work on gender in language maintenance research (Clyne, 1991; Holmes, 1993; Winter & Pauwels, 2005) much bilingualism research is located within a gender-blind approach, and data on language use is collected from mothers alone or both parents but rarely from fathers. Case studies on bilingual children usually do not include the fathers' behaviour at all or only as part of the parental unit (e.g. Caldas & Caron-Caldas, 1992; Lanza, 1998; Lyon, 1991; Smith-Christmas, 2014). Bilingual childrearing is largely seen in the literature as a question of mothers' success and failure (e.g. Kirsch, 2011; Lyon, 1991; Mejía, 2016; Okita, 2002; Schüpbach, 2009; Schwartz, 2010; Souza, 2015; Villenas, 2001). This is powerfully illustrated in Kouritzin's (2000) striking and emotional account of mothering in a second language as a white non-native speaker of Japanese living in Canada. In her account, instead of imagining solidarity with Canadian fathers who, like her, are married to speakers of other first

languages, she compares herself to immigrant mothers. In sum, gender trumps language in making women responsible for language maintenance even when they are second language speakers and their male partners are first language speakers.

The limited research into the role of migrant fathers suggests that their participation in language work is mediated by, among other factors, their orientation to discourses of masculinity and speech, to their role in the family and their employment status. In their work on the adult children of German and Greek migrants in Australia, Winter and Pauwels (2005) found that the two groups of men orientated to different "discourses of orality" in their linguistic practice and that these orientations or alignments were influenced by the linguistic practices of their own bilingual fathers. For the German fathers and sons, choosing not to speak German was part of a successful performance of masculinity, due to perceived low or reducing competencies which threatened their masculine self. In contrast, for Greek fathers and sons, the use of Greek was a projection of an authentic, authoritative self which was not constrained by low proficiencies. In the domain of language maintenance for their own (potential) children these differences between the two groups of men were continued, as the German men were less invested in language activism and practice than the Greek men, who were supportive of language maintenance and the use of Greek at home.

However, valuing bilingualism does not automatically lead to the taking up of the everyday work associated with the unpaid and often invisible work of childcare. To examine this question Jackson (2006) uses a case-study approach to explore how the English-speaking father in a English-Japanese linguistic intermarriage contributes language work to the household by helping with English homework, speaking English to the children and taking them on regular trips to Australia while encouraging them to practise their English beforehand. Jackson found that English-speaking fathers may perform more language work than has been previously supposed, in part because their employment is more flexible than many Japanese fathers. Moreover, in his dissertation on English-speaking fathers and Japanese mothers (2009) Jackson found that the

kinds of employment his participants were engaged in (e.g. in education) often meant they spent more time with their families than other male-dominated professions in Japan. He further argues that some wives expected their husbands to be the "English teacher" at home, language work that some husbands found onerous but others embraced.

The orientation to the role of father is a further factor in approaches to bilingual childrearing. Jackson's data suggest that a non-traditional father role, with less time spent at work and more at home, may account for an increase in language work on the part of English-speaking fathers in Japan. Moreover, the negative effects of authoritarian fatherhood on language maintenance can be seen in Smith-Christmas's (2014) ethnographic study of one Gaelic-English bilingual family in Scotland where the propensity for fathers to use the L1 while disciplining the children (but not at other times) made language shift more likely. However, in other contexts the research suggests the opposite, that a more authoritarian approach to fatherhood can encourage language maintenance. The fathers' role in language transmission in Winter and Pauwels's (2005) research into the children of Australian migrants was seen to be located in a discourse of "the masculinities of imperative" where they would insist on the LOTE being spoken in the home or to them by their children. Similarly, in a New Zealand migrant context, Al-Sahafi (2015) found that the Arabic-speaking fathers in his research felt they could contribute to bilingual childrearing by using their power in the family to enforce a family language policy of speaking Arabic rather than English at home. Moreover, Kim and Starks (2010) suggest that the inflexibility of the patriarch may be the key to the positive role of Korean fathers in maintaining the minority language. They investigated the language use of 30 Korean adolescent late bilinguals in New Zealand. The authors posited that the fathers' powerful role in the patriarchal Korean family as well as the frequent breakdowns in father-child communication found in the literature could mean that adolescents had to "reformulate their utterances in order to make themselves understood by their fathers" (Kim & Starks, 2010, p. 295). The frequent absences of the fathers, due to their status as the breadwinner, may have led them to be "more

uncompromising" in their expectations of their children's communicative resources thus providing an interlocutor with higher expectations and leading to an improvement in L1 grammatical control.

This limited research into the role of fathers in language work implicates the fathers' employment and relation to traditional patriarchal gender roles in affecting their contributions to bilingual childrearing. Moreover, it suggests that fathers can invest in their children's bilingualism and that they can engage in bilingual childrearing in a range of ways similar to that of migrant mothers, by providing materials, by providing a "native speaker" teacher and by enforcing the FLP. However, the research described here is exclusively on migrant fathers. Here and elsewhere in bilingualism research, there is an absence of research into the partner who speaks the majority/national language in the couple, their attitudes and approaches to language maintenance and their involvement in the work of bilingual childrearing. For Anglophone partners of migrants, one of the main domains for the active interaction with foreign languages outside the home is in their education. Thus the next section addresses language-in-education experiences in Anglophone contexts, and examines the discourses of language, in particular language value and language learning, which are available to LOTE learners and speakers.

2.4   L1 English speakers

In the research on linguistically intermarried couples the usual focus is the minority language speaker, often a woman, and their language learning, choice and attitudes. There is a dearth of research focusing on the linguistic practices of majority language speakers in linguistic intermarriage, and their approach to multilingualism and language learning. Thus this section discusses research into two aspects of language learning specifically for Anglophone LOTE learners: the monolingual mindset in language-in-education and the effect of the global spread of English on foreign language learning (henceforth FLL) in Anglophone countries. Language learning of LOTEs can be negatively affected by the global spread of English (Ushioda, 2017), a fact which is both reinforced by and a contributor to English hegemonic language-in-education

policies. This section will describe the current state of foreign language learning in the school system, beginning with a brief discussion of language policy in Australia. I will then examine research into the experience of learning foreign languages in the Australian system in a learning context characterised by language learning ideologies situated in a monolingual mindset. Finally I will point to the effect of English as a global language on the motivation and interest of Anglophone LOTE learners.

2.4.1   Language in education

Australia's language-in-education policies have been based on a monolingual mindset since the late nineteenth century, which constructs languages other than English as outside the experience of being Australian (see Section 1.3.1). Since the National Policy on Languages (NPL) and its successor, there have been a range of ad-hoc language policies introduced at state and federal levels. During this period, however, foreign language learning in Australia has continued to decline. Currently only around 10 percent of Australian school leavers take a foreign language for their final examination (Munro, 2016). A key date in this decline was 1968, when universities in Australia removed the foreign language requirement for entry and "language candidates in year 12 dropped precipitously" (Lo Bianco & Slaughter, 2009, p. 20) and continued to remain low. Thus the study of foreign or community languages in mainstream schooling has not been a commonly experienced part of an Australian education for almost fifty years.

Overall there is a consensus in the research that the current poor state of language learning is in part the result of language policy which is inadequate to the task of delivering successful language learning outcomes (Baldwin, 2011; Clyne, 2005; Cryle & Freadman, 1993; Ellis, Gogolin, & Clyne, 2010; Liddicoat, 1996, 2007, 2010; Lo Bianco, 2010; Lo Bianco & Wickert, 2001; Rubino, 2010; Scarino & Papademetre, 2001). Shohamy (2006) argues that the de facto functions of language policy are "creating order, managing and controlling the linguistic repertoire of the nation (or other entities)" (p. 78). She further maintains that "a monolingual ideology is not tolerant of "other" languages, often requiring full hegemony" (p. 130). Thus

language policy in Australia has been and continues to be more closely tied to political events and moods than to the needs of language learners as driven by the recommendations of language experts. Unsurprisingly this has a significant effect on language learners and their chances of success. The language learning context is a significant factor in shaping learner conceptions of, approaches to and beliefs about learning (Benson & Lor, 1999; Horwitz, 1999). For language learners, the inconsistency between policy and practice is experienced as poor language programs which inculcate a sense of failure. Given a learning context where they are unable to make progress, learners develop an approach to language learning which is underpinned by a belief that it is not possible, or not necessary, for them to succeed. These beliefs are then reinforced by language ideologies such as "English is enough" (Gayton, 2016) which in turn contribute to the language learning context and thus the efficacy of the programs.

In the Australian context, the actual experiences of Australian LOTE learners in compulsory education are under-researched (Lo Bianco & Slaughter, 2009, p. p. 7). Current research highlights the difficultly of describing a diffuse and ever-changing system, with little comprehensive national data and until recently no single curriculum. Language learning in Australian primary schools is highly variable in terms of starting years in different states and between different schools within states and almost always of short duration, usually less than 60 minutes a week, which has a negative effect on the quality of learning (Liddicoat et al., 2007). However, since the NPL in 1987, primary schooling is where the majority of foreign language learning (henceforth FLL) occurs in Australia (Liddicoat et al., 2007). Secondary school language learning is more consistently mandated by government language policies and these include a mix of compulsory and non-compulsory language study for different states and territories of Australia. Black, Wright and Cruickshank (2018) looked at two low socio-economic status, government comprehension secondary schools in New South Wales. In their exploration of the relationships between social class and access to LOTE study, the authors found that beyond the mandated 100 hours of LOTE study, language learning and teaching

remained precarious in these schools. Moreover, there is no current Australian language policy

which mandates compulsory language study in the final two years of secondary school which

comprise the examination period for university entrance and secondary school completion.

Liddicoat et al. (2007) found that many students discontinued language study in these final years

because of a perception that their results would "negatively affect their university entrance score

or that learners will be disadvantaged by having to compete against native speakers" (p. *x*). Lo

Bianco (2009) further points out that the effect of a monolingual education system is that some

children begin their education as speakers of migrant languages and then subsequently lose their

competence through subtractive bilingualism. They may then be offered that language later on in

their schooling, as beginner students in a "foreign" language, in a "perfect model of

wastefulness" (p. 4). Furthermore, recent research into the Early Childhood (non-compulsory

pre-school) sector in New South Wales (NSW) suggests that current policies which support

home languages are challenging for educators to deliver in practice (Benz, 2017; Sims, Ellis, &

Knox, 2017).

Recent ethnographic research into language learning experiences of learners in the Australian

school system provides evidence of the failure of the system. Researchers studied students in

four Melbourne schools and found that teachers and parents considered students' motivation to

be adversely affected by the difficulty of the subject and the low value placed upon it by the

school community and the community more broadly (Lo Bianco & Aliani, 2013). Moreover, the

study found that although many students felt it was a good thing that the school offered foreign

language study, many remained unsure about their ability to continue into secondary school and

most secondary school students were unlikely to continue it after the post-compulsory years. The

authors note that a considerable percentage of these students were adamant that there was

nothing that could motivate them to learn another language and cite both relevance and academic

achievement as reasons for some students being uncertain about continuing language study.

Notably, this study took place in the state of Victoria which has the highest participation in

LOTE education of any other state or territory as well as the most hours of mandatory LOTE study compared with other states and territories in Australia (*Languages – Expanding your World, Plan to implement the Victorian Government's Vision for Languages Education 2013 – 2025*, 2015).

Lo Bianco and Aliani argue that a lack of continuity is particularly problematic for language learning, where "cumulative and sustained engagement" (p. 25) is required. They argue that language policy in Australia has not changed significantly since the 1980s where it was focused on Asia and defined in terms of economic and national interest. Further, that Australia (and possibly Britain and the US) cling to "outdated monolingual institutional life despite the reality of more complex plurilingual states" and that the "low-ambition language policies" (p. 25) these states have in common are connected to this fact. They strongly argue that the lack of democratic involvement in policy making, particularly of the teachers and learners of languages, accounts for the failure of successive language policies. The focus on the national interest by policy makers and the corresponding discourse of "language crisis" in media and government are the targets of author criticism because they fail to acknowledge both the learner's own motivation for and experience of learning a language in the classroom.

This section has highlighted the monolingual hegemony of language-in-education policy in Australia and examined research which shows that as a result programs are generally poor and motivation is low. The next section will describe how the phenomenon of the spread of English globally also contributes to obstacles against language learning in Anglophone countries.

2.4.1 The global spread of English

The global spread of English has significant consequences for the motivation and attitudes of some L1 English speakers towards learning other languages. These learners are understandably not the usual research focus in Applied Linguistics (Demont-Heinrich, 2010; Lanvers, 2016b). However, there is some evidence that their approaches to language learning diverge greatly from

those who make up the demand for English worldwide. For example, American university students felt that foreign language study was not necessary for them but it was necessary for speakers of other languages to learn English (Demont-Heinrich, 2010). The author argues that the global hegemony of English "forces 'multilingual opportunity' on some and den[ies] it to others" (p. 295), and that those with English as their first language can be seen as both linguistically privileged (in their access to English) and linguistically cursed (in their access to/interest in foreign languages). Foreign language study may seem particularly irrelevant for younger, socioeconomically disadvantaged learners in Anglophone countries where the intersection of language ideologies of "English is enough" and class positioning leads to low motivation and interest in foreign language learning (Gayton, 2016; Lanvers, 2016a, 2016b; Lanvers, Hultgren, & Gayton, 2016).

This section has reviewed research into language-in-education policy in Australia with the aim of establishing the language learning experiences of Australian LOTE learners. Language learning in Australian schools is likely to be fragmented and low-ambition, and although some learners are interested in pursuing it, there are many obstacles to successful language learning in the Australian system, due in part to the lack of clearly streamed compulsory foreign language learning. I have then described research which suggests that the global spread of English may interact with monolingual language-in-education policies to create differentiated approaches to language learning for L1 English compared to L2 English speakers. Thus, some Anglophone LOTE learners may choose not to study foreign languages as a result of both the lack of perceived "success" at school and the belief that "English is enough". The final section will provide a brief theoretical discussion of how discourses such as this shape and frame understandings of additional language learning for different groups of learners in specific contexts.

2.5   Bilingualism and native speakerism

This section will describe two sets of language ideologies (Silverstein, 1979) which shape the ways that language learning and use is represented and understood. The first are specific understandings of what constitutes bilingualism, and the second are the approaches to language use termed "native speakerism".

Firstly, throughout this thesis the term *bilingualism* is used as an umbrella term for different understandings of linguistic practices. As a type of linguistic differentiation, bilingualism is in turn based on particular beliefs about what constitutes a language, which cannot be determined without reference to the social and political context of language users. Languages are distinguished from one another in part due to users' beliefs about language, or language ideologies. I draw on Irvine and Gal's (2000) exposition of how these ideologies work to index social relations and explain them at the same time, that is how "linguistic features are seen as reflecting and expressing broader cultural images of people and activities" (p. 375). These authors describe three semiotic processes by which linguistic difference is 'seen': iconisation, fractal recursivity and erasure. Iconisation involves the linking of linguistic features and social attributes in an essentialised relationship, while fractal recursivity involves the projection of an opposition from one level onto another. Erasure involves the rendering invisible of some features which do not fit into a particular understanding of language, such as internal variation within a language or its speakers. These processes are useful in understanding the ways in which bilingualism is represented in the data through three discourses: the monolingual mindset (Clyne, 2005) (see Section 1.3.1), double monolingualism (Heller, 2002) and the bilingual bonus (Gerber, 2015). Double monolingualism is a discourse in which both languages are constructed as spoken as an idealised native speaker, there is no mixing of the languages and both languages are high-value "standard" languages spoken by the educated elite (2006, p. 17). Finally, the "bilingual bonus" (Gerber, 2015, p. 12) is closely related to double monolingualism, in that it

constitutes "the ideological valorisation of bilingualism" in contrast to the wide-spread monolingual mindset in Australian institutional and social discourse.

The second significant set of language ideologies are those which are connected to "native speakerism". Native speakerism is experiencing a resurgence in relevance within the field of English Language Teaching (ELT), and teachers, learners and professionals have been the subject of research. In the ideology of the "native speaker", language learning is modelled on an idealised native speaker of a privileged variety of English and teaching methods and approaches are mediated by an implicit chauvinism which constructs the non-native speaker as the "problematic generalised other to the unproblematic self of the native speaker" (Holliday, 2006, p. p. 386). This is particularly relevant as the number of speakers of English as a first language is smaller than those who speak it as an additional language, further increasing the inequity in such an ideology. While the construct has been reconfigured and reconstituted in various ways, as an object of local resistance (Choi, 2016) or as part of effective and enlightened teacher training (Coupland, Garton, & Mann, 2016) its existence as a foundational principle in Western Anglo-Saxon ELT and its connections to monolingualism, nationalism and essentialist thought remains, continuing to be a powerful discourse which requires negotiation particularly in multilingual settings. The effects of native speakerism are not confined to language teachers and multilinguals however, as "the negative impact of native speakerism may extend far beyond the resident population of native speaker teachers to oppress other racial groups in the process through the imposition of racial hierarchies in society as a whole…" (Houghton & Rivers, 2013, p. p. 6).

Furthermore, native-speakerism can impact interaction through learners' various orientations towards their own status. For example, Choi examined a group of 20 South Korean bilingual university graduate students living and working in the US, against the context of an English language learning approach in Korean characterised by an essentialist discourse of native speakerism (2016). She argues strongly that in Korea the construct of "nativeness" in English is fostered by government language programs which are embedded in a communicative language

teaching approach "deeply influenced by the ideology of native speakerism" (p. 74). The measure of English proficiency is thus acquisition of "native-like" competence and to this end government programs which actively recruit native speaker teachers from inner circle countries set up "native-speaking" teachers as more knowledgeable of both language and methods in contrast with local Korean teachers. Moreover, she maintains that this discourse is perpetuated in the media discourses and popular books about ELT. Drawing on the work of Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck (2005) she focuses on the way that "language competence is socially constructed as different models of language competence are evaluated, a particular set of language competence is idealized, and speakers are positioned accordingly in a specific environment" (p. 75). To this end Choi investigates the ways that her participants resist being constructed as deficit "non-native" speakers and instead refashion themselves as educated bilingual speakers who reject nativeness as their aspiration. Rather, they value being familiar with sociocultural norms of language use and having a high degree of knowledge of their professional field. Choi's work highlights the ways in which native speakerism continues to be a powerful discourse which has real effects on the lives of second language English users. Further evidence comes from Pennycook who describes how, despite the many academic arguments and clarifications about the problems of the native speaker concept, students in his Applied Linguistics course in Sydney are left feeling uncomfortable with the associations of the term:

> We do all this work, but like a consciousness-raising exercise to understand the conditions of one's own oppression, it leaves everyone feeling rather bereft of options. Everyone in the class gets a bit uncomfortable here. The small group of people who speak English as first language have been challenged in relation to their bilingual qualifications: should a basic qualification to teach English as a second language not at the very least be bilingualism? Students are also very aware that the NS [native speaker] construct easily slides into other forms of prejudice…
> (Coupland et al., 2016, p. p. 255)

These studies demonstrate how native-speakerism shapes interaction in teaching and learning contexts. However, there remains a lack of research into how native speakerism, inculcated in

educational experiences, plays out in intimate relationships particularly between those who learned English and those who taught English in a context of ELT dominated by the construct of native speakerism.

2.6   Summary and research questions

In this chapter I have reviewed research into linguistic intermarriage, language in the family and language learning of Anglophones. I began by examining the state of the field in linguistic intermarriage research and found that there is an intersection between language choice and societal language ideologies about the value of a given language. I thus focused on three key areas which highlight orientations towards multilingualism in the couple: language learning, language choice and bilingual childrearing. Firstly, I identified that linguistic intermarriage often occurs in a migration context, and thus language in migration is a fundamental issue for intermarried migrants. I discovered that language learning opens questions of language choice in the couple and these involve power and negotiation between speakers. Significantly, in the research reviewed here, Anglophones had both less need and fewer opportunities to learn LOTEs because of beliefs about the value of English as a global language over LOTEs. Moreover, where they were proficient in a LOTE and thus language choice was relevant, they were found to have more linguistic insecurity due to poor language learning experiences. Thus language choice was complex and embedded in issues of identity and power, and experienced as a struggle for some speakers. In addition, language choice was linked to gendered family roles and bilingual childrearing, which was a common area of tension and/or negotiation for intermarried couples. The review shows that although languages have a given value in relation to each other, they also have different values across time and space, as a result of government policy or migration. This contradiction in the value of languages in various marketplaces (e.g. education and employment) was particularly salient in regards to bilingual childrearing and contributed to tensions around the issue for parents from different language backgrounds.

I then reviewed research into language in the family domain, in three areas: language work, bilingual parenting and the role of fathers. I showed that language work in the family consists of bilingual childrearing and kinwork, which are kinds of carework and which may be both emotionally demanding and invisible. I reviewed research into kinwork in migrant families to show how language is implicated in carework in these contexts. I then described how bilingual parenting is constructed in various parenting discourses as "good parenting", which is in tension with dominant language ideologies which prioritise English as the only legitimate language in many domains. This tension may lead to parents experiencing bilingual childrearing in negative ways such as guilt and regret, particularly for mothers. I then turned to research into the role of fathers in performing language work in the family. This research suggests that some migrant fathers can and do support bilingual childrearing in similar ways to migrant mothers, and that their participation may be impacted by both their orientations to discourses of masculinity and fatherhood and their employment situation. However, research into fathers' roles in family bi/multilingualism remains limited and there is a need to further explore this area.

Similarly, in my review of the research into linguistic intermarriage and family bilingualism I identified that there is a dearth of research into the linguistic practice and approach to L2 language learning of the majority language speaker. Thus in the final section I reviewed selected research into foreign language learning in Anglophone schooling contexts and the global status of English with a view to providing a context for the language ideologies of L1 English-speakers in linguistic intermarriage with NESB migrants. I found that, language-in-education policies in Australia have led to poor outcomes in language learning and a lack of widespread engagement with foreign or second languages in education. Moreover, the effect of the global spread of English may mean that some Anglophone language learners have low motivation to learn LOTEs. I also reviewed a key language ideology in language learning, particularly English language learning, and that is native-speakerism. I argue that this ideology shapes approaches to communicating in English between speakers with different "native" statuses.

My aim in bringing these various research strands together is to show that in research into language contact, language and gender, and language in the family there is a research gap. This gap is in the attitudes and behaviours of majority language speakers towards the multilingual repertoires of their partners. What are their attitudes, beliefs and approaches towards multilingual repertoires? How do their attitudes shape the language choices made by the couple? How does the power that they have as English-speaking linguistic insiders translate into power to shape language decisions in the family? What is the relationship between language proficiency/ies and power in the relationship? And how do these micro issues intersect with macro issues of language and power such as the increasing power of English as a global language of economic mobility? While there are many studies about migration, few studies have focused on those locals who marry migrants. Similarly, while there are many studies of L2 English speakers and language learning there are few studies of L1 English speakers and language learning, in particular Anglophone adults learning LOTEs. Mothers are frequent objects of study in bilingual parenting research, fathers (particularly monolingual or L2 speaking fathers) are not.

The present study is thus situated in this research lacunae by focusing on the local partners (both men and women) of linguistically intermarried migrants and their approaches to language use and learning, as well as their orientations to bilingual childrearing specifically. It aims to answer the following broad question:

> How do the English-speaking background (ESB) partners of non-English-speaking
> (NESB) background migrants orient to language in their relationships and their lives?

Within this overarching question this study will address the ways in which local partners discursively construct their role in the marriage or partnership in terms of language practices and attitudes. Topics of key relevance to language and language learning will be addressed in the following questions:

1. How does the ESB partner value and/or understand language learning (their own and their partner's)?

2. How does the ESB partner view LOTEs?

3. How does the ESB partner engage with their partner's language challenges arising from migration?

4. How does the ESB partner represent their role in supporting bilingualism in the family?

Given that gendered identities within families were salient in much of the research reviewed above, particularly in regard to language learning and bilingual childrearing, the final question addresses the issue of gender in regards to all other questions:

5. How is gender related to the above?

I now turn to the research methodology and theoretical background of the research in the next chapter.

3   Methodology

3.1   Introduction

This chapter deals with the theoretical and methodological approaches to the research. Firstly, I describe its ontological and epistemological underpinnings, as well as key considerations in the methodology used. I then outline participant selection and recruitment and discuss issues around inclusion. Following this I describe the data collection methods and the data sources: the research journal, the questionnaire, the interviews, the field notes and the emails. Issues around transcription are then described and discussed. I then turn to data analysis and describe my analytic method, namely thematic content analysis. Finally, I discuss the role of the researcher in the collection and analysis of the data and the ethical considerations of the research.

3.2   Research background and methodological approach

This research arose largely out of two specific experiences: teaching English to recent migrants at a university in Sydney and working on the Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP) Longitudinal Study into language learning and settlement success. The AMEP study was designed to explore the relationship between language learning and settlement over time of newly arrived migrants enrolled in the AMEP program, that is, to focus on the role of different languages in everyday life. I was inspired to take a similar approach and apply it to the specific context of linguistic intermarriage which I had encountered, peripherally, through my teaching. In designing and carrying out this research I was further inspired by Piller, Heller and other sociolinguistic researchers who explore multilingual practices in their social context to uncover previously unexamined ways of seeing language and linguistic practice (Heller, 2006; Piller, 2002). As detailed in chapter 2, this led to the development of the overall research question:

> How do the English-speaking background (ESB) partners of a non-English-speaking (NESB) background migrants orient to language in their relationships and their lives?

This question was then broken down into the following specific questions:

1. How does the ESB partner value and/or understand language learning (their own and their partner's)?

2. How does the ESB partner view LOTEs?

3. How does the ESB partner engage with their partner's language challenges arising from migration?

4. How does the ESB partner represent their role in supporting bilingualism in the family?

5. How is gender related to the above?

The first two questions seek to understand the value that ESB partners put on LOTE language learning and the LOTE spoken by their partner as an object, in a wider societal context where LOTEs are low-value and coded as "outsider". Thus the aim is to explore how participants discursively negotiate the dominant language ideologies (see below) associated with monolingualism (see Section 1.3.1) and native-speakerism (see Section 2.3.4). The third question aims to explore how a non-migrant partner engages with the *specific* linguistic challenges of their partner's migration, challenges which are often invisible in mainstream discourse, where a lack of participation is often blamed on a lack of general language competence. The fourth question similarly focuses on the often invisible work of family language maintenance and seeks to address how the speaker of the majority language contributes to this work. The final question considers gendered social roles and their impact on questions 1-4 in the belief that gender is a key factor in shaping speakers' approaches to language learning and use.

I decided on a qualitative research framework to productively explore these questions. Qualitative research has a history of exploring unheard voices, particularly those who have been silenced, marginalised or oppressed, and is thus well-suited to understanding aspects of social life for which there are few ready-made terms and constructs (Hammersley, 2008). However, it has also been critiqued for being less willing to examine the voices of the dominant (Hammersley, 2008), and thus this research with its focus on the "insider" culture also serves as an excellent antidote to this criticism. As Miller and Glassner (2011) argue, "research cannot

provide the mirror reflection of the social world that positivists strive for, but it may provide access to the meanings people attribute to their experiences and social worlds" (p. 133). In undertaking this research I accept that subjects and their social world are in a dialectical relationship which mutually constitutes social reality, which is achieved in large part through language (Bourdieu, 1977). Furthermore, I accept that my role as a researcher is not to remove myself from the research but to acknowledge my role in the knowledge production openly in order that the reader may make their own judgements. I draw on the work of Heller (2011), who argues that "sociolinguistics … is not a form of expert knowledge, but rather an informed and situated social practice, one which can account for what we see, but which also knows why we see what we do, and what it means to tell the story."(p. 6)

In designing and carrying out this research I employed an understanding of language as a social-semiotic process which includes speech and non-speech acts situated in a socio-cultural context (Blommaert, 2005). On the micro level of social practice, language can be defined as discourse. As Fairclough (2003, p. 26) explains, discourse is used in the literature in three ways, as comprising a range of communicative acts ("genre"), ways of representing truths about the speaker's world ("discourse") and finally ways of being in the world ("style").

In this research I more frequently draw on the second meaning of discourse to understand ways of representing individual experiences and beliefs about language, such as *I am a poor language learner*. This discourse is connected to a language ideology which is that *Anglophones are bad at learning languages*. Dominant discourses, also called language ideologies, are hegemonic in their influence on societal beliefs and practices about diverse languages and thus subordinate linguistic diversity (Jaffe, 2009; Piller, 2015). This set of ideologies includes: the territorial principle, which is the belief that a language can be "mapped" on to a territory (also known as one nation, one language, see Weber & Horner, 2012); and the monolingual mindset (Clyne, 2005; Ellis et al., 2010), which is the belief that one language is the "natural" state and using more than one is unusual and problematic. Closely related to these is the standard language

ideology, the bias towards the written code, usually that of the elite, and the belief that it is homogenous and has no internal variation (Lippi-Green, 2012; Weber & Horner, 2012). In this inquiry I accept that these language ideologies are key to the subordination of linguistic diversity and they are an important lens through which to view speakers' orientations towards languages in society.

The motivation for this research was to illuminate aspects of language and migration which had been largely unexamined in this context. This was particularly salient with regard to how gendered social roles in the family intersect with the challenges of language in migration. In examining gender in this context I draw on a post-structuralist feminist perspective which sees gender as a form of reiterated social performance (Butler, 2006) in which gender is a powerful social category for the regulation of behaviour and the fulfilment of socially acceptable roles, particularly in marriage or couplehood. Piller and Pavlenko have pointed out that previous approaches to studying multilingualism, gender and second language learning have been essentialist in their conceptions of the categories of male and female, masculine and feminine. They argue that gender is in fact:

> a system of social relations and discursive practices [which]
> mediates the learning and use of additional languages, and
> on ways in which gender relations, and the way in which
> gender relations and performances may be transformed in
> the process of second language socialisation (Pavlenko &
> Piller, 2001, p. 17).

This system of gendered social relations and discursive practises which make up gendered identity undergirds the process of language learning both for adults and for children, when parents make family language learning decisions and plans.

In addition, I draw on the idea of a language market in the Bourdieusian sense, where languages exist in a hierarchy, have different values in different markets and speakers therefore do not have free choice when it comes to choosing which language to speak (Bourdieu, 1977). In this way both the language choice of the speaker and the accommodation of the listener are situated in a

context of social power relations which exist in a wider framework than issues of proficiency. Accommodation here refers to the modification of the speaker for the listener's imagined competence as well as other social identity factors such as their role or status. Moreover, speakers discursively position themselves in various ways depending on the various discourses they are orienting towards or away from (Holstein & Gubrium, 2011). These positionings are attempts at creating various identities in discourse which speakers wish to orient to and which may be in tension with other identities they invest in at other times (Davies & Harré, 1990).

In choosing data collection methods for this study I was inspired by the work of Heller and Lévy (1992) into the previously unheard voices of Francophone women married to Anglophone men in bilingual Canada. In their study they revealed the contradictions and struggles around linguistic practice experienced by these women. They used open-ended life-story interviews to explore the issues of language in the women's lives and used discourse analysis to analyse their data. The authors found that linguistic assimilation was a complex and ongoing social process which was central to the lives of their participants. In a similar vein, this inquiry seeks to examine the role of language in the lives of linguistically-intermarried ESB partners.

In this section I have described the background to the research and its theoretical underpinnings. In the next section I will outline the recruitment and selection of research participants.

3.3   Recruitment and selection of participants

The selection and recruitment of participants is critical to the outcomes of qualitative research. The focus of this research is on the personal experience of linguistic intermarriage and it draws on two groups which form part of emic knowledge in the Australian context – those who learned English as an additional language and those who speak Australian English as a first language. These groups crossover with the terms non-English-speaking background (NESB) and English-speaking background (ESB), which are commonly used in Australia in educational and institutional contexts. In many of these institutional contexts these terms act as highly

problematic gatekeepers and are often replaced by another term, "culturally and linguistically diverse" or CALD (Swaikar & Katz, 2009). In my specific research context, however, the NESB/ESB distinction illuminates the salience of the "native/non-native speaker" dichotomy to all aspects of language use and learning for the participants (the term "native speaker" was emic to the data and thus I use it here). The online recruitment advertisement asking for volunteers for this research (Appendix A) specifically avoided defining an ethnic or national group and instead participants are defined in the advertisement in two ways: (1) as being in a bilingual couple and (2) as being an Australian English speaker or having learned English as an additional language. This definition of a bilingual couple allowed for speakers of a wide range of linguistic repertoires and language learning trajectories, such as child migrants, adult migrants who learned English in Australia or Indigenous Australians.

The most common configuration of the participants was a couple consisting of a first language Australian English speaker and an adult migrant who spoke a LOTE as a first language. However, I also recruited two adult migrant participants from other Anglophone countries who identified as Australian English speakers. These were: George (England) and Thalia (New Zealand) (all names are pseudonyms). I also recruited seven child or young adult migrants as a couple member. These were Ralph (Scotland), Jasmine (England), John (England), Enid (former East Germany), Bernadette (Hong Kong), Grace (Hong Kong) and Eva (Bulgaria). In these cases the participants self-identified as meeting the inclusion criteria. For practical reasons participants were drawn from the Sydney area as I live and work in Sydney.

This study used the snowball method of participant recruitment, drawing on my own and my supervisor's personal and professional networks. I put an advertisement on the website languageonethemove.com and on my personal Facebook page. I sent messages to colleagues from the university language centre where I had previously worked and forwarded them the link to the recruitment advertisement. I asked friends and family to help with recruitment as well as directly approaching, usually via email, people I thought might be interested in volunteering. The

result of all this is that participants in this study share some of my social characteristics. They are drawn from parts of Sydney that are part of my personal or professional life, many share my profession (English Language Teaching) or my place of work (Macquarie University in Sydney), many are in my age group (31-40), a small number studied at my Sydney secondary school and one couple are even part of my extended family.

Recruitment lasted for a period of approximately ten months, beginning in August 2012 and data collection continued until May 2014 (see Section 3.7 for the research timeline). During this period I engaged in recruitment, designing and distributing a questionnaire, interviewing, making field notes, transcribing interviews and collating a media corpus for background reading. Although I received forty-two emails in response to this recruitment drive, only two were in direct response to the recruitment advertisement, the remainder were recruited through my personal and professional networks (although the advertisement was often used in that recruitment). Four participants were recruited by other participants in the study. The next section describes data collection and the different sources of data.

3.4   Data collection

The intention was to conduct approximately thirty interviews with ESB participants with NESB migrant partners around the Sydney region and this was achieved. Each participant would also complete a demographic and language background questionnaire. In addition I collected a media corpus of articles about bilingual couples in the major Australian mainstream print media as background reading. My research journal and field notes to the interviews were also part of my corpus.

3.4.1   Research journal

From the beginning of the project I kept a research journal where I noted down my reflections, the discussions I had with my supervisor and others and any points of interest which I found in the reading. Once I started to transcribe the interviews (see Section 3.4.1) I also used the research

journal to note down any key points from across and within interviews. This was important to consolidate the reliability of any observations made during the interviews which were not part of the speech as such and thus would not appear in the transcript (Silverman, 2011).

Moreover, the second aim of the journal was to allow for critical reflection of the evolving research questions and approaches as well as to note down any important details of the research process for later use, such as timelines, readings, changing aims and interests. The usefulness of the journal in my circumstances, where I had many interruptions in the research process due to personal circumstances out of my control (see Section 3.7), cannot be overstated. It was a valuable source of continuity of the research process.

3.4.2   Questionnaires

The aims of a questionnaire for the ESB partner were twofold. Firstly, I wanted to collect demographic information quickly and efficiently without taking up the interview with simple questions. Milroy and Gordon argue that in sociolinguistics, questionnaires "can provide good amounts of useful data in a fairly brief time-frame" (2003). They maintain that written surveys are better suited to gaining simple information which can be a starting point for enquiry, rather than for collecting more complex linguistic data. Thus, the second aim of the questionnaire was to collect some basic information about language proficiency, practice and background which could inform the interviews. With these aims, the questionnaire contained three sections (Appendix D): Section 1: Background, consisted of questions on demographic information. The majority of the 15 demographic questions in Section 1 are based on the questions from the 2011 Australian Census of Population and Housing (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011) and include the following information: Name, age, level of education, postal code (corresponds to place of residence), occupation, partner's main occupation, age and number of children, total household income, length of relationship, and duration of cohabitation. Section 1 also contained the following questions about language learning and use:

- What language/s do you speak?

- Is your partner currently learning English?

- Are you currently learning a language?

- If yes, which language?

- What languages do you use as a couple?

Section 2: Self-assessment of language proficiency, was designed using my experience as a language assessor, and contains a self-evaluation of linguistic proficiency using a grid with the four macro skills and a four part rating from poor to very good. There is space for up to four languages to be rated. The aim of this section was to identify how many languages the participant claimed to speak and how well they assessed their abilities in both spoken and written forms. The Section 3 family (language) tree is a modified version of that used by a doctoral colleague in her work on bilingual childcare in Sydney (Benz, 2017) and showed past and present family home languages of the participant, their parents and grandparents. The aim of this section was to identify the linguistic environment of the participants during their childhood in the home and with grandparents, as well as to identify their national origins.

The initial draft of the questionnaire was given to two doctoral colleagues and then finalised in response to their feedback in terms of ease of use and comprehensibility. All ESB participants were given questionnaires before or during the interview which they filled out themselves. Four sent it to me via email and the rest gave it to me during the interview. The majority of the participants had completed the questionnaire before the interview and were thus primed as to the focus on language and language learning. One participant did not fill out the family tree section and sent me the information via email in response to a later request from me. Thus there was a mixed completion time for the questionnaire. The next section describes the interview process.

3.4.3 Interviews

The interview was selected as a data collection approach because of "its qualities of flexibility of operation, sensitivity in acknowledging feelings, and potential delicacy of interpretation." (Mills, 2004, p. 167) Interviews have the potential to generate "productive discourse" (Gray, 2003, p. 100) which can put into words representations of social life which were previously unnameable. She maintains:

> Those areas for which there are no 'ready-made' descriptions or terms or concepts are thus being rendered 'speakable' […] We can see here how the interviewer and her/his respondent come together in a collaborative project. What the interviewer wants to find are answers to questions, this drive and the respondent's willingness and desire to articulate their experience, produces a formidable 'search engine' of productive discourse which, if listened to carefully, can provide new ways of looking at the world. In this way, the standard topics of our research can be opened up, expanded and provide valuable knowledge for new research questions (Gray, 2003, p. 100).

Jaffe (2009) further argues that interviews are a useful tool for generating talk about language:

> We find empirical traces of language ideologies in multiple types and levels of data. Language ideologies are reflected in explicit statements about language (in metalinguistic discourse); they are refracted in practices that orient or draw upon ideologies as resources, and are also embedded as presuppositions of discourses (p. 391).

Interview data has the potential to provide a rich sources of Jaffe's three kinds of data, explicit talk about language, linguistic practices within the interviews and the discourses which undergird them.

Other approaches to this research, such as direct observation or ethnographic approaches, were discounted. The "pervasive public-private boundary" (Piller, 2002, p. 16) makes observation of intimate talk difficult, particularly the kind of talk about language, the meta-linguistic discourse, which this research seeks to understand. Furthermore, the focus of this research is not the production of naturally occurring language, but rather beliefs and attitudes towards language

learning and linguistic practice. This specific focus meant that interviews were an effective way to access the interpretation of previous language learning experiences. Unstructured, single interviews also allowed me to interview a higher number of participants, uncovering common themes in the data as well as noteworthy exceptions with a view towards discovering transferable constructs.

I compiled a media corpus on Australian news article on the topic of bilingual couples as background reading to the interviews. The interview schedule was developed from the research questions (see Appendix E). I then conducted thirty open-ended interviews from September 2012 to February 2014, 16 with ESB individuals and 14 with ESB-NESB couples.

The interview began with me thanking the participant for their time, a mention of confidentiality issues, explaining the interview procedure and asking the participants to read and sign a consent form (see Appendix C). Once that was signed I asked the participants' permission to begin recording the interview so that I could concentrate on the interaction and avoid having to take notes. I referred to the interview schedule more or less often depending on how much the interview "flowed". Reflecting the unusual focus on the majority language speaker, many of the participants were unsure about what issues I was specifically interested in beyond language difference, some assumed the focus was bilingual parenting while others assumed it was marital harmony. I tried to direct the interviews towards talking about language where I thought it was being overlooked but otherwise let the participants guide the direction of the interview somewhat. This was more common in the couple interviews where there was more of a need to negotiate space to talk. I tried to ask specific questions about language practice and attitudes. I felt some interviews were more "successful" than others but then often discovered during transcription that my own feelings of comfort had led me to being an inattentive listener or to speaking for the participant rather than checking with them. The length of the interviews varied from under an hour to almost three hours, depending on the participant's interest and availability.

Interviews were held in spaces nominated by participants, the majority elected to have them at home for convenience or at their workplace. Some met me in a cafe and we did the interview there. The aim was to make the interviews as little of an inconvenience as possible for the participants, many of whom had long days at work and/or small children at home. I recorded the interviews using a digital recorder and my phone as a backup, which I always told the participants before turning on. Often I turned off the recorder and left the phone on for a minute while giving the participant a gift or making small talk. This had the unintentional effect of putting them at ease as the interview was officially over. I often noted in the field notes that interesting things were said during this time. In one case I then transcribed the five-minute conversation that occurred after I turned the recorder off as it was all about naming practices. Ten of the interviews were conducted while babies and children were present, which often meant the participants were distracted but it also had the positive effect of putting them at their ease as we talked about the children.

Finally, I note that the participants lived mostly in the more affluent suburbs and a high percentage of them were tertiary educated. This fits into the theoretical assumptions of the research model and is thus not a limitation of the study (Silverman, 2006). This inquiry is concerned with attitudes towards LOTEs by those who are in a relationship with a migrant LOTE speaker as an unexplored domain. It seeks to turn the spotlight of migrant research onto the host population and thus this group is in fact ideal to highlight that migrant issues have a wide societal relevance and are not automatically correlated with social disadvantage.

3.4.4   Field notes and emails

As well as the thirty interviews I have field notes I made immediately after each interview. Occasionally I referred to these to clarify details from the interviews and they also serve a useful purpose for recording my impressions of the interview, such as its quality, the interest of the participant/s or the environment where the interview was held, and thus giving a frame of reference to the interview data. Many of the participants also wrote emails to me to organise

meeting for the interview, some sent me introductory emails seeing if they were eligible for the study in which they introduced themselves and their families. Some participants also received follow up emails from me after the interviews and their responses also form part of my data.

3.5 Data Treatment

This section describes the treatment of the material collected through questionnaires and interviews. It outlines the process of transcription and of coding the interview transcripts.

3.5.1 Questionnaires

The questionnaires were compiled and the information entered into a spreadsheet using Microsoft Excel. For Section 1 the data was entered into columns and then the sort function was used to sort the participant by question to make some general demographic and representative statements about the group as a whole, such as identifying common areas of occupation and places of residence. For Section 2 the data was compiled by giving a value to each of the proficiencies on the scale, as follows: very poor 1, poor 2, average 3, good 4 and very good 5. This enabled me to average the five skills to get an average proficiency level as well as a level for oral skills only. The aim of this was to be able to make general statements about the self-reported proficiency of the participants, rather than any precise measurements of tested proficiency. For Section 3 I listed all of the languages spoken in the family and to the participant. I identified seven different birth places and counted the number of ESB participants, their parents and grandparents who were born in those countries. This allowed me to count how many ESB participants, parents and grandparents were born in Australia or other English-speaking countries.

The income question in the questionnaire was not well-designed, as I based it on the census which only asks about personal income but changed the question to household income. The result was that the number ranges were too low and I was only able to make very general statements about the range of household incomes among the participants. However, with the

exception of this question the questionnaire data in Excel was easy to manipulate and access and provided rich, tabulated data to supplement the interviews.

3.5.2 Interview transcription

I transcribed twenty two of the interviews in full over a period of eleven months. At that point, as a result of my disrupted studies (see Section 3.7) I applied for funding to have eight of the interviews transcribed professionally. I listened to the interviews and checked these transcripts for accuracy, adapting to the transcription conventions as needed. The professional transcription service often left out utterances such as "you know" and "uhuh" which I then inserted, and at times they also missed data from particular individuals or mixed two speakers into one. For example, in the transcript of interview 23 with Abigail and Fernando the transcriber often did not transcribe the turns by Fernando at all, and I had to insert many of his utterances into the transcript. Thus the checking of the transcripts for accuracy was useful not only from a technical but also an analytic perspective. The aim of the transcriptions was to produce a text which was appropriate for content and discourse analysis, including hesitations, unfinished utterances and the use of "um" and similar filler words (see page *xiv* for transcription conventions). On a small number of instances where the participant used a language I was not able to translate, I sent the participant a follow-up email and asked for a translation, which they provided.

3.5.3 Coding

The interview transcripts and the field notes were imported into Nvivo (Nvivo qualitative data analysis software, 2012). The coding process was based on a qualitative theme-based content analysis which would draw out the key topics in the interviews. As the interviews were based on a series of interview questions drawn from the research questions these themes were researcher-generated. Despite this, due to the open-ended nature of the interviews other related themes which were salient for participants also arose. Thus the aim of coding was to identify these themes and produce texts which included all instances of that theme for analysis. The qualitative software Nvivo was used for this task which allowed me to easily create and refine the themes,

called nodes in the program. Nvivo allows the user to create a series of nodes which are then applied to the text. The excerpts from the text are then collated in a Nvivo document which can be exported as a Word file in a summary (list of transcripts) or complete format (including all examples of text excerpts which fit that theme). Nodes can be then ordered hierarchically with the higher order node as the parent node and the lower order nodes as child nodes. This allowed me to group themes/topics as I went, collecting various sub-themes under an overall theme. Furthermore, the software allows you to choose to aggregate child nodes under a parent node so that they are automatically coded at that node as well. Thus it is possible to easily gain an overview of the nodes, such as the most common parent nodes or the nodes with the least references in the data.

The coding process was one of continuous refinement. For example, in the first interview one of the salient issues which arose was the issue of the attitude of Paul's (P01-ESB) mother to his wife's accent:

> *Excerpt 1*
> My overall impression was that they were happy to talk about language and there wasn't much they didn't feel comfortable talking about. Except maybe one moment early on, when they were talking about Paul's mum not understanding Sara's accent, both of their body language got a bit stiff which I think was during that moment (P01-field notes).

Initially I coded this at the node *communicating with in-laws* but as my list of nodes grew longer and I began to refine it I went back to the field note and coded it under the parent (child) nodes: *being in an intercultural couple (communicating with in-laws)* and *migration (language challenges)*. This allowed me to refer to it when I considered each of these two topics. Moreover, the Nvivo nodes function has two tabs which allowed me a quick overview of each node: a summary list of sources and how many instances of coding within each source and a complete list of all coded excerpts. This allowed me to see which transcripts contained that theme/topic, what percentage of the text contained that theme/topic and how many separate times it was

mentioned. For example in the transcript of interview 6, Elaine (P06-ESB), language learning of the LOTE was salient. I coded this as *language learning (language proficiency: ESB partner)* and could see that it was mentioned four separate times and that it comprised 9% of the interview, which was high compared to the majority of transcripts.

I began coding after transcribing five interviews and making a list of key themes. The participant's discursive constructions of identity in the interviews seemed like a good place to start. I labelled on such discourse *partner as language expert, self as language failure*. However, it quickly became clear that this was too abstract and removed from the actual transcripts for effective coding and thus lacked reliability. Silverman (2006) argues that "high-reliability in qualitative research is associated with low-inference descriptors" (p. 283). With this in mind I kept my nodes as concrete as possible, drawing on the themes from my corpus of media data on bilingual couples, topics in the interview schedule, topics in linguistics and migration studies and topics which were raised by participants. The most salient themes which emerged from this process were: being in an intercultural couple, language learning, Australian identity, negotiating linguistic difference, multilingualism and migration. These themes were then categorised as overall themes (or parent nodes), which had a total of 5512 references in the transcripts (see Table 3.1). In total there were 80 themes used to code the data, which included broader themes such as *language learning* and more specific themes such as *crying* (see Appendix G).

Theme (node)	Number of sources	References
Being in an intercultural couple	66	729
Language learning	54	523
Australian identity	76	496
Negotiating linguistic difference	37	377
Multilingualism	59	275
Migration	35	209

Table 3.1: most common parent nodes used in thematic-content analysis

3.6 Data Analysis

Data analysis was an ongoing process which began during interviews as I listened to participants and began to reflect on patterns, such as differences between them or between ESB and NESB couple members. The coding process occurred in tandem with transcription (one final interview) over a period of about twelve months (during this period I was working part-time on the research). During that time I read the first completed transcripts, created codes and then re-read and re-coded them. Every time I created a new node I re-read the transcripts I had already coded and re-coded them. I then used these codes for the remainder of the transcripts. This process meant that I read each transcript many times and developed a good "feel" for my data. Using codes also meant that it was easy to check if my recall of a piece of data was correct and during the process of writing up my findings I often checked the transcripts using the nodes and found that my memory was slightly different from the actual data. In this way I was able to use both an intuitive approach to the data and a systematic one. The use of Nvivo and Excel allowed me to see the data in various ways, textually (as whole interviews), thematically (as nodes within and across interviews) and individually (as participants represented on a table).

The combination of Nvivo functionality, close reading and background reading gave me insight into salient themes and how they were represented in the data. I was then able to easily relate the data back to my research questions and consider the intersections of various topics and themes. Nvivo alone was able to highlight salience through counting instances in a text but salience could also be made manifest in other ways, through extra-linguistic cues such as pauses or those noted in field notes, such as the body language in Excerpt 1. Even the absence of a common theme is significant, as in the following:

> *Excerpt 2*
> I didn't get to ask a lot of questions because Mary seemed
> to have a strong idea about what she wanted to say. And she
> clearly has thought about, talked about and been

> interviewed about these topics frequently. She talked a lot about her relationship and the intercultural communication involved with it. I was disappointed that I didn't get to ask more about language use and how it related to those things. I would have also liked to ask more about her Japanese learning experience. She seems very confident with her Japanese and <u>didn't seem to have any language insecurity at all</u> (P2-field notes).

Overall, this research required both an in-depth approach which was sensitive to the complexity of the research question and a sufficient number of participants to observe commonalities and draw conclusions about the phenomena under investigation. Thirty interviews were conducted at various locations across the city, which led to approximately forty three hours of audio material and approximately four hundred thousand words of audio transcripts. Although initially I had hoped to do a follow-up interview, the amount of data collection, treatment and analysis was sufficient after one interview given the limitations of my research period and of only having one researcher. However, the large size of the interview corpus and the fact that some of the interviews were less informative than others was irrelevant once I began to analyse a small number of "rich" interviews which generated themes I was then able to find in the wider data set, using the "constant comparative" method suggested by Silverman (2006, p. 296). Moreover, the analysis of three contrasting cases was used to prove the validity of the assertions made about the majority of the data.

Close reading of the data with an attention to discursive and textual features was a central part of my analysis which was a multi-text process drawing on all the data to make inferences about what was happening. In my reading of the data I considered the role of the researcher in the kind of data produced in the interviews and the positions taken up by the speakers, as outlined in the next section.

3.7   Role of the researcher

The positionality of the researcher is crucial to good research practices and particularly important in qualitative interview research such as this where the researcher is part of the co-construction of discourse which forms the majority of data analysed in the research. As Rapley (2004) argues:

> The talk in an interview may be as much about the person producing themselves as an 'adequate interviewee', as a 'specific type of person in relation to this specific topic'. In this sense, interview data may be more a reflection of the social encounter between the interviewer and the interviewee than it is about the actual topic itself (p. 16).

I was able to access participants through my status as a university researcher where the name of a major university gave me status and legitimacy, as well as through my work as an English language teacher where I was able to send an internal email to all the teachers at the institution asking for volunteers and where I was able to speak informally to former students and colleagues I met on campus. My positive collegial relationships were the reason one participant gave as to why she volunteered:

> *Excerpt 3*
> Hanna: Usually the first question I ask people is why did you agree to participate in this research?
>
> Genevieve: Um well, because I actua-
>
> Hanna: Apart from being lovely [laughs].
>
> Genevieve: I'm actually really interested in languages and I have some ideas of my own about languages. Also, I think that it's good to support other people who are doing research.
>
> Hanna: Thank you! [laughs].
>
> Genevieve: And I like Hanna.
>
> (P29-ESB)

Moreover, the first answer that Genevieve gave was not an uncommon reply to my question of why participants volunteered for the study. As well as having an established professional identity to draw on for the recruitment of participants, I also benefitted from a positive evaluation of

academic research and a belief in the importance of contributing to that research more generally. This attitude contributed to the willingness of the participants to speak about themselves to me even if we were strangers, as many of them were.

I was also able to draw on my personal networks as a local person in Sydney ("a Sydneysider") to gain access to people through friends and family. My partner, my family and my friends were responsible for recruiting fourteen of the thirty participants through their personal and professional networks. I was also able to do recruitment through another university where I had been a student. My aim in detailing these connections is to show the relative ease of access I was able to have to participants, through my local networks. This was a significant advantage for me as a novice researcher.

However, as a novice researcher I sometimes had much to learn. When listening to the interviews I was frequently frustrated at my failure to draw out participants on topics they clearly had more to say about. It became very clear that my personal relationship with the participant and my level of rapport with them had a significant effect on the kinds of questions I asked and the kinds of answers I was given (Madison, 2012). Sometimes having a prior relationship with the participant led to a less candid interview, while sometimes knowing nothing at all about the participant led to more candid answers. Sometimes it seemed to have less to do with me as an interviewer and more to do with the participant's interest in the subject. Or perhaps it was an issue of personal values, as I note in my research journal regarding two interviews:

> *Excerpt 4*
> 17 January 2013: I felt the interview didn't go well at the time and now transcribing it I feel myself cringe at how disengaged I am. Methodology note: jumping too quickly into the present without asking about the past means you ask irrelevant questions!

> *Excerpt 5*
> 22 July 2013: I am finding that I am a much better interviewer in this interview! Perhaps because I have such radically different beliefs and values I was more professional than I was with those who I felt aligned to?

Sometimes I was surprised at the level of rapport and the level of interest I was able to generate, as well as some of the candid responses to questions of preference and practice in their personal relationships which I was able to get from people who I had just met. This is all testament to the goodwill of the participants and their energy and interest in the subject.

Occasionally during an interview a participant asked if I was in a linguistic intermarriage and when I answered in the negative, asked why I was interested in this topic. This could have led me to believe that this was a problem for my participants and a disadvantage for me. I was a little concerned that my outsider status would inhibit the talk because I lacked the kinds of biographical experiences which would lead to "mutual self-disclosure" (Rapley, 2004, p. 12). However, this was outweighed by the advantages of being an outsider to linguistic intermarriage and in almost all cases to any proficiency or in-depth knowledge of the language/s and culture/s of the migrant partners gave me in the interactions. It meant that I positioned myself and was positioned as a receptive audience who had a genuine knowledge gap which the participants were often happy to fill. In this example the participant, Stephen, identifies himself as a non-Spanish speaker but is still able to position himself as a relative expert compared to me:

> *Excerpt 6*
> Hanna: Yeah, sure. And um so have you ever done anything else, like listen to Spanish tapes or watch Spanish-?
>
> Stephen: I bought some [laughs].
>
> Hanna: Okay. Well, that's something [laughs].
>
> Stephen: And I that and I, I remember the style of the ones I bought and I listened to them and they were, as you would appreciate there's Spanish from Spain and there's uh South American Spanish and the Argentinean is different okay, so there's some difference of words, like uh *frutillas* would be strawberries in Argentina, and *fresas* is actually the Spanish word. They also in Argentina use a, they tend to use *vos* as a form of informal you as opposed to Spanish. There's also different pronunciation, […], the two L's makes a different sound and the- like that uh […] (P21-ESB)

This often led to this kind of explicit description of vocabulary or cultural practices which provided useful data for analyses of questions of self-construction and positioning relative to the LOTE and cultural practices.

The kind of "teacher" role that Stephen takes in this example is also illustrative of a common dynamic in the interviews and that is the relative importance of age and gender in dictating the terms of interaction during the interview. I am a white woman who was in her mid-thirties when the interviews took place and this may have affected how the participants interacted with me. For older participants this might mean that they spoke more and were less likely to tolerate being interrupted by me. For younger participants they may have needed more guidance and spoken less. I noticed during many interviews that the male participants with female partners were often interested in positioning themselves as supportive and active partners. It is possible that is how they often position themselves, however, I have to take into account that they are perhaps unlikely to be critical of their partners to a female interviewer who they see as more likely to sympathise with their wife/partner. Often in couple interviews I was positioned as the audience to the couple banter, again, my gender and age may have played a role. In fact I often had much more in common with the participants than I initially expected (see Section 3.4.2) in terms of age, schooling and profession. This led to some ethical questions which I will address in Section 3.8.

Finally, I would like to briefly address the timeline of this research. In 2014, in my second year of the PhD my baby daughter was diagnosed with aggressive cancer. Our family spent 18 months in various forms of gruelling treatment but we were left without a cure and a great uncertainty about the future. It is difficult to overstate how this affected my candidature. However, I was able to resume the research on a part-time basis thanks to the support of my supervisor and the university. Thus the delay in writing up my research findings and submission.

3.8 Ethical considerations

The focus of this research is adult intimate relationships, with partners, children and in-laws, as well as attitudes and beliefs about language and social life. Intimate relationships can be an emotional domain for research and in the context of competing social and personal attitudes towards languages and language use it may be a difficult topic to discuss with an unfamiliar person. For this reason I followed a number of guiding principles to maintain the ethical integrity of the research. The first was informed consent. All participants were given a consent form with information about the research focus, the duration of interviews, the token of appreciation they would receive and the recording of interviews (see Appendix C). Each participant was given time to read this consent form and ask any questions before the interview began and the recording device was turned on. Prior to the interview, many participants read the online advertisement which contained very similar information to the consent form. The second principle is that participation was voluntary. All participants were able to withdraw from the research study at any time without giving a reason. However, the self-selection of participants reflected their interest in the subject and there were no withdrawals.

The third principle was confidentiality. All participants were given pseudonyms in the data to protect their privacy and retain their anonymity. Finally I was guided by the need to avoid doing harm and do justice in the research. Eight of the participants were known to me personally before the interviews and I was conscious of the need to be sensitive of and respect the boundaries of our personal relationship above and beyond the research goals. Throughout the research I wrote a number of short research blogs for the Languageonthemove site. Every time I did this I emailed all the participants who had asked to be kept informed about my research. This gave research participants an ongoing connection with me and some ownership of the research. The outcome of one blog post led to Jimmy expressing discomfort with reading about his interview and asking for his pseudonym to be changed, as I noted in my research journal:

Excerpt 7

27 July 2015

> A few weeks ago I wrote the blog about native speaker guilt and one of my participants really felt uncomfortable about it. He said that he hated reading his own words, they seemed stupid to him. I was really shocked by this and also by his criticism of the pseudonym I had chosen. I offered to change the name and later sent him a text making the offer again. He chose Jimmy. His partner had no problems with the blog and agreed with my theorisation. Next time I write about them I will run it by him first.

Jimmy's negative reaction made me more sensitive to the participant's needs for anonymity in my writing. Many participants were interested in bilingual parenting and asked for links on this topic and many also thanked me for the opportunity to talk about the topics in the interviews. Some participants expressed their gratitude at the space and time the interview gave them to reflect on their lives and their relationships.

> *Excerpt 8*
> You took us on quite a nice journey, it was quite interesting.
> (George)

> *Excerpt 9*
> I hope I've answered everything properly for you, it's interesting to be on the other side of the Dictaphone (laughs). (Elaine)

Overall the aim was that the interviews were an opportunity for participants to reflect on their lives in a positive and meaningful way. Through adhering to these principles I believe that this research was conducted in an ethical way.

3.9   Summary

This chapter has outlined the research methodology, participant recruitment and selection and methods of data collection and analysis. It has also considered the positionality of the researcher and the ethics of the research. I have described the data as consisting of thirty field notes and interviews with 16 ESB individuals and 14 ESB-NESB couples. This data was supplemented by the research journal and a demographic and language-proficiency questionnaire from all ESB participants, as well as the email correspondence between myself and research participants. This

is a qualitative research project which seeks to add to the existing knowledge on approaches towards multilingualism in Australia. The reliability of the study lies in the considered approach to the data collection, treatment and analysis. Silverman (2006) argues that qualitative research achieves validity through the methods of analytic induction, constant-comparison, deviant-case analysis, the comprehensive treatment of data and using appropriate tabulations. In this study all five of these methods are used to ensure the validity of the research findings.

The next chapter begins the analysis by focusing on the language learning trajectories of ESB participants and contrasts them with selected English language learning trajectories of their NESB migrant partners.

4 Language learning trajectories

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the foreign language learning (henceforth FLL) experiences of the ESB participants using data from the questionnaire and the interviews. I first focus on the experiences of FLL in compulsory education, and then turn to the specific experience of learning the LOTE spoken as an L1 by the migrant partner. Overall, it will be shown that as a result of the lack of seriousness and sufficient duration which characterises FLL in education in Australia, the majority of ESB participants were failed language learners of any LOTE with some significant exceptions. Their experiences contrast with the successful experiences of many NESB migrant partners, who had more opportunities and incentives to learn English than their partners had to learn a LOTE. The ESB participants further experienced a strong disincentive to FLL in the form of the global demand for English. Their need for LL was thus different to the perceived need for LOTE speakers and this is reflected in the data.

4.2 Foreign language learning (FLL) from school to adulthood

This section describes the ESB participants' FLL in schooling, which is characterised by a lack of seriousness and long duration, and thus a lack of language learning success. Following this I outline the language learning undertaken of the L1 spoken by their partner, looking at both informal and formal language study. Finally, I review the contrasting case study of Mary, who had a highly successful FLL trajectory from school to adulthood.

4.2.1 FLL in schooling

The period in which the participants in this study were pupils in the Australian education system spans the second half of the last century, from 1950 to 2009. This is also the period in which enrolments in LOTE subjects began a steep decline after the removal of compulsory foreign language requirements for entry to university (Lo Bianco & Slaughter, 2009). The

majority of the participants (18/26) were not able to access any foreign language learning at all in the six years of their primary school education in Australia (four participants have been excluded from the discussion here because their primary schooling took place outside Australia). Many of the participants went to primary school before the National Policy on Languages (NPL) led to an increase in the language programs in primary schools. Of the eight participants who did have access to FLL in primary school in Australia, seven of them were in the age range which suggests they attended school after 1987 when the NPL led to increased participation in primary language programs (Liddicoat, 2010, p. 20). The remaining one participant attended an independent religious school, where he was taught Latin as part of his religious education.

The languages studied at a primary school level in Australia during this period were a result of European conventional school languages inherited from a British education system (French, German and occasionally Latin), languages which were seen as economically and regionally important (Japanese and Indonesian) and languages which were the result of migrant community activism (Italian) (Lo Bianco & Slaughter, 2009). The languages present in the data as studied during primary school are Italian (3), Japanese (2) , Spanish (2), German (1) and Latin (1) (one participant studied Spanish and German). Notably, only one participant (Mary) was able to study a LOTE (Japanese) throughout both levels of schooling and into tertiary education and this led to significantly different outcomes (see Section 4.2.3).

Those who did engage in FLL in primary school spoke about the experience in fairly negative terms:

> *Excerpt 10*
> I started off in primary school I think we learned a bit of
> Spanish, and then in high school it was um uh French
> and then German and then I did German for a further few

years. So that's the language I speak best, I know almost nothing. (Jonathan)

Excerpt 11
I don't know about your primary school experience but we did Italian once a week. Like how are you going to learn a language for half an hour once a week? (Jimmy)

Excerpt 12
Um in primary I think we learnt Italian, um, sort of in our junior years and I 'spose I, I may have remembered a little bit from that, not a lot, and then in high school in year seven you do French, German, Indonesian, Japanese and Latin and I continued Latin 'till year ten. (Matthew)

In each excerpt FLL is downplayed, by referring to it as "a bit" or similar, by remarking on their lack of retention of lesson content or by hedging devices such as "I think". This is unsurprising in the context of FLL in primary schooling in Australia, which has historically been less serious and where teacher quality is more variable than in secondary schooling (Liddicoat et al., 2007). Again, the exception to this is Mary, who said that she "met Japanese at school and […] liked it".

In secondary school the participation rates were higher. Moreover, these participants compare favourably with the national participation rates, their participation in FLL at a senior level is higher than the national participation rates which have been approximately ten to fifteen per cent of high-school leavers over the last three decades (Liddicoat et al., 2007, p. 38). Seven out of twenty eight participants studied a foreign language for their final secondary school examinations in Australia (two participants were excluded from the data because they studied in New Zealand rather than Australia for the majority of their secondary schooling). The languages studied were French (4), Spanish (2), Japanese (1) and German (1) (one participant studied French and Spanish for the final exam). However, thirteen participants chose not to or did not have the opportunity to progress to a senior school level (beyond the tenth year of compulsory schooling). The participants gave a range of reasons for their discontinuation of

FLL, such as languages not being considered highly academic subjects or necessary for further study at university. These responses are discussed further below. The languages studied were French (7), German (4) and Latin (2). A number of participants studied a foreign language for less than one year or not at all. Some were in regional or rural areas which had limited opportunities for language learning. Two participants changed schools and thus missed the opportunity to study a language at the junior school and it was not available at a senior level, and one attended a school where no foreign languages were offered at any level. One participant, Robert, elected to study German but after a year it was no longer offered. Other participants' only language learning was the "taster" program in their first year of secondary school, where they studied French and German, plus either Italian, Indonesian or Japanese. Many of these participants describe their language learning experiences as a list of languages studied consecutively:

> *Excerpt 13*
> Like there were a couple of months of German and a couple of weeks, maybe a few weeks of Italian then that was the end of semester one and changed schools and then in year 7 at [school name] I think we did maybe French as the bulk, maybe half might have been French of the next semester so a term maybe of French and then a term of Japanese roughly. (Elliot)

> *Excerpt 14*
> Again so in rural sort of area um it was a big school um we had French […] high school we had French and there was something Japanese. We took both of them we took it was ver- it was ridiculous now when I think about it we took Japanese for half a year and French for the other (laughs) and neither actually neither of the teachers really spoke the language properly, we did have a good French teacher for a couple of months until she quit under pressure. (Gerald)

In these examples the languages studied are given as a list of subjects of extremely short duration and of limited seriousness bordering on complete futility. This futility is particularly clear when looking at the self-ratings of language proficiency on the questionnaire and cross-

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referencing them with the interview data. The questionnaire asked participants: *For each of your languages (including English), rate yourself in the four skill areas by ticking the appropriate box (if you have more than three languages please write in the blank space at the bottom of the page).* The ratings given were on a scale from very poor, poor, average, good to very good and the four skill areas are speaking, listening, reading and writing. Out of the twenty two participants who engaged in FLL at some point during their formal education, only eight gave themselves a rating, the majority did not rate their skills at all. Of those who did, only five rated themselves as good or above (see Table 4.1) and these participants developed their skills outside of the school system, with the exception of Mary (see Section 4).

ESB PARTICIPANT	LANGUAGE	CURRENT RATING
MARY	Japanese	Very good
ABIGAIL	Spanish	Very good
MARNIE	Japanese	Good
LINDSAY	Spanish	Good
GENEVIEVE	French	Good
MICHELLE	German	Poor
LOUISA	French	Poor
MEGAN	Indonesian	Very poor

Table 4.1: ESB participants self-rating of FLs learned in school/university education

Indeed, throughout the data there is a negative evaluation of the FLL in school ("ridiculous", "how are you going to learn a language for half an hour once a week?") and often connected to a belief that the individual was a poor language learner as in the following examples:

Excerpt 15
I had had pretty dire experiences at school with French and German, having studied French for four years, I knew one sentence, having done German for three years, I knew less than one sentence um so I wasn't, I had always kind of thought of myself as not being somebody who could learn languages […] (Paul)

Excerpt 16
[…] I recognise that it's my deficiency in not having had the time to devote to learning a language. Now, I, I make the standard joke I have 50 words of […] Spanish that I know. I work very hard and uh it's a standing family joke […] I have not been successful with Spanish, my wife teases me I have no ear for language or not a very good one at least […] As I said, I haven't got a very good ear, though they tell me that Spanish is allegedly […] easy to learn, it hasn't been […] (Stephen)

In Excerpt 15 the language learning experiences in school and the accompanying ideologies about language learning lead to a belief that good language learners are those that are able to produce language ("I knew less than one sentence"). The expectation that FLL in school in Australia would lead to communicative fluency led Paul to construct his language learning as a failure and to construct himself as a poor or failed language learner. Similarly, in Excerpt 16, an absence of communicative fluency is constructed as a "deficiency", as not having a "good ear" despite the obvious acknowledgment that without an adequate time commitment to language learning no learning can take place. In this language learning ideology, grammatical or vocabulary knowledge is secondary to communicative fluency as the only goal for language learning, a goal which is constructed as out of their reach.

Even more significantly, a number of participants chose not to continue FLL in school not because they failed but despite their considerable academic success. Although FLL is here constructed as a success in terms of academic achievement, it lacks the gravitas which makes it an appropriate study for the secondary school final examinations. This highlights the discourse of the lack of seriousness of FLL in Australian schools, regardless of academic

success or failure. Excerpt 17 shows the downplaying of FLL through the previously described "taster programs", where students study one language each term for four terms in the first year of secondary school. It also shows the lack of seriousness of FLL despite academic success and longer study duration:

Excerpt 17
Hanna: Did you learn other languages at school?

Leon: Yes but not in any great detail so the only languages I would have learnt more than just the cursory one term so in year seven you just do one term of four different ones uhh but then I did do German from eight to eleven so about four years' worth.

Hanna: And did you like it?

Leon: Yeah I liked it I topped the school in that for four straight years but I didn't […] I didn't take it right through to year 12 but.

Hanna: Why was that?

Leon: Uhmmm it was one of those things where you got to a point where do you do you do- […] it's the balance between doing the subjects you really enjoy versus what might be best for one, your mark, and two, your university prerequisites […] I decided in the end that I'll stick with the 4 unit maths and English you've got to do and I liked chemistry so I kept that and it would be useful for, for uni[versity] and then I basically chose between geography and German […] so I just really stuck with geography […]

Leon answers the question with a qualification, "not in any great detail" but then adds that he studied German for four years almost as an afterthought. It then emerges that he achieved the highest mark in the school ("topped the school") every year for four years. It is significant that even under these circumstances FLL is not considered serious enough to be worth continuing to the highest level available in school. FLL in Australia suffers from a continued fragility because of its low value in accessing high status university courses due to the scaling mechanisms used to achieve the university entrance marks (Feneley & Calixto, 2016). This

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situation adds to discourses of FLL as not only trivial but at times detrimental to the Australian learner. Furthermore, they inform ideologies of language learning as will be discussed in the next section.

4.2.2   FLL in adulthood

In many cases the ESB participants said meeting their partner was the main motivation for learning a new foreign language. Twenty one ESB participants had undertaken some form of formal language study of the L1 (or in some cases L2) spoken by their partner (see Appendix G). I refer to this language as the LOTE to include in the meaning both the migrant partners' L1/2 and the ESB participants' L2 (or in some cases L3). The LOTE, was in almost all cases the language associated with their partner's country of origin, although in one case it was a language used professionally by their partner as one of a number of languages in their linguistic repertoire. The LOTE was thus language spoken by the migrant partner as a first or main language. There is an almost total mismatch between the FLL undertaken during schooling and the LOTE language learning undertaken as an adult (again, Mary is the one exception). A common theme in the data is minimal engagement in systematic second language learning (henceforth L2LL) after meeting their partner. Indeed, the majority of those participants who only engaged in informal language learning during adulthood gave themselves no rating on the questionnaire (see Table 4.2).

ESB PARTICIPANT	LANGUAGE LEARNING OF LOTE	SELF-RATING OF LOTE
THALIA	Study with limited resources at home and with partner.	Poor (Susu)
JONATHAN	Partner Eva taught him some phrases and made him a key chain phrasebook.	Very poor (Bulgarian)
SCOTT	Study with language resources while living in China.	No rating
ELLIOT	Study using app on phone.	No rating
JOHN	Study using app on phone.	No rating
GEORGE	Partner Klahan taught him "pillow talk", on a visit to Thailand with in-laws.	No rating
LEON	Study with a book at home.	No rating
EMMA	Study with limited resources at home.	No rating

Table 4.2: Informal (only) L2LL and ESB participants' self-ratings

In the data, informal language learning was described as unserious and low stakes, and there is little investment (Norton & Toohey, 2011; Norton Peirce, 1995) in language learning success, a perpetuation of the kinds of approaches to language learning from Australian schooling. It is described as taking place in social situations with their partner's friends or family, as being facilitated by children's books or conversations with children and as being a hobby, an exotic or unusual activity for an ESB Australian. In this example Megan describes how she used to talk to taxi drivers as a way of improving her Korean skills:

> *Excerpt 18*
> In the taxi like if you spoke to a taxi driver just said hello in Korean […] they were thrilled and then they thought that you were fluent and then the taxi driver would just speak for the whole trip in Korean and then when they stopped I thought oh they must have asked a question like when there was a pause that must have been a question and then I would say pardon (laughs) […] then they would repeat the question and then I could answer the question (laughs) but they would just be talking dadadada in Korean and pause (laughs). (Megan)

Here the stakes in which Korean is used are low; with a taxi driver who is described as so pleased that a white Western woman can say one phrase in Korean that he does not notice she cannot follow the rest of the conversation. There is no sense in which this is a high-stakes encounter, such as a workplace, a gatekeeping encounter with officials or an educational context, where misunderstandings have meaningful, real-life, consequences. Being praised for one's language skills in contexts where foreigners rarely speak local languages was a common theme, as in this example:

> *Excerpt 19*
> I was always a massive hit with these like Estonian [oldies] parties. Oldies sitting around a big table in the shed somewhere drinking vodka and they love me. I always get this speech in Estonian, some Russians have been living here for 50 years and they don't even speak a word of Estonian. You speak it so good, like you're not even – [born] here - then I sit there talking to them in Estonian for hours. When you're drunk I find your language skills improve. (James)

In this example the stakes, and the expectations, are low and language learning is portrayed as so unserious and low risk it can be improved by drinking to excess. A similar example was given regarding learning Bulgarian in bars:

> *Excerpt 20*
> Hanna: You talked about trying to learn Bulgarian.
>
> Jonathan: Mm.
>
> Hanna: How did you do that?
>
> Jonathan: Um basically by asking Eva - oh, we did it a couple of times when we were out at clubs drunk and she'd write stuff on napkins and I'd try and pronounce it.
>
> Hanna: Sounds like a fun language lesson.

In fact, second language acquisition theory supports the idea that language production, specifically pronunciation, can be improved when anxiety levels are lowered, such as by

drinking alcohol (Guiora, Beit-Hallahmi, Brannon, Dull, & Scovel, 1972), but the point here

is that in the data language learning is often described as happening in informal contexts

where the participants have little investment in successful language outcomes and

motivations are often intrinsic (arising from the desire of the individual) rather than

instrumental (arising from external circumstances). Moreover, in contrast with speaker

expectations in Anglophone countries (Clyne, 2005; Demont-Heinrich, 2010), in the data

speakers are met with low expectations and high praise for what they felt was minimal

language proficiency in the LOTE.

Even for languages where formal language learning opportunities do exist, L2LL is still

constructed as unserious, futile and a choice rather than a necessity. Many participants

attended some kind of formal language study in order to learn their LOTE, at adult education

institutions or universities in Sydney or overseas. Typically the participants talked about their

formal L2LL experiences as of short duration and limited utility, not unlike their experiences

of FLL in school. Some participants downplayed their motivations for formal study as

personal or recreational rather than serious and professional:

> *Excerpt 21*
> Oh um so we had gone to Korea, I taught English, when
> did I do the Korean course, was it the first year? I think
> it was halfway through the first year and I was there for
> two years so I just decided to go and do a course just out
> of interest, um, yeah I guess it was looking at the future
> as well that I would need to be communicating with his
> family so it would be good to speak (laughs) a little bit
> of Korean. (Megan)

In this excerpt Megan constructs the decision to study Korean as low stakes, through the use

of "just" and "I guess", the phrase "out of interest" and the qualifier "a little bit". The need

for Korean is absent, instead it is a personal decision to facilitate good relations with the in-

laws. In other instances participants were critical of the classes because of teacher quality or

the low level of instruction as reasons not to invest in L2LL:

> *Excerpt 22*
> Well when [wife] Sara was pregnant I did, when the
> Institute of Cervantes started up, I went to some, some
> classes, I started doing some classes and the first
> semester was really good um I had a good teacher uh
> who was actually a very new teacher […] the first one
> she was very young and new she put a lot of effort into
> planning her classes you know […] the second teacher
> thought she was the ducks guts* and it she'd been doing
> it for twenty years and there was no planning in the
> lessons it was just garbage and I hated it, so I dropped
> out. Well I finished that and didn't go back. (Paul)

*Note: the duck's guts is colloquial Australian English and means: something or someone

arousing great admiration (Macquarie dictionary, 2003).

> *Excerpt 23*
> […] I also did a course briefly um but I think everyone
> in the course was a absolute beginner (like they didn't)
> really have the follow through to go through so after sort
> of ten weeks I think it was pretty obvious that I wasn't
> going to get anywhere with it. (Matthew)

The majority of participants who engaged in formal L2LL either did not rate their abilities at

all or rated themselves very poor or poor on the questionnaire (see Table 4.2). Even study at a

university level did not result in a high level of proficiency or even identification with the

LOTE, as in the case of John who studied Japanese (his wife's L3 and her main professional

language apart from English) for a semester at university but did not rate his language skills

in Japanese on the questionnaire, suggesting that he does not claim to have any significant

language skills in Japanese.

Some participants saw themselves as struggling language learners who, despite low proficiency, were invested in the fact that they had some abilities in their LOTE. Stories of moments of language learning success seem at first to disrupt the discourse of failed language learning. However, these stories ultimately served to reinforce the self as a failed language learner as they were significant precisely because they were not the norm. Moreover, LOTE use is often limited to ritual, where it is constructed as symbolic gesture of respect for one's partner and in-laws with little investment in it beyond the context of the ritual. This can be seen in the five occurrences in the data of the LOTE being used during wedding ceremonies in contexts where the usual expectations would be that English would be used, as the ESB partners had low or no proficiency in the LOTE. In four cases ESB participants learned their lines in the LOTE rather than in English (Matthew, Ralph, Marc and Amy) and in two cases the LOTE speaker read something in the LOTE to their ESB partner (Amy and Louise) (see Section 6.2.1).

Investing in the idea of themselves as language learners was a common theme in the data. Often this entailed listing the various methods of language learning attempted and telling stories about language use. An example of this was Elaine who describes a variety of approaches to L2LL over the course of her marriage of more than sixteen years:

> *Excerpt 24*
> So I tried this Phillip's language learning system, I've been to classes, I've had one-on-one tutoring, I've done computer program and a book program when I was pregnant with my first child. Six weeks before he was born I started this book program which was actually quite good as well but yeah. My husband doesn't tend to speak to me in Dutch so I've got no, you know I can't reinforce what I've learnt. Um being not, not being surrounded by Dutch speakers. (Elaine)

In this excerpt Elaine highlights the disconnect between her language learning and her husband's linguistic practice. Moreover, despite many and varied attempts Elaine's language

learning is here presented as at best, fairly limited. In contrast to data from her and other ESB wives', there is no evidence in the data of ESB men committing to language learning without the active support of their partners. Scott's wife Jessie, for example, does not support his learning of Chinese and this coincided with him not actively learning Chinese at the time of the interview.

Language learning was, however, not always seen as a failure, even when oral fluency was limited. In response to questions about their experiences of L2LL including interactions with speakers of that language, participants told stories about moments of success in LOTE use. These stories are given as a contrast to the overwhelming discourse of failure of L2LL and were often described in positive ways, as can be seen in the following example. Here I asked a question about being able to understand Elaine's husband's family when they spoke about her in Dutch:

> *Excerpt 25*
> Elaine: […] Two of his nephews are quite nervous around me. They're um now aged twenty one, but a few, a few trips ago. So they were probably in their teens, and um they were in the kitchen I was in the kitchen at Tom's parents' house. And they were talking to their girlfriends and they said, why don't you speak to her, you know and um, meaning me. And they said in Dutch "my English is really, our English is really bad". And I (laughs) I spoke back to them and I said "so is my Dutch, my Dutch is really bad" or you know. And they looked at me and they ran out of the kitchen (laughs). So they do - so sometimes I surprise them (laughs).
>
> Hanna: Yeah right, the power of eavesdropping! Did you answer in English or in Dutch?
>
> Elaine: No in Dutch. In Dutch. It was, I, I, it was a very happy moment for me (laughs).
>
> Hanna: Ah, that doesn't get to happen very often?
>
> Elaine: No that was great, I really frightened them (laughs). They won't say anything rude about, around me anymore, 'cause they don't what my, my capacity of

> Dutch is, that I can understand. And Tom does tell people that, he says, you'd better be careful, you'd be surprised what Elaine can understand.

It was not uncommon in the data for the issue of being linguistically excluded because of a lack of LOTE skills to arise, whether from parenting or from conversations with in-laws (see Section 6.2 and Section 7.3.1). Here we see that having language skills in Dutch is constructed as having power to prevent this kind of exclusion. Even having a very partial knowledge of Dutch is a positive as it enables the speaker to reclaim some of the power in interactions. In fact, a common context in which having skills in the LOTE was constructed as positive was in getting things done independently of their partner, particularly when travelling or living in their partner's country of origin. Being able to manage communicative tasks in their LOTE was also positively constructed as not being a burden to a partner who otherwise undertook much of the language work due to their much higher level of bilingualism.

In some cases L2LL success was extremely low and yet the attempt was still constructed as a gesture of respect. This was the case for Scott, who did not rate his Mandarin Chinese skills on the questionnaire and yet invests in L2LL as a symbolic gesture of respect for his wife and her family:

> *Excerpt 26*
> Yeah well I did it [learned Mandarin] in a very isolated way I suppose because I was just doing it on the TV and I, I wasn't really concerning myself with um, ah, Chinese characters, I was just focusing on […] but we weren't living in a foreigner community in China so that was good. So I felt, I felt great about that because I would always, if I wanted to buy food I had to use Chinese and uh, medicine, food, get a haircut, get a [unclear]. So that felt good, it felt good to be living with my wife in a Chinese community not in a expat community.[…] I thought that trying to learn Chinese while I was in China was a good thing. There was nothing negative or unprofitable about it or- I figured it

> would open doors, it would be good for my in-laws, it
> would help me to show more respect to my wife. (Scott)

Living in a Chinese community is constructed here as sharing the language work as it meant that Scott had to use Chinese, while living in an ex-patriate community would have meant that all the work of interpreting and accommodation would have been done by his wife Jessie. Also present in the data was the idea that L2LL allowed the ESB partner to have some empathy with the language learning experiences of their partner and to shift the balance of power, even if the L2LL efforts were seen as largely a failure. I asked one participant about learning Susu, one of her partner's main languages:

> *Excerpt 27*
> […] It's, it's, it's fun but sometimes it's hard because it really requires you to use your brain in this way that's tiring you know. And yet sometimes I feel so kind of uhhh it just makes me realise how much I'm expecting of him all the time. And, I mean obviously it's easier for him now, English is easier for him now than Susu is for me, like I am like a baby when it comes to Susu. I can't even, I'm still try- like there's some sounds in English that he finds difficult but I'm still trying, some sounds I can't even say like /chr/ kind of and I can't hear them properly um. So that makes it really hard, but uh it's so important in terms of the power dynamic to flip it and it does make me realise oh no I'm too tired to do it now, cause he'll sometimes bring it up late at night and I'm like, I can't, I can't do that now. And then I then god I just expect so much of him and yet I'm like oh sorry I'm too tired (laughs). But I'm sure the tables will turn when we're in Africa and I'm like I don't understand anything. (Thalia)

L2LL has value as a way of balancing out a power differential of varying degrees, although it is worth noting that the example above is drawn from the only interview with a participant whose partner was an African refugee whose schooling had been so disrupted as to leave him with low literacy and numeracy skills and who was learning English at the time of the interview. Obviously in this context the difference in linguistic and social capital between the couple members is significantly greater than for the other participants in this study. However, it was not uncommon for some kind of mitigation of linguistic power imbalances to arise in the data, due to the unequal relations between English and the LOTE (see Section 6.2.2) as

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part of a construction of self as a tentative or struggling language learner. Moreover, the investment was drawn along gendered lines. ESB participants who were highly invested in the LOTE and had engaged in formal study over a long duration were women, while those who had engaged in less formal study or only informal study were men (see Tables 4.2 and 4.3). The only participant to have a successful language learning trajectory throughout her twelve years of compulsory schooling was also a woman (Mary) and this contrasting case will be described in the next section.

4.2.3   Case study: Mary

Mary was one of the few ESB participants who reported a successful language learning trajectory, leading to a high degree of bilingualism which she retained in her personal and professional life at the time of the interview (see Chapter 5, Section 5.3.2 and 5.3.3 for case studies of Marnie and Abigail). Moreover, Mary is the only ESB Australian participant who was able to study one foreign language continuously at all three available levels of government-funded education, primary, secondary and tertiary. Her second language is Japanese. In the questionnaire she reported that her English and Japanese skills were equal. In the data she is the only participant who rates herself at this level. During the interview it was clear that she feels very little language anxiety about her Japanese. Mary studied Japanese from her fifth year of school until university and has made frequent trips to Japan. When she was fourteen her father was able to organise a Japanese penfriend for her, a schoolgirl who then stayed with her at her family home for one week. That was her first intercultural experience:

> *Excerpt 28*
> It was just the most amazing week. It was really good
> for my family as well to have that experience because
> otherwise I don't think if it wasn't for that I don't think
> I would have had much of an intercultural experience by
> choice, it was just what came to me, not really, it wasn't

around me. I didn't live in a family which was overly
linguistically inclined, so yeah.

Mary describes herself as a motivated and engaged language learner. At age fifteen, in her

ninth year of school, she went on a school trip to Japan for two weeks and then as a result

independently organised a two month sojourn through an external organisation. Mary formed

long-lasting relationships with her host family (they later attended her wedding). Mary was

one of four pupils in her Japanese class in a southern Sydney public high school and she

respected and valued her teacher. After achieving high enough grades to enter a law degree,

Mary studied law at an elite Sydney university. However, on completion she decided to go

and live in Japan instead of beginning her career as a lawyer:

> *Excerpt 29*
> I had done Japanese at primary school and high school
> and through university as well, I'd always been over
> there for short trips, I'd been back and forth from Japan
> as an exchange student for short periods of time, visiting
> friends I'd made from my host family but I'd never lived
> there. And I graduated from uni[versity] and I had
> thought that I was going to be a lawyer and I was all
> prepared, and I went to do my clerkship stint and my
> other, other side of my arts just sort of vanished, and I
> walked away thinking "I don't know if this is really for
> me". I sort of had to reassess things. I thought what I
> always wanted to do […] I always wanted to go to Japan,
> and I thought that's it, I'm gonna pack my bags and go.
> And my poor mother still remembers me saying to her,
> "when are you coming home Mary?" And I said "I don't
> know".

In Japan she got a position with a company working as an English teacher at various Japanese

high schools. She met Akira three months after arriving in Japan and they began their

relationship. Because she was fluent in Japanese she had few problems meeting his family

and being accepted by them:

> *Excerpt 30*
> um they were accepting of me because I could speak
> Japanese, as I said to you if I couldn't speak any

language it would be really weird. you would feel frozen out in a country town, no one speaks English. no one has ever come up to me and said hallo. Even the Japanese students that ride past on their bicycles will always bow and greet me in Japanese. In the city kids will says hallo and you know be silly. In the country towns they're still quite traditional, I think, in that way so being able to speak Japanese makes it easy, and [his] grandma says sometimes, you know, she makes jokes, you're the foreigner I can't understand you hahahaha but she thinks it's funny, but I could understand that and I laugh with her, but for some I think- and as Akira said, he was really worried about introducing me to grandma, she's the matriarch of the family, she's Akira's father who is the eldest son's, mother, and so in Japan the eldest son has to look after, in traditional you know families, has to look after the mum. […] but we're quite similar so we have a great time laughing about [that], I think its hysterical, but had I not been able to speak Japanese and she made all those funny jokes and laughed at me, then it might be different I might feel uncomfortable […]

Mary describes how being able to speak Japanese allowed her to position herself as sharing a joke with the dominant matriarch of the family rather than being made uncomfortable by not understanding what was said.

After three years the couple decided to return to Australia because Mary did not want to continue to live away from her family, and on returning she retrained to be a teacher. However, for Akira this meant a dramatic shift in his language needs in order to live and work in Australia. Prior to meeting Mary his English had not been a high priority.

Excerpt 31
When we met he spoke very little, if no, any, no English. He'd done it at high school like most people have to do there, but there's no emphasis at all on communication in oral form. So he could say "hallo my name is Akira".

The language of their relationship was thus initially Japanese, and Mary felt had she not spoken Japanese they would not have started a relationship. Initially Mary had to interpret for him in social situations but that changed over time:

Excerpt 32
Well, it was hard, you know, sometimes, my friend often says that, she says "oh Mary you translated so much for him" so we'd be having a dinner party conversation and everyone would laugh and he'd say "why are they laughing?" And I'd say "oh, because of this" and he'd go "ohh". The sort of the delayed reaction, so that happened but now I don't really much at all. He, I said to, it's funny we were talking last night, we were watching the seven thirty news and I go "how much do you understand?" and he said "seventy per cent" and I go "there you go, that's about me in Japanese I'd say, maybe eighty per cent of the news I'd understand" […]

After migrating Akira studied in the Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP) and as a consequence of his increased proficiency the couple's language use has changed since they moved to Australia. Mary's family have reacted positively to her intercultural marriage. Mary's parents and grandparents were born in Australia and only English was spoken at home. Her grandfathers both fought in World War Two and were not "pro-Japanese" but nonetheless were not against her marriage. In Sydney the couple regularly spends time with her parents, who have both embraced Akira as a son-in-law, although they feel ambivalent about being linguistically excluded and prefer the couple to speak English:

Excerpt 33
Hanna: But there's been no kind of negativity.

Mary: No, no, they love Akira.

Hanna: And when if you speak Japanese in front of them?

Mary: Mum and dad don't like that, my mum gets a bit funny about that. She goes just speak in English so we do, and he knows she doesn't like it so he goes "don't do it Mary you'll upset her". It's cause she doesn't understand and I understand that if someone's speaking about something, but dad's funny, he can generally guess. Like there's a word in Japanese for let's go home *kaerou* and I say "come on Akira *kaerou*!", time to go in Japanese, and dad goes it's time to go!

Mary constructs bilingualism as a normal and everyday experience for her, in both her personal and professional lives, which is exceptional in this data of largely monolingual or passively bilingual participants with limited experiences of successful formal language learning.

Overall, the foreign language learning experiences of the majority of the ESB participants were minimal despite this cohort having a higher participation rate in language education in schools than the national average. Only five out of 22 participants who engaged in FLL during their education in Australia rated themselves as good or higher. The only participant who was able to go on to achieve a high level of fluency in a foreign language learned in school was Mary, whose language learning trajectory was exceptional in the group. The majority of the participants engaged in no or minimal language learning of their partner's language, and the majority of those who attempted some language learning did not give themselves any rating for their proficiency on the questionnaire. This data is supported by research into school language learning in Australia which shows a continuing decline in the enrolments in the final exams in LOTEs due to a systemic failure to support language learning (see Section 2.4.1). In contrast to the poor proficiency outcomes of the ESB participants, the majority of the migrant partners had engaged in long-term formal instruction in English as well as some degree of contact with English speakers which had resulted in high levels of English proficiency.

4.3 Language learning trajectories of migrant partners

Although the focus in this research is the ESB partner, I conducted fourteen interviews with both members of the couple and thus interviewed almost half of the migrant partners in the cohort. Moreover, when the migrant partner was absent from the interview they were often the subject of the discussion and their experiences were given through the viewpoint of their

ESB partner. Thus this section contains data from the migrant partners themselves, from their partner when present at the interview as well as from the ESB participant alone. In contrast to the previous section where participants often gave a reasonably detailed account of their FLL experiences, the accounts migrant partners gave of their English Language Learning (henceforth ELL) experiences before meeting their partner were brief. Despite this, the range of opportunities to encounter English and English language learning stands in stark contrast to the FLL experiences of the ESB partner. This section details the formal and informal ELL opportunities of the NESB migrant partners.

4.3.1 English language learning (ELL) in formal contexts

In comparison to the ESB participants, NESB migrant participants reported a wide range of formal opportunities to engage in study of the English language in a diverse array of educational contexts, including both levels of schooling, university, private lessons, English Language Schools in Australia, bilingual schools and the Adult Migrant English program. The wide range of opportunities to learn English exist because of the global English Language Teaching industry and the value of English university education on the education market internationally. Participants often made a distinction between study which gave them the ability to speak and understand spoken English and study which focused on literacy or grammar but not on oral communication. At least seven migrant partners studied English in primary school, and two of them were able to study at primary schools which were bilingual to some extent. They were Laura from Estonia who describes her school as "a special school where they taught English every day" and Lucia from Argentina who started at a bilingual school at the age of six:

> *Excerpt 34*
> Hanna: So before you met Mark you already had a high
> command of English? Did you do it at school?

> Lucia: Yes, yes, I was very lucky, I went to a bilingual school as they call it over there. So we started learning English when I was six, so very young.
>
> Hanna: And, um, so was it an English medium school or was it half, half?
>
> Lucia: Half, half, so in the morning we had everything in Spanish and in the afternoon everything in English.

A further six participants began studying English in secondary school. Two of these, Eva and Enid, migrated to Australia after having studied English for a number of years during their schooling. Enid describes her experience learning English for four years in Germany before migrating at the age of fourteen as not having led to any communicative ability at all:

> *Excerpt 35*
> I think I'd learned English in Germany for about four years before I came out so you know. That equipped you with nothing, I understood nothing when I came, pretty much nothing, so it seems that you need to study a lot of years before you can use it (laughs). (Enid)

Eva's ELL experience in Bulgaria was more successful, although it did not result in any more understanding of Australian English than Enid. She reports that after two years of study she was a confident speaker but had difficulty understanding the Australian accent when she and her family first arrived:

> *Excerpt 36*
> Yeah, I had no idea what people were talking about [laughs]. I, I had studied English for two years and I spoke it fluently and I had travelled a bit around Europe um, so English wasn't a problem for me but I had no idea what people were talking about [laughs]. (Eva)

In addition to school study, Eva had the opportunity to use English as a lingua franca when travelling in Europe as a teenager. Four other participants from Europe were able to travel to English-speaking countries as part of their secondary school education. Sara's parents sent her to England for two months when she was fourteen, Lisa went on a school exchange to

Canada and Laura went on a school exchange to Australia that was extended to two years. Milena's experience was not technically part of her formal education but formed part of her continuous English language learning trajectory. She began learning English at the age of about ten in a private group class in Russia, went to the United States as a young adult on a work and travel visa and there put into practise the language learning she had undertaken up to that point.

> *Excerpt 37*
> Hanna: […] And did you start learning English in high school or in primary school?
>
> Milena: Um, when I was year four [age ten], yeah, I was having like, private tutorials, there was a group of six like once or twice a week.
>
> Hanna: Uh okay. So when do you think you really cracked it in terms of oral fluency?
>
> Milena: Mmm, that was when I went to US like work and travel program and they, like you get the situation, first time where people actually do speak this language (laughs) before it was like a game and I think there's a- for, for kids it's really fun that you speak a secret language that your parents don't understand and they come US and you lookin' around and people do use it every day and you use what you how you speak in classes and they actually understand you (giggles).

Sara, as well as studying English at school and visiting England, also studied at a British Institute in Barcelona. Jasmine (P10-ESB) reported that her husband Hiro studied English as an adult in her evening classes in Osaka, Japan. Three partners studied English at an English Language School in Australia, which largely cater to international students and often provide entry to institutions of further study such as colleges and universities.

A further five partners studied in the Adult Migrant English Program after migrating to Australia with their partner. This program offers five hundred and ten hours of free English language tuition to eligible migrants ("The Adult Migrant English Program," 2017) although

the highest level is not adequate for university study and the focus is more on settlement and everyday communication. Apart from formal educational opportunities this cohort also had a range of informal opportunities to learn English before meeting their partners.

4.3.2 Informal ELL pre-migration

Many partners had opportunities to encounter English before migration, either through English language media or through interaction with English speakers. Herman said that his primary exposure to English before coming to Australia on a work and travel visa was through movies and music, "so that's why I used to speak like Stallone […] all of the mistakes are from movies." Similarly, Marnie (P05-ESB) gave "rock and roll" as one of the sources of her husband Sam's English language learning. The ubiquity of North American English language music and cinema allowed these partners to encounter English outside the formal learning environment in an ongoing fashion. For partners who encountered English through tertiary or further study their interest in English often led to more informal opportunities to learn. Samantha said that her major in English led to her meeting many international students in Shanghai and speaking English with them. Jasmine (P10-ESB) reported that she got to know her husband Hiro in the social gatherings following her adult language class. Similarly, when she came to Australia to complete a Master's degree Jessie was committed to staying away from a Mandarin language environment which she felt would not allow her to develop her English which led to her volunteering in the English language school where she met Scott whom she later married.

Other partners encountered English at work. Eleven migrant partners had contact with English speakers through their jobs, although how much English they encountered or were required to produce varied. Three worked as English Language teachers and one worked in an English language school in Japan as a greeter of local customers. Two encountered

English speakers through their work in customer service and fashion and three lived and worked temporarily in the UK or the US. Finally two migrant partners worked in countries where they did not speak the local language and English was their workplace lingua franca. Encounters with English speakers from other places who did not speak their first language made English necessary for communication. This had positive consequences for some participants, who were able to use these encounters to further consolidate the language learning begun during their schooling. Jessie describes her experience working in a department store speaking with tourists as allowing her to practise and improve, which gave her confidence in her ability. She was able to use English more fluently and effectively than she had previously thought, despite the fact that she used it very infrequently.

> *Excerpt 38*
> […] I did work a year before I come over here to study um I was working at department store and um lucky enough I was be able to speak some but very, very minimal level, and for a lot of Chinese they, probably can speak better than they can, than they expected but um they just feel shy and nervous thinking that, oh what if I make like, like grammar mistake, what if they thinking my pronunciation's not good enough so they hold them back so they not say much, and the less they practise the less perfect they will get, so um. When I was working this department store, once or twice we had these foreign tourists come in to choose something and I got forced to help them out and that's like give me an idea, oh hold on I can do better than I was thinking I could do. (Jessie)

Klahan had many opportunities to speak English because he worked in a tourist destination in Thailand and managed English-speaking volunteers, as well as worked as a school teacher who also was the English teacher for his pupils. He felt that the communicative pressure of dealing with those who did not speak Thai led to his ability to understand and converse with English speakers with a variety of native accents.

> *Excerpt 39*

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> Klahan: Ummm I was lucky when I was living in [place] it's a tourist destination and I, I taught a little bit of English as well there on the young kids.
>
> Hanna: Oh wow.
>
> Klahan: We didn't we didn't we didn't have um proper English teachers there so I, I was kind of helping but it became like a it became kind of a major job for me more than more than music which is my major degree um and I was working with um what um a company they call um [T company name] and that was um running um teaching English as a volunteer from overseas so there were um new graduated from uh America Eng- England and, and you know most of them uh came to school and I was working with some guys with um in [place] they were coordinated with the company they came and talked to me and uh the, the it was a volunteer teaching and I had to work with them explaining about curriculum and about how to live in school and everything so that's I think how I picked up English you know listening to different accent.

In sum, NESB partners were able to access English language learning through formal and informal learning contexts as well as often by immersion in English-speaking countries. The data showed a wide range of formal learning opportunities including bilingual schools, private lessons, compulsory school programs of long duration and educational exchange programs. Furthermore, NESB partners experienced informal opportunities to learn and use English through English-speaking media or encounters with English-speaking travellers and tourists. Others worked as English language teachers in bilingual workplaces or used English as a lingua franca in workplaces in LOTE-speaking countries. Finally, many NESB partners were able to further develop their English language learning through immersion in an English-speaking country before they met their partner.

In contrast, the majority of ESB participants were unable to access high quality FLL in their schooling. Additionally, the majority of ESB participants did not encounter a LOTE in the workplace or have an immersive language learning experience. Indeed, the majority of the

ESB participants engaged in limited or no FLL at all. A small number of participants had not attempted any formal or informal study of the LOTE either during their education or after meeting their partner. Here a strong counter-argument to FLL was the high value of English as the global language. This perceived need for English will be discussed in the next section.

4.4   A need for English

It is clear from the data that the majority of the participants subscribed to the belief that in regards to the language learning of the adult partner, English was more valuable than LOTES and thus it was better for LOTE speakers to learn English than the other way around. The place of English as the "hypercentral language" in first place in the world hierarchy of languages results in this unequal need for language learning (De Swaan, 2001) and was reinforced by the different language learning experiences of the couple. The ESB partner had language learning experiences which were very negative in a context where FLL was unserious and low stakes (see Section 4.2). Meanwhile the NESB partner often had the opposite experience, reinforcing the idea that ELL for NESB speakers is important while LOTE learning for ESB speakers is not.

This differentiated need for language learning was often supported by citing the difficulty of successful language learning for adults in regards to learning a LOTE. In contrast many NESB participants had started learning English at a younger age.

> *Excerpt 40*
> I'm 33 now so they say that your ability to learn
> languages goes down, that shouldn't stop me from trying
> by the way these aren't excuses, these are just what I
> think is possibly gonna stop me from trying to be, but
> I'm still trying to learn different words and being in
> Russia sort of it puts you in the deep end and you really
> need to start learning but it is a complicated language.
> […] I've had several different people have said have you
> tried learning Russian and I've said oh and their
> immediate response is don't bother (laughs) so um. They

consider it a very hard language and um and it is it's quite a difficult language and there's so much to understand about how everything has a gender and just I think English is a screwed up language as well but I still could understand all those rules, it still won't stop me from trying but I don't think I could ever be a fluent speaker. (Elliot)

Learning a language as an adult is extremely challenging, particularly in the case of migrants with few resources (such as Ben, an asylum seeker from Sierra Leone). However, this difficulty is downplayed in the data in regards to LOTE-speaking adults learning English. The expectation was that in-laws or friends from the migrant country would benefit more by learning English than the ESB partner would benefit from learning the LOTE.

For example, I asked Klahan if he would like it if his ESB partner George would learn to speak Thai with him:

> *Excerpt 41*
> Maybe I wished that [George could speak Thai] when we was among to my friends. But no I, I think I was, I was wishing more my friends would be able to speak English more than that not for him to speak Thai […] because I think English is just you know it's like um in the cen- cen- central language, I think everyone should be able to communicate just different level and all my friends we are new generation, we study English just now they started from kindergarten and then private school but people, just some people don't like they don't like to speak, they too shy […] I will want them to you know at least to, to communicate with foreigners. So yeah that's what I was that's what I was thinking. (Klahan)

Although he begins by acknowledging the possibility in my question, Klahan then discounts it because English would be more useful for his friends and family as the second language of the "new generation" in Thailand than Thai would be for his English-speaking partner. This was even more the case for a language which was not a national language like Thai, such as Ga, a language of Ghana:

Excerpt 42

Hanna: Has [her husband] Josh ever tried to explicitly teach you [Ga]?

Emma: No, no. He, he sort of - he does point out things and says, or if I say what is that in Ga he'll tell me. But it's never been a conscious thing with him to try and teach me Ga, no. I don't think he thinks it's necessary because we only go there for a couple of months every couple of years. He doesn't see why I should have to put myself through having to learn it when it's not necessary because most people speak English. So I really think he thinks it's just a waste of my time or effort. Not that I put much effort into it. […] Although any time I go they always want me to speak Ga rather than they speak English. And I just say, you speak English to me and that makes your English better.

Emma describes learning Ga as an adult as not only an arduous and difficult task, a description which is accurate in its recognition of the many challenges of language learning as an adult (Piller, 2016), but one which, if languages are viewed as investments, is unlikely to pay off in a material sense. Ga is a peripheral African language which Emma does not need to work and live in Australia, and the Ga-speaking community she engages with in Sydney is bilingual in English and Ga. The official language and lingua franca of Ghana is English, not Ga, and this means that for her it is more valuable for Ghanaians to improve their English than it is for an English-speaking foreigner to learn Ga. Thus Emma sees her in-laws as having a need for English which makes the effort they must undertake worth it. Investment in English is worthwhile, even though the same difficulty applies and in the case of Emma's older female in-laws in Ghana who are illiterate, greater difficulty.

This differentiated need for language learning was present in regards to all LOTEs, regardless of their status on the language hierarchy. Standard Mandarin Chinese or *Putonghua* (called Mandarin in the data), is a supercentral language, estimated to have the largest number of first language speakers on the planet (Simons & Fennig, 2017). However, English language

learning for NESB speakers is still seen as more valuable for the participants in relationships

with Mandarin speakers, as in Excerpt 43:

> *Excerpt 43*
>
> Hanna: So would it [Robert learning Mandarin] be important for you, is it something that would be important to you long term to have a partner or boyfriend who could say something to them [her parents]?
>
> Samantha: Um [I would love to be] translator, translate for them, to them.
>
> Robert: You have said you would like, you would like me to able to speak a little, like.
>
> Samantha: Like just basic stuff.
>
> Robert: Just basic stuff to say.
>
> […]
>
> Hanna: Yeah so that's something you've thought about and you've talked about.
>
> Robert: Yeah.
>
> Samantha: Yeah so my parents are learning English now.

In each turn in Excerpt 43 Samantha focuses on downplaying the need for Robert to learn

Mandarin. The powerful reach of the ideology that English is the most useful language for all

sites of communication is drawn on here to discount the need for language learning, even

when the LOTE is the second most widely spoken language in Sydney other than English and

a language heralded as the "must learn" (Clyne, 2005, p. 60) language of the future.

The differentiated need for language learning also led to ESB language learners having fewer

opportunities for language learning interactions in their partner's country of origin. Due to the

high level of English bilingualism they encountered, particularly in young people, ESB

participants reported that they found language learning opportunities for LOTE immersion

were limited. Moreover, they found that NESB speakers often assumed an ESB speaker

would prefer English interactions:

> Excerpt 44
> When we went over and lived there - one thing that I
> don't miss is - everyone speaks English in Estonia, so if
> I'm like the one guy that isn't fluent in Estonian, what
> will happen is whenever I will go up to a group of people
> talking, they will automatically switch to English so I
> understand them. Then they'll switch back to Estonian
> when I wander on. (James)

Furthermore, ESB speakers' lack of LOTE skills and NESB speakers' lack of English skills

were also evaluated differently according to this differentiated need. The data shows that ESB

speakers who did not speak a LOTE were sometimes seen positively as a result, as in Excerpt

36 where Herman talks about his ESB partner Amy's reception by Spanish speakers in

Columbia to her low proficiency in Spanish.

> Excerpt 45
> So yeah, I think he was - everyone pretty much just
> loved her and the other thing is that um, and this is for
> anybody, if you go to Columbia and you don't speak
> Spanish that for us is magnificent. I don't know why, but
> people love it. It's just, oh my God you speak something
> else, awesome. So yeah, I think it was very good.
> (Herman)

The widespread and deep internalisation of a global linguistic hierarchy can be seen in the

presentation of English-speaking visitors in the data. ESB speakers who were not bilingual

and who were visitors to a LOTE-speaking country were seen as the exotic and interesting

other. Their presence was a criticism of the LOTE speakers' lack of bilingualism, rather than

of their own as in Excerpt 25 where Elaine's presence as an English speaker is experienced as

a problem for the Dutch teenagers because of their own perceived lack of English language

skills. Thus they were seen as English speakers first, and LOTE learners second. The

perceived need for English mediated the way that ESB speakers were evaluated and

accommodated by LOTE speakers in ways which were unlikely to lead to FLL for the participants. Moreover, they were very different from the ways in which LOTE speakers are regularly evaluated and accommodated for their English language skills in Anglophone countries.

4.5   Summary

The aim of this chapter is to show the asymmetry of language learning experiences which underlie the language difference in the couple. While ESB participants had largely unsuccessful language learning experiences in their school education and experienced adult language learning in limited and low-stakes contexts, NESB participants had more successful language learning experiences during schooling and had achieved a high level of personal and professional communicative ability in English. Furthermore, the perceived need for LOTE speakers to learn English affected the evaluation and accommodation of ESB participants in ways which were not conducive to FLL. The one exception to the limited FLL during schooling was Mary, whose language trajectory led to a high level of bilingualism in Japanese.

Overall, there is a marked difference in the way language learning is constructed by ESB and NESB couple members. This is a reflection of different ideologies language learning which are exemplified in Excerpt 46, in an exchange about Jonathan learning Bulgarian.

> *Excerpt 46*
> Eva: I also laminated some cards for him to put on his key ring.
>
> Jonathan: Where are they?
>
> Eva: I don't know. You should find those.

Here there is a lack of seriousness towards L2LL and the low stakes environment in which it takes place, as there are unlikely to be any serious consequences of losing the learning

material provided by one's partner. Furthermore, language learning is approached as a "school subject" which requires literacy but is unable to provide the conditions in which to acquire it. Finally the difference in status between the two languages is stark: English, the "world language" and Bulgarian, spoken by 8.5 million people (Simons & Fennig, 2017). In this learning context LOTEs are hard work for little reward while English is the unmarked and powerful language of "normal" life.

The lack of ESB participants' foreign language skills in comparison to their partners is a result of the global power asymmetries which make English a necessary and desirable second language for LOTE speakers, while monolingual language-in-education policies lead to poor outcomes and low motivation for Anglophone LOTE learners. These participants have had failed experiences of language learning in a society where monolingual language policies and practices are hegemonic. Moreover, for Anglophone language learners, the global status of English may work against their motivation and contribute to their lack of language learning success. The asymmetry between ESB and NESB couple members in approaches to learning a second language continue throughout the relationship as LOTE in-laws and friends are seen to have a greater need for English than ESB participants need for a LOTE. Moreover, the spread of global English language learning means that English speakers were often linguistically accommodated by bilingual English/LOTE speakers on visits to their partners' country of origin. At times, their inability to speak the LOTE was even constituted positively by LOTE speakers as in Excerpt 45.

The outcomes of these often limited language learning trajectories of ESB participants described here, in the form of actual linguistic repertoires, will be described in the next chapter.

5 Individual language repertoires

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter dealt with the language learning trajectories of the participants, describing the majority of ESB participants as having low quality language learning experiences and few opportunities to achieve proficiency in contrast to the NESB participants. The aim of this chapter is to describe the individual language repertoires of the ESB participants, the majority of whom – 27 out of 30 – did not self-identify as having a high proficiency in the LOTE. I will outline the language spoken as a couple and the language/s spoken in the family home, identifying four main language choice patterns in the data. I will then provide the contrasting case of ESB participants who achieved high levels of bilingualism outside of compulsory schooling through a combination of immersion and formal study, focusing on two case studies where very high levels of bilingualism were achieved. Through the case studies of two ESB participants, Marnie and Abigail, I show that their exceptional language learning trajectories have significant consequences for language choice.

This chapter will first turn to the language repertoires of the ESB participants and discuss language choice in relation to proficiency.

5.2 Repertoires and choices

This section describes the data on linguistic repertoires and language choice drawn from the questionnaires and interviews. It outlines the language/s that ESB participants reported speaking as a couple and the language use in the couple/family based on the interviews. It shows that most ESB participants spoke English to their bilingual partner, with the exception of five ESB women who spoke their LOTE as well as English with their partner at different stages in their lives. I describe the language proficiencies of the ESB participants in their

LOTE as reported in the questionnaire and discussed in the interview. I then discuss the English proficiencies of the NESB partners when the couple first met and at the time of the interview and the language choices which accompanied these trajectories. Finally, I describe the language choice patterns in the family where the couple has children and identify 4 broad patterns of family language use.

5.2.1 Linguistic proficiencies

The majority of ESB participants rated themselves as having a low proficiency in the LOTE. However, this does not mean that they had communicative competence in the language. I follow Norton Pierce in defining communicative competence as an awareness of the rules of use of a language as well as "an awareness of the right to speak" (1995), drawing on Bourdieu's notion of the "legitimate speaker" who is recognised by other speakers as such. This lack of competence in the LOTE may also be inferred in the fact that the majority of the couples reported that they spoke only or mainly English with each other. Overall, 20 ESB participants claimed some proficiency in a LOTE spoken by their partner (see Table 5.1). Five participants could be considered fluent bilinguals in English and the LOTE, five participants could be considered passive bilinguals, rating their skills as average overall for speaking and ten participants had low or very low proficiencies in the LOTE (for example, some were not able to understand their partner when they spoke to their children). In the initial questionnaire, 12 participants reported that they spoke both languages with their partner (see Appendix H). However, from the interview data it became clear that only five participants (Mary, Marnie, Abigail, Jasmine and Michelle) regularly spoke their second language with their partner and that in some cases this had changed over time. Reasons for this change were that the couple had moved from the partner's country of origin to Australia, that the partner's English proficiency had improved or that the ESB partner wished to speak English to the children. For example, ESB participant Jasmine spoke much less Japanese

once she became the designated English speaker to the couple's two young children in a one-parent-one-language (henceforth OPOL) family language policy. In this approach, each parent speaks their first language to the child/ren (King and Mackay 2007, p. 108 cited in Gerber, 2015). At the time of the interview, 25 of the 30 couples spoke either English or mainly English with each other. None of the participants reported speaking only a LOTE at home. English was also the language the majority of the couples spoke from the beginning of their relationship. However, three ESB women did start their relationships in a LOTE. These were: Mary and her husband Akira (Japanese), Marnie, and her husband Sam (Japanese) and Abigail and her husband Fernando (Spanish). In each case this was because at that time the NESB partner was not bilingual in English and the ESB partner was bilingual in the second language.

ESB PARTICIPANT NAME	LOTE SKILLS (ALL SKILLS/ORAL ONLY)
PAUL	Spanish (poor/average)
MARY	Japanese (very good)
SCOTT	Mandarin (very poor)
DAVID	Spanish (poor/average)
MARNIE	Japanese (good)
ELAINE	Dutch (poor/average)
ROBERT	None
THALIA	Susu (poor), Krio (poor)
MARK	Spanish (poor/average)
JASMINE	Japanese (very poor/good), Norwegian (average), German (poor)
ELLIOT	None
JIMMY	None
RALPH	Portuguese (poor)
JOHN	None
GERALD	None
LINDSAY	Spanish (good/very good), Japanese (poor/average), French (average/poor), Mandarin (very poor)
MICHELLE	French (average/good), German (poor)
GEORGE	Indonesian (average), Vietnamese (very poor)
LEON	None
PETER	Japanese (very poor)
STEPHEN	None
JONATHAN	Bulgarian (very poor)
ABIGAIL	Spanish (very good), French (poor)
JAMES	Estonian (poor)
MATTHEW	Cantonese (very poor)
AMY	Spanish (poor)
EMMA	None
LOUISE	Spanish (poor), French (poor)
GENEVIEVE	Japanese (poor)
MEGAN	Korean (poor), Indonesian (very poor)

Table 5.1: LOTE skills of ESB participants

Overall, 12 NESB partners were English language learners when the couple met, with

varying degrees of proficiency. They were either learning English formally or had learnt it

during their schooling. Five of these attended the AMEP on migrating to Australia. Only one

participant, Ben, an asylum seeker from Sierra Leone, was still learning English at the time of interview. His partner Thalia said that communication was an ongoing issue in the relationship and his poor English was a barrier at first:

> *Excerpt 47*
> Hanna: […] So I was asking about when you first met Ben and you were speaking together, if there were any [problems]?
>
> Thalia: Yeah so Ben's, Ben's spoken English wasn't that great, um and, it's really funny actually we had this, I dunno, I dunno if this is interesting but we have this story, and now I can't really remember if the story's true, I think it might be […] So. I was kind of, you know, looking around to see if I could like, um, arrange a marriage for myself somehow, I was trying to find a husband, so I could have a baby and um. One of the young women in this family suggested Ben. So she said, um she said, oh you know Ben would make a really good husband he's really nice, he's very nice. And um, and I remember thinking but I can't like, he doesn't even speak English properly. And, and at one point I think I actually said that, I said that to her and her family, I think we were in the living room and I said but it would just be way too hard to communicate um. And some, some days I still think, gosh, maybe I should have just stuck with that decision. But um, you know he was super keen so he was like coming round to the house all the time and you know. Anyway, so, yeah so basically we had, we have a lot of miscommunications.

Ben's language learning trajectory is a legacy of conflict and displacement, and in that it is exceptional in this group of migrants, the rest of whom are not asylum seekers and whose migration journey and experience of language learning is significantly different.

For the majority of the ESB participants with low proficiency in the LOTE, the times when this became relevant were limited to interactions with in-laws who were not bilingual in English (see Chapter 7). Only three ESB participants described themselves as confident and fluent bilinguals in those situations (Mary Marnie, and Abigail), while a further two said they were fairly confident but occasionally required help from their partners (Jasmine, Michelle).

Five participants could communicate with in-laws with some help from their partner (Paul, David, and Lindsay) or in limited situations where the context was familiar (Elaine, James). Unfamiliar contexts without non-verbal cues, such as telephone conversations with elderly relatives, were difficult as in this example from Elaine:

> *Excerpt 48*
> Hanna: And do you ever have to deal with [your husband's] parents without him?
>
> Elaine: No, once or twice he's left me and gone, and we manage. A bit of sign language, a bit of English, a bit of Dutch and we manage, so there have been and yeah. What I find difficult is the telephone, um, his parents are older um, his father's, you know quite deaf and I will try and I'll do my really best to speak in Dutch and Tom can understand what I'm saying, but his father can't (laughs) so then it's just frustrating. Um so.
>
> Hanna: So he doesn't understand you at all?
>
> Elaine: Not on the telephone. In Holland he's okay, and I try hard (laughs) um but yeah the telephone I find very difficult.

The remaining 22 participants required interpreting in order to communicate with any LOTE speakers including their in-laws. Indeed, the majority of the ESB participants framed their skills in the LOTE as too low to be effective as a medium of communication, as in this example of a failed communicative encounter between Elliot and his girlfriend's mother:

> *Excerpt 49*
> Hanna: And where there any moments where something funny happened like when you tried to communicate with her mum on your own or anything?
>
> Elliot: Yes (laughs) Often her mum would just start talking to me cause she felt, I think she felt the need to talk to me, uh, 'cause, yeah often Nadia would go off somewhere and there'd just be awkward silence looking at each other blankly, I can't speak your language, you can't speak my language (laughs) and, um, so therefore there were very awkward pauses and she'd start talking

and I couldn't understand a word (laughs) all I could do
was look blank […]

Overall, despite a high number of ESB participants self-reporting some proficiency in the

LOTE, this data shows that for the majority their proficiency was low enough to require

significant interpreting to be understood and to understand their in-laws. This has

implications for family relationships and roles which will be discussed in Chapter 8.

5.2.2 Language cringe

For many ESB participants their monolingualism or low L2 proficiency was constructed as a

personal failing and it was rooted in a sense of linguistic insecurity. Some ascribed this

failing to their identity as an Australian English speaker, to a lack of study or aptitude. These

participants described being embarrassed by their lack of L2 skills in a phenomenon I call

language cringe, which is similar to cultural cringe. Cultural cringe is associated with an

inferiority complex about being a colonial offshoot, and thus shame about speaking

Australian, not British, English (Phillips, 2006). In parallel, language cringe is related to

monolinguals who speak English compared to multilinguals who are L2 English or "non-

native" speakers. Furthermore, it contradicts the idea that a native speaker will always be

"better" than a non-native speaker through an acknowledgment of the level of skill and

knowledge which come with learning an additional language to a high proficiency.

> *Excerpt 50*
> And I, I think I was completely in awe of that the fact
> that she [Lisa] could speak so many different languages
> freely, and a little bit jealous, […] (Jimmy)

Participants constructed their lack of second language skills compared to their partner's

bilingual repertoires as a personal failing:

> *Excerpt 51*
> I've always felt bad about not learning a language and I
> tried on a couple of occasions. I mean, never very

seriously, but I studied German, Spanish, French, Gaelic uh and then I tried to learn a bit of Bulgarian and it's just it's just, it's like an unscaleable cliff. (Jonathan)

Excerpt 52
And I went to lessons and I started learning and I was enthusiastic because we were going to Columbia, but as soon as we came back from Columbia I was just like that's it, I'm just not interested anymore. And I learnt that I'm not a good language learner […] (Amy)

Language cringe is also present in comments about understanding and being able to explain the grammar of a language. Those participants whose education took place in Australia from the 1970s onward learnt to be literate in a period where the teaching of formal English grammar was controversial (Locke, 2009). These participants felt linguistic insecurity about their understanding of the grammar of English in comparison to their bilingual partners who had learnt English as a second language with formal grammar instruction:

Excerpt 53
Hanna: So did you ever do grammar, like English grammar?

Gerald: We did in high school but again, as I've said to [wife] Milena is that you actually have a real, even though your English may not be quite as good, you actually have a big advantage over me in that you've learnt formal English grammar, whereas I actually I know all the conventions all the English conventions and I could tell you when you're wrong and I could tell you how to rephrase it but I couldn't tell you the formal rules there's no way in the world so I've had to learn these as I've been going along and again I couldn't tell you the rules but I can tell you when a sentence is wrong or the syntax is wrong or whatever, yeah so in that respect I tell Milena that she has a really big advantage.

Participants were likely influenced by their knowledge of the interviewer as a language teacher and researcher in their construction of themselves as impressed by their partner's diverse linguistic repertoire (see Section 3.7). Moreover, their criticism of their own lack of linguistic diversity was a way to pre-empt any such perceived criticism from the interviewer

who they saw as the language "expert". The overt praise and self-criticism regarding

speaking more than one language stands in contrast to the often hedged criticism of migrants

who spoke poor English or preferred to speak LOTEs in Sydney (see Section 6.2.3). In sum,

language cringe was a response to the unequal proficiencies of perceived monolingual ESB

partners to their partner's bilingual repertoires. Furthermore, it positioned L2 English

speakers as better than L1 English speakers in certain aspects of linguistic proficiency.

5.2.3   Language choice

There are two key domains of language choice in the data, the language of the couple and for

the 22 couples with children, the language spoken to the children.

As shown in Section 5.2.1, English was the main language for the majority of couples, due to

low or no proficiency in the LOTE (see Appendix H). The three ESB participants (Mary,

Marnie, and Abigail) who began their relationships in LOTEs were using both English and

the LOTE by the time of the interview. For example, Mary's partner Akira spoke almost no

English when they met, however, that had changed three years into their marriage while

living in Sydney:

> *Excerpt 54*
> Hanna: And do you use English at home?
>
> Mary: We, sometimes we, sometimes we do sometimes
> we don't. He is very much the one using English at the
> moment, we often have little jokes. I go "you don't
> speak Japanese anymore!" He goes "yes I do" I go "no
> you don't". Sometimes I tease him about that, but I use
> it every day at work so it's not as if I'm forgetting it,
> obviously the level of conversation is different at school
> and at home, sometimes, but in Japan we often spoke a
> lot of Japanese but in Australia I think well, we speak
> English. If we have a child then one day things will be a
> bit different considering what kind of um child we want
> to raise […] so that will change in time if we have a child
> but at the moment, I'd say, mmm, he might say half and

> half but I'd say more English now though than Japanese,
> I'd say more English now than Japanese.
>
> Hanna: So do you think his progress is partly because
> you've spoken it at home?
>
> Mary: Of course, I'm sure

Mary indicates that both the linguistic environment as well as the presence of children are central to the language choices the couple has made and plans to make. The choice to switch to more English is also closely linked to the migration decision of the NESB partner and the consequent increased value of English in Australia as the language of professions and education.

> *Excerpt 55*
> …but [my husband] has to use it to communicate so it's
> through English that he can get his message across so I
> think he really feels that the necessity of it too. (Mary
> P02-ESB)
>
> *Excerpt 56*
> I was studying, studying. I came [to Sydney], I couldn't
> speak a word of English, very little. That's when the
> problems began. (Fernando P23-NESB)

Two couples (Michelle and Henri, Jasmine and Hiro) began their relationship with a language gap, which was overcome by each couple member improving their language skills. However, the proficiency gap was seen as a lack of English, because of the perceived higher value of that language for the LOTE-speaking partner.

> *Excerpt 57*
> Hanna: So when you met you didn't have too much of
> each other's languages?
>
> Michelle: No. No.
>
> Henri: No.
>
> Hanna: But there was the dictionary.
>
> Michelle: Yes.

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Henri: But I, I had a prior experience. So I was living in Denmark, so I could, my only way there when I was in Denmark for the past 3 years, uh, summer time uh for six month of the year I used to pass there and the only way for me to communicate with people was not to speak Danish but to speak English. But my English was very laborious.

Michelle: He could speak enough that we could we could communicate but if we wanted to have a proper conversation we had to have the dictionary.

Henri: The dictionary was welcome yes.

In this extract the couple jointly constructs their early communication as the struggle with Henri's low English proficiency, an identity role he was familiar with as a European itinerant worker where English is a common lingua franca, rather than Michelle's struggle with French. The responsibility for language choice is thus put onto and taken up by the LOTE speaker to a greater degree than the English speaker. This can also be seen in the different ways that a low language proficiency was evaluated by speakers. Low English levels were evaluated as problematic while low LOTE skills were presented as low stakes and less relevant, as in this example from Jasmine:

Excerpt 58
Hanna: What was it like when you first met each other in terms of how well you spoke each other's languages?

Jasmine: Not very well, both of us yeah. My Japanese was pretty much non-existent, we met three or four months after I arrived in Japan and Hiro had been studying English for a long time but that didn't mean he was very proficient in it at all. So, yeah, we were both very motivated to improve our English, uh to improve our languages once we met each other yeah. Yeah it still kind of amazes me that we managed so well without (laughs) without being able to talk about a lot of stuff.

Hanna: Yeah.

Jasmine: But we were on the same page with a lot of stuff in kind of political ideas and things like that that I 'spose, I was reading the news in my language and he was reading it in his language but we were able to

> communicate that we agreed with something and so we
> did find that we had a lot in common even though we
> couldn't express a lot of it to each other (laugh). So yeah.

In Excerpt 58 Jasmine presents the couple as sharing the communicative burden due to a lack of proficiency, although their language repertoires are evaluated differently. She characterises her Japanese skills with "pretty much", which both trivialises the lack while at the same time softening the labelling of her skills as "non-existent". Jasmine justifies her low level of Japanese by saying she had only been in the country a short time. Learning Japanese is constructed as fairly low stakes and meeting Hiro is given as the motivation for improving her skills. Jasmine worked as an English Language teacher in Japan and Hiro was her student. Her characterisation of Japanese as low stakes is consistent with the experience of many English language teachers in Japan who encounter considerable barriers to acquiring Japanese language skills (Cummings, 2010). In contrast, Hiro's skills are low, he is not "very proficient", despite considerable investment in English. Here English proficiency is linked to the acquisition of communicative fluency and other language skills such as grammatical knowledge or literacy are rendered invisible. In sum, English was the main couple language for the majority of couples, due to their living and working in Australia, the lack of LOTE skills of the ESB partners and the high value of English.
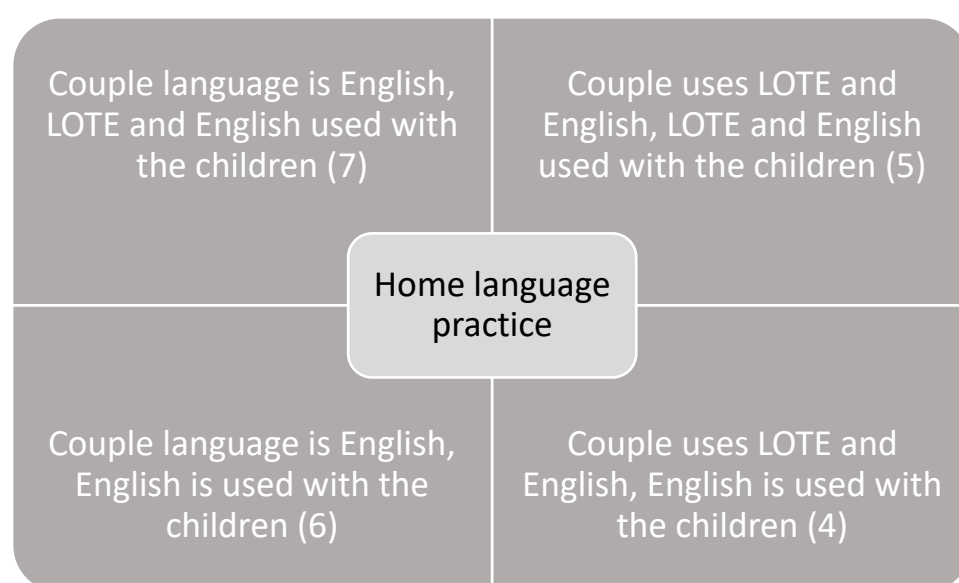
5.2.4 Home language practice

At the time of the interview, 22 couples had children and home language practice was a commonly raised topic by participants. The data in this section comes from the interviews, rather than observations of family language practise. Therefore, it is based on the participants' accounts of their linguistic practice at home, in an interview with a linguistic researcher who they may perceive to have a positive stance towards bi/multilingual practices (see Section 3.7). It is therefore likely to over- rather than understate the bilingual childrearing occurring in the family. However, this affords the researcher insights into how

the participants see bi/multilingual practices in the family domain, which will be explored in Chapter 8.

Although English was the main language spoken by the adults in the family, bilingual childrearing was desirable for the majority of these couples, even where they were unsure about how to manage it. This is reflected in the different language choice patterns when it came to languages spoken to the children. Drawing on the interview data I identified four broad language choice patterns: (1) the couple language is English and both languages are spoken to the child/ren, (2) the couple speaks both English and the LOTE but only English is spoken to the child/ren, (3) the couple speaks both English and the LOTE and both are spoken to the children and (4) only English is spoken by the couple and to the child/ren. In seven families, a LOTE was spoken to the children even though English was the couple language, and in five families both languages were spoken by the couple and to the children. Thus 12 out of 22 families could be characterised as bilingual to some degree. Without exception the pattern reported was one-parent-one-language (OPOL) with the ESB participant speaking English to the child/ren and the partner speaking another language (see Figure 5.1).

Figure 5.1: Language choices in family communication

Couple language is English, LOTE and English used with the children (7)	Couple uses LOTE and English, LOTE and English used with the children (5)
Couple language is English, English is used with the children (6)	Couple uses LOTE and English, English is used with the children (4)

Home language practice

While the 22 couples are fairly evenly spread out among the four patterns there is a difference in the gender composition of couples in the different groups. The majority (10/13) of the NESB women with children speak a LOTE to them (the languages are: Spanish (4), Mandarin Chinese, Portuguese, Cantonese (2), German, Estonian). Only three NESB women do not speak their first language to their child/ren (Enid and the wives of Lindsay and Peter). In contrast, a only two NESB men regularly speak to their children in their first language (the husbands of Jasmine and Louisa, who speak Japanese and Spanish respectively). Moreover, three NESB men speak their first language to their partner but not the children (Marnie's husband Sam, Henri, and Fernando, who speak Japanese, French and Spanish respectively). Thus it is the NESB wives who are disproportionately represented as doing the work of bilingual childrearing and it is the ESB husbands who are more commonly monolingual English speakers in a household where their wives and children are bilingual (Breger & Hill, 1998).

In sum, key domains in language choice were the language of the couple and the language spoken to the children. Significant for couple language was the ESB partner's lack of LOTE

proficiency and the perceived high value of English compared to LOTEs, while the presence of children was a factor in changing linguistic practices. Meanwhile, the gender of the NESB parent was a central factor which impacted on language choice in the family. Moreover, for a minority of ESB participants, both English and the LOTE were spoken in the couple because the ESB participants had a high proficiency in the LOTE and were thus able to exercise language choice. This data will be described in the next section.

5.3   The exceptions

For a small number of ESB participants (Mary, Marnie, Abigail, Michelle and Jasmine) their language skills underpinned bilingual lives which extended beyond the personal to the professional. For those who were highly fluent bilinguals, (Mary, Marnie, and Abigail) the LOTE was first learned as a foreign language before meeting their partner. Moreover, the LOTE is a second language which forms the basis of exchange for their professional identity as a language student and later, teacher or worker. Thus their proficiency in the language is not mediated by the partner providing motivation or encouragement. For these participants there is an absence of anxiety about language in the data, perhaps because they no longer see themselves as having difficulty learning the language or being perceived as a legitimate language user by others. Making language learning mistakes did not form the basis for the kinds of stories these participants told about language use. Instead, they focused on the communication with interlocutors in their second language. Even those who describe their language use as imperfect (Jasmine and Michelle) have an independent identity from their LOTE-speaking partner as a second language user. Moreover, they often positioned themselves in the interview as language experts, relating information about language and culture which demonstrated meaningful understanding of the cultural context of communication. Finally, they employed bilingual practices to manage the communication between different speakers of the two languages. In the interview this occurred when

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participants used bilingual speech with the interviewer, and managed my lack of language

proficiency by offering an appropriate translation or explanation almost immediately.

5.3.1   Bilingual lives

Two ESB participants, Mary and Marnie, were or had been engaged in foreign language

teaching and their LOTE skills were thus part of their professional identity. Both the

participants in the following examples completed many years of formal study in Japanese. In

this example, Mary, now a secondary school Japanese teacher, is talking about her

relationship with the family matriarch by explaining the concept of *tatemae* and *honne* to me:

> *Excerpt 59*
> […] I'm not hesitant in what I say generally, I'd say
> what I thought, [my husband's grandmother would] say
> what she thought. Some Japanese people don't, they
> can't cope with that, and that's why I think for some
> marriages it's very difficult cause the front and the mm
> we say *honne*, we say *tatemae* and *honne* are different.
> Your front your *tatemae* and your *honne* are different.
> So you could tell your husband yes I really like it here
> but in actual fact you hate it but you wouldn't be able to
> say you hate it […] (Mary)

There are four actors (Van Leuwen, 1996) in this extract: Mary, her husband's grandmother,

"some [other] Japanese people" and "we". It is significant that rather than referring to "them"

Mary says "we", including herself in the group of speakers who understand Japanese cultural

practices and their names. Moreover, although she begins by using English "your front" Mary

quickly switches to the Japanese terms *tatemae/honne*, signalling her level of comfort in

switching languages. This also indicates her awareness of the untranslatable nature of cultural

constructs, which is part of living in two different linguacultures.

Another example of the intertwined nature of language knowledge, use, teaching and

switching was given by Marnie. Here she is describing her experience in England of

interpreting between two groups: a group of British students learning Japanese and a group of

visiting students from Japan.

Excerpt 60
So we'd get the groups of Japanese visiting scholars with their students and in the Japanese hierarchy […] in those days and in the, this traditional academic situation a young student couldn't speak before the professor and the assistant professor really couldn't offer an opinion before the professor offered one. But these are round table seminars and so we've got the group from the seminar so these are the English students, the English professors and the Japanese professors and their travelling students. And a question would be thrown in and the idea was that the English students would ask a question about relating to their studies or whatever their project and we'd get the ideas from the visiting Japanese ones. But all of the English students could read and write really well and speak a bit but they couldn't really hear and a lot of them couldn't didn't know the pecking order (laughs). And so one of them would ask a question and ah of course it was offered to the main Japanese person he'd say mmm and look down the row at the lowest one and say well hmm what do you think? Ooo! Ahhh! So! The Japanese are wonderful at making sounds, thinking sounds […] そうですねえ。何か、どっかで読んで事がありますが。。。。そう。。。　I've read something about this somewhere mmmmmm what do you think? To the next one (sucks air between teeth) oh mmmm and up would get till the right person would offer. And the students would say what are they saying what are they saying and I'd say, well they haven't said anything yet! And they'd all think I was keeping it from them (laughs) As if! But they could, I mean you, know the bluster and the bluff because of the pecking order, it was very funny, it was very funny. (Marnie)

Here the act of interpreting for two groups in an academic context highlights Marnie's

knowledge of the socio-cultural norms of Japanese formal communication. Although the

students were literate in Japanese they are described as having neither the listening

comprehension skills nor the cultural knowledge to be able to understand what was

happening. Marnie clearly takes great pleasure in describing and making fun of the speaking

habits of the Japanese students while asserting her claim to better understanding those habits

than the English students, positioning herself as a bridge between cultures and languages. Furthermore, she plays the role of a Japanese student, starting by speaking Japanese and then switching into an instant English translation for the benefit of a non-Japanese speaker (me) and being my bridge between languages in the retelling of the story. These examples point to what I term a *bilingual selfhood*, spanning two cultures and languages, flexible both in terms of positioning oneself within and outside of cultural norms and switching between languages.

As well as using their LOTE with their partner, these bilingual ESB participants describe the language as central to communications with non-English-speaking in-laws or friends. In contrast to the majority of ESB participants who are largely unable to talk at length or in any depth with their in-laws if they do not speak English (see Section 5.2.3), these ESB participants construct themselves as fluent communicators in that context.

> *Excerpt 61*
> Hanna: How was it introducing your family to this English speaker who at that time didn't have much French?
>
> Henri: Well (laughs)
>
> Michelle: (laughs)
>
> […]
>
> Henri: […] I think for my mum it was probably hard because she wanted to share a lot of things with Michelle.
>
> Michelle: She wanted to talk and I couldn't talk.
>
> Henri: And my mum she's, yeah she's a big talker and, uh, she talk way too fast.
>
> Michelle: But now it's not an issue, I mean she and I can talk about anything now […]

These participants describe having ongoing relationships with both their partner's in-laws and friends in their partner's country of origin, all in the medium of the LOTE. Notably, all the

participants discussed here are women who may have more at stake in "transnational

caregiving" (Baldassar, 2007) than their male partners due to gendered family expectations

(see Chapter 7).

In the context of frequent use of the LOTE, the more fluent ESB participants (Mary, Marnie,

and Abigail) were also exceptional in their absence of language anxiety in the data. During

the interviews I often asked if participants had any stories about language they wanted to tell.

Frequently this led to a narrative about how communication, usually with in-laws, was

hampered or totally limited by a lack of LOTE. These stories also signalled language anxiety

regarding perceived low proficiency in the LOTE. A common element to these kind of

narratives was regret that speaking to in-laws was not possible either at all or to the depth

wished, due to low proficiency in the LOTE (see Section 7.3). However, these stories were

absent here. The focus is instead on the relationships being conducted rather than any

language barrier, as in this example where Marnie describes a conversation with her father-

in-law about moving to Australia:

> *Excerpt 62*
> […] In 1986 they came to visit, we were sitting in the
> gardens […] and grandfather just loved it. and we were
> living at a little house in Bondi Junction and uh he said
> I'm retiring this year, I think we'll sell [their house][…]
> and move to Australia and at that time they could I think
> they're called silver Columbia schemes you know you
> bring enough money and you could [retire here] [laughs]
> I thought oh you must be joking you would never sell
> the family house you've just rebuilt it […] As if! And I
> said oh that'd be lovely (laughs)! And they did. Took
> them six months to get their visa and uh so they did.
> (Marnie)

What is salient here is the content rather than the medium, this is a narrative about the content

of a conversation and not one of miscommunication or misunderstanding. Japanese use is

unmarked here; it is the norm rather than the exception that interactions take place in

different languages with different speakers. Moreover, this comfort with communication in LOTEs was also present in the data for Mary, as I noted in my field notes: *She seems very confident with her Japanese and didn't seem to have any language insecurity at all* (see Section 3.6). It is likely that the amount of time these participants spent formally learning the LOTE contributed to this lack of insecurity and this will be explored in more detail in the following case studies.

Case study: Marnie

Unlike most of the participants, Marnie was a LOTE language student before she met her partner. Initially, Marnie studied Japanese because of her interest in Japanese theatre. During her schooling in the 1950s in Sydney it was compulsory to study a foreign language and English grammar. Marnie studied five years of French, which she enjoyed. At a Sydney university she majored in English and Drama and in her final year she encountered a Japanese professor who gave a lecture series on classical Japanese theatre. She was also studying dance at the time and had started learning Aikido – a Japanese martial art – to improve her balance. These circumstances gave rise to her interest in Japan. She applied for three scholarships and was granted one by the Japanese department of education.

> *Excerpt 63*
> […] the other person who was awarded one that year was an architect um so I think they must have been looking for a little more cultural side or something or maybe was the only one but I don't know. They foolishly gave it to me [laughs].

As a result of gaining the scholarship she did a "crash course" in Japanese at the university for three months and thus arrived in Japan with minimal Japanese language skills. She was placed in a language course at the university and connected with an English-speaking ex-patriate American community through doing Aikido. Marnie describes being in Tokyo in the 1960s as a young white woman as standing out from the crowd, something she enjoyed.

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Excerpt 64
Hanna: So what was it like for you when you first arrived with very little Japanese?

Marnie: Oh, eyes wide open, I loved it! And what was incredible, um, I think it was the first Saturday night and, uh, I had hair down to here [indicates waist-length hair] and of course it was the sixties, so very short skirts, and Japan wasn't so fashionable then, so you'd get a foreign girl walking down the street, you'd get, you know, lots of stares, um, not aggressive or antagonistic stares just, oh my god look at that.

In Tokyo, Marnie studied Japanese on a scholarship for two years before starting her studies in theatre. Initially she had help from an English/Japanese bilingual in the class. After her first year of study she failed the entrance test to the Master's degree courses and had to enrol in another year. She describes herself as a good student who was overwhelmed by the difficulty of the high level language study, literacy in particular. She had to learn the two phonetic systems of Japanese as well as Kanji and in her second year, classical Chinese writing or Kanbun:

Excerpt 65
I was put into the language school at (O name) university um so everything the students from here there and everywhere so the only common language, as here, the only common language was Japanese. [...] And of course first of all you have to learn to read, sort of different from as a child, the first thing a child learns is to hear and then to speak and then the reading and the writing come later. But I had to learn to write. […] read and write Kanji. But you see Japanese has got two phonetic systems and then the Kanji. So started off um learning Hiragana, which is one of them, which is, you can write all Japanese in Hiragana but it's used also to modify adjectives and verbs, adverbs, and then to link in sentences. […] So learnt all those overnight. […] and so we had one year of solid language study. […] And then the, at the end of that year I had to sit for the entrance exam for the Master's degree which I failed. […] and so I would have had to do the second year anyway of the language course and that involved not only normal language study of characters and all the usual things but we also had to learn Kanbun which is Chinese, classical Chinese which

you then read in Japanese. […] so we learnt to read Kanbun and there was girl I think she was from Iran she was amazing, it was just so easy for her, I was struggling the whole way […]

After the second year she passed the entrance test and enrolled in the Master's degree. By that time Marnie describes language as less of a problem for her studies in drama than her gender, she was both the "only Australian and only woman" in the course. However, she was fortunate to be allocated to a professor who liked her and helped her through the arduous oral assessment component of her Master's degree. She wrote her Master's thesis in English and a friend translated into Japanese for her, because she "couldn't possibly write it straight out in Japanese".

While she was studying Marnie met her husband Sam in a nightclub where she approached him with a question in English. He had been working with foreign models styling photography shoots as well as having studied English during his schooling, so his English was fluent enough for their conversation.

Excerpt 66
[I] saw this fellow, who I'd seen before, um, with a group of friends, it was a nightclub we all used to go to a lot, um, and he was sitting on the floor, and instead of asking in English, uh, in Japanese I asked in English "what are you doing sitting on the floor?" And he said "I'm tired". And I thought fair enough. And so we just started talking, I can't remember if we started talking in English or Japanese then, I'd already been in Japan for two years and, um, so I thought oh I'll take you home. So I did, thinking it was going to be a one night stand and here we are forty plus years later [laughs] um, so we had nothing in common at the time, people usually assume I, oh did you meet your husband at university, cause I was doing a post grad degree in Japan at the time. Nooo.

After graduating from her Master's program, the couple moved to London where Marnie enrolled in a PhD, translating the diaries of an eighteenth century Japanese Kabuki actor. Her

oral skills were highly developed by this time, and she was often involved in interpreting and translation. In a story about a group of visiting Japanese academics she described herself as the only fluent speaker of Japanese among the Japanese language students at her university (see Section 5.3.1).

Marnie continued to use Japanese in both her personal and professional life. She interpreted for her father-in-law on three international trips and worked as a translator overseas and in Australia. The couple had a daughter in London and were also married there. When they returned to Australia she became a Japanese teacher and taught at her daughter's secondary school. In the late eighties her parents-in-law migrated to Australia and lived with them until her father-in-law died and her mother-in-law returned to Japan to live. The decision to move in with their son and daughter-in-law was entirely because of their lack of English skills, and it meant that Marnie and Sam had to buy a bigger house where the two families lived on separate floors. Marnie was actively involved in helping her parents-in-law live in an English-speaking world:

> *Excerpt 67*
> Hanna: So did you have to do lots of work in those [family] situations, a lot of interpreting?
>
> Marnie: A lot of the time yes, it pissed me off, I get so tired. And grandfather in particular would be relying on Sam or myself because he- grandma would sit there quite happily um, or go do the washing up or you know whatever, but grandfather did want to be part of everything um as though. And I d-, because I'd done a lot of interpreting for him work-wise anyway I'd sort of used to it really but um yeah sort of.

In her everyday life Marnie describes herself and her husband Sam as "just sort of flow[ing] in and out" of both languages and thus language choice as unproblematic. She is conscious of the role of language in exclusion with non-Japanese speakers, however, she has also experienced Japanese in many unexpected places and so has learned not to make

assumptions. During the interview Marnie told a number of stories connected with words and their meanings, an interest which she said she shares with her husband.

The one area where language choice was fraught for Marnie was in the Japanese proficiency of her daughter, Vanessa. Because she did not "make a concerted effort" to speak Japanese to her she feels that her daughter did not acquire as much Japanese as she would have liked (see Chapter 7).

> *Excerpt 68*
> So Vanessa understands a lot of Japanese to hear but she doesn't speak that much except the odd word comes out that really surprises me, you think, how come you remember that? But it wasn't that kind of […] But I didn't make a concerted effort to speak Japanese which I really regret, I really, really regret.

Overall, Marnie presented herself as having a high degree of bilingualism, which formed part of her transnational identity, involving frequent contact with Japan and Japanese.

> *Excerpt 69*
> I mean what amazes me now I go back to Japan and I become incredibly fluent overnight, it's like stepping into immigration at (name) airport and suddenly it all comes flooding back and I can even speak polite Japanese which I normally don't.

Language choice was largely unmarked in Marnie's everyday life, yet she is able to draw on language skills she is not usually aware of when she needs to. Marnie's interests led her to a combination of immersion and formal study of Japanese, leading to a high level of proficiency which has enabled her to choose to use Japanese for over forty years in both her personal and professional life.

5.3.2   Case study: Abigail

Language choice is a key theme in Abigail's self-presentation in her interview, as is language desire. Abigail is of Anglo-Celtic background but grew up in a household where speaking a

second language was "highly prized". Her father was a French teacher, had a library of French books at home and often had LOTE-speaking visitors. Abigail felt an ongoing linguistic insecurity that her spoken French, which she learned from her father, was not as proficient as his. Moreover, the family lived in Sydney's inner-west which was very ethnically diverse and she was "the only blonde in the class". Her friend's parents often spoke other languages and they answered in English. In this environment Abigail developed a strong interest in other cultures and languages.

> *Excerpt 70*
> I always really wanted to speak two languages and I was always kind of embarrassed around my dad that I didn't speak as much French as he did and it was so - because it was something that was so highly prized. So, um, so yeah, being bilingual was, it was something that was deeply important and considered – and, and, and it was prized in our family when we were growing up […]

As a result of this desire for a second language, in the 1980s Abigail applied for an external (outside of schooling) foreign exchange program when she was 14. Initially she was going to be sent to Russia, but political events there changed that to Costa Rica. She spent 12 months living and going to school in a small village in remote Costa Rica. When she arrived in Costa Rice at "a little village in the middle of coffee fields" she could only say "where is the bathroom?" and "this is my passport" in Spanish. She went to school there and learned to speak Spanish through total immersion, as there was very little contact with English and English-speakers and it was before the widespread use of the World Wide Web. She feels that learning at a young age gave her an advantage in acquiring an "authentic" local accent as well as being open to different cultural practices and outlooks. When she returned to Sydney she took Spanish as an external subject which was provided for Spanish-speaking migrant children. She studied it for the final year of her schooling. However, she felt insecure about

her language skills because she had no Spanish speakers in her life. As a result, in her second year of university she went to Mexico to study literature in Mexico City.

On returning to Sydney from Mexico Abigail was interested in meeting other Spanish speakers to continue to remain fluent, and so she answered an advertisement for someone to share a room which Fernando had posted in the newspaper. Fernando had migrated to Australia from Argentina in the 1990s to seek better opportunities and had been living in Sydney for about seven years. At that time his English skills had progressed from none at all to being able to study at university but not able to have "a conversation at the pub[lic bar]". In the advertisement Fernando had written that he was looking for a "preferably Spanish-speaking" person to share the house with him as he had had some negative experiences with English-speaking travellers. Abigail had just returned from studying in Mexico and wanted someone to speak Spanish with, so she answered the advertisement.

> *Excerpt 71*
> So I called up, not because I was interested in the flat, [but] because I had no-one to speak Spanish to (laughs). So I called up and pretended to be interested in the flat and in order to speak Spanish and we ended up having a huge conversation about, about oh history and politics and all sorts of different things and I got to speak Spanish. So yeah, we were flatmates (laughs) before we were a couple.

She moved in and they started a relationship in Spanish. Gradually they spoke more "Spanglish" as Fernando's English improved and they had their two children.

At the time of the interview the couple said they spoke a mixture of Spanish and English together but when they fight, each prefers their first language. They use Spanish as a secret language when they are in public or want to hide something from their children. Socially they tend to have either Spanish or English-speaking friends. Abigail had not worked extensively in Spanish, although she had some contact with Spanish speakers which she planned to

increase. Abigail had experienced censure for speaking Spanish in public in Sydney, although

Fernando had experienced much more discrimination and was particularly aware of the

antipathy to hearing LOTEs in public in Australia:

> *Excerpt 72*
> Abigail: So we have had - there has been an occasional sort of comment here and there. We've had some - and very, very occasionally, um, at like a family barbecue or something like that we would have, um, but that's more tongue in cheek, they didn't, they didn't mean it. Like "speak English!". But it's a particularly nasty phrase though. It has so many connotations. So many connotations (laughs).
>
> Fernando: Become human, speak English (laughs).

Abigail stressed that her experience as an outsider in the Spanish-speaking world had made

her very sympathetic to and interested in the experiences of NESB migrants in Sydney.

Although she tried to raise her first child in Spanish Abigail felt this had not been successful,

although her daughter did have a degree of passive bilingualism.

Abigail's Spanish when she met Fernando reflected her unique language learning trajectory.

It was a mix of Costa Rican and Mexican Spanish with some individual characteristics

reflecting her interests and identity. However, this was never a problem for her interactions

with Spanish-speakers, who found it "intriguing" rather than evaluating it negatively.

> *Excerpt 73*
> So there are so many different accents in Spanish and because of the way I learnt it, spending 12 months in Costa Rica which got – which I was young enough to have – um to get a really good South American accent um, a really good grounding. Like people will look at me funny when I start speaking because they're like…[...] You sound right but you don't and I can't figure out what country you're from […] It would be like someone using Australian expressions like g'day mate but with a Glaswegian accent and an occasional smattering of, of American English but from some

obscure little part of Minnesota (laughs) like it's a really
- my Spanish is really odd.

Since meeting and marrying Fernando, Abigail feels her Spanish has become more typical of Argentine Spanish. She describes her Spanish skills as highly fluent, and places great emphasis on how speaking Spanish is part of her identity. She described how speaking Spanish and being with South Americans felt more comfortable to her than being with monolingual, monocultural white Australians:

> *Excerpt 74*
> I, I only picked up the phone to call him because I wanted to speak to someone in Spanish (laughs). I used to love it. I used to get home, I'd be speaking English all day - because I'm very kind of – I'm very bilingual and I'm very bicultural. I am as much if not more comfortable amongst South Americans than amongst - certainly amongst kind of Anglo-Anglo Aussies.

Language choice was crucial to her relationship with Fernando, as speaking Spanish for her felt like being "at home" while for him it meant that they were able to communicate in "something that can reach me in a way that English can't". Multilingualism is a core part of Abigail's identity, something she emphasised throughout the interview, which she believes is because she became bilingual as a child, in comparison to her husband who learnt English after migration as an adult. At the time of the interview, the family had made many plans to relocate to Argentina including buying a house there and Abigail changing jobs to be able to work there. The relocation was in part motivated by Abigail's desire for the children to become bilingual, something she felt was not achievable in Sydney.

> *Excerpt 75*
> There's no way we can do it from here. They can't. They just don't have the broader circles. They'll pick it up so quickly there that, um, I actually want them - I want to stay long enough for them to really pick it up. I want them reading and writing and I want them to always have the option of living and working in a South American - in a Spanish speaking country or in an

> English-speaking country and ideally, like my pipe dream, is that then whether we're based here or there or wherever we happen to be they then go and do a student exchange to another language you know. So they have those options to them too and those insights open to them and that that's something they discover for themselves.

In sum, language desire and choice have been key elements of Abigail's life trajectory. While Spanish was largely confined to her personal life in Australia her future plans were to expand her repertoire to using Spanish professionally. Abigail's language learning trajectory arose out of her language desire which is implicated in her linguistic intermarriage and her future plans to live and work in Argentina.

Overall five participants (Mary, Marnie, Abigail, Michelle and Jasmine) English described themselves as having good or very good proficiency in a LOTE. These participants used both language in their personal lives, and four used them in their professional lives as teachers or salespeople. Three participants (Mary, Marnie and Abigail) began learning the LOTE before they met their partner as a result of a desire for a second language. These participants are exceptional among the couples in this study because they are bilingual in the same LOTE as spoken by their migrant partner and are thus able to exercise language choice in their relationship in contrast to the majority of ESB participants.

5.4 Summary

In contrast to much research into linguistic intermarriage in migration (see Section 2.2), this chapter has focused on the individual language repertoires of the 30 ESB participants partnered with NESB migrants. I have focused on language proficiency and language choice. The data shows that the majority of participants had low levels of proficiency in the LOTE spoken by their partner. This had implications for language choice. The majority of the couples reported English as their main language of communication and the language they

began their relationship in. A small number of couples began their relationships in a LOTE but then moved to mainly English once they moved to Sydney to live. The configuration of the majority of the couples' language repertoires is the combination of the different language learning experiences inside and outside of the Anglosphere and the choice to live in English-dominant Sydney. These two factors lead to a higher value being placed on the migrant partner using/learning English than the ESB partner learning a LOTE (Demont-Heinrich, 2010). However, in over half the couples with children (12/22) the NESB parent spoke a LOTE to them and this was supported by the ESB partner. Thus although adult language learning was not highly valued, bilingual childrearing was. This will be further discussed in Chapter 8. Existing in tension with this low valuation of LOTEs was language cringe, which is similar to cultural cringe and is associated with shame about one's linguistic performance.

In the second section I showed that those ESB participants who have developed a high degree of bilingualism have done so through great personal commitment involving many years of living in another country and formally studying the language. This data stands as a contrasting case to the experience of the majority of ESB participants where failed language learning experiences and low investment in foreign language learning are typical (see Chapter 4). Overall, this chapter has shown that the linguistic repertoires of the majority of couples (25/30) consist of a largely monolingual L1 English-speaking local (although many Australian participants were themselves not local to Sydney) and a multilingual L2 English-speaking migrant. The next chapter thus turns to language in the relationship with a focus on how the ESB partner reacts to this difference in repertoires and any challenges it creates.

6   Language in the relationship: Challenges of linguistic difference

6.1   Introduction

In the previous chapter I focused on the individual language repertoires of the ESB

participants. In this chapter I will focus on language difference in the relationship. In contrast

to much research into linguistic intermarriage (see Chapter 2, Section 2.2) my focus here is to

analyse how ESB participants react to the language difference in their relationship with a

migrant NESB partner. This chapter has two parts. The first part analyses how the ESB

participants engage with LOTE interactions. For the majority of ESB participants, the

experience of being in LOTE environments was new and often challenging. The data shows a

range of reactions to being a linguistic outsider, from tolerance of exclusion to feelings of

discomfort and even anger. However, there was a tendency to be more accepting if the LOTE

interaction occurred in the migrant partner's country of origin and not in Sydney. The second

part describes how the ESB partners engaged with their partners' language challenges arising

out of migration. Some ESB participants acknowledged and supported their partner with

language-related challenges, such as workplace literacy and managing everyday interactions

with institutions. Despite support, some NESB partners were unable to overcome entrenched

barriers which saw their language repertoires devalued and downward occupational mobility

occur. Moreover, one couple had ongoing tension regarding the effects migration had on

employment and domestic roles, particularly childcare.

6.2   Challenges of LOTE interactions

In this section I will describe the various ways the majority of ESB participants (25/30)

engaged with the challenges of LOTE interactions. I will show that participants often sought

to position themselves as tolerant of their exclusion from LOTE communication and

frequently accepted their status as a linguistic outsider, particularly where LOTEs were

spoken overseas in a migrant partner's country of origin. However, this was more often the

case for men than for women. In particular, some ESB women experienced negative reactions to their lack of LOTE proficiency. In contrast, some ESB men experienced their lack of proficiency in LOTE interactions overseas as largely positive. Moreover, the strongest reactions against LOTE interactions was when they occurred in Sydney. Thus, it seems that ESB participants adhered to the territorial principle (see Section 1.3.1) in accepting LOTE interactions more easily in LOTE-speaking countries. Simultaneously, they were aware of exclusionary discourses which position LOTE speakers negatively and sought to distance themselves from these by focusing on other reasons for their discomfort with LOTE interactions at home.

6.2.1   "There's just two words for everything"

Despite the fact that the majority of ESB participants could not participate fully in LOTE interactions, they often constructed them as normal. For participants who had spent their childhood in one of Sydney's many ethnically and linguistically diverse suburbs it was normal that their social groups were made up of people from different language backgrounds but with English as the main spoken language. For others, social relations with speakers of the partner's first language were also normal and in those relationships the LOTE was the unmarked choice. David's response to those who found it "weird" that he and his family spoke English and Spanish to varying degrees was that "there's just two words for everything. Uh, it's not that complicated really, it's not that weird, it's just that everything's got two names". For many ESB participants the willingness and ability of their migrant partners to interpret when needed was also constructed as a normal and necessary part of social gatherings. For example, although ESB participant Paul learnt Spanish so that he could communicate with Sara's relatives, this is undermined by the fact that his Spanish was so idiosyncratic that only Sara could understand him and had to interpret his Spanish for his

parents. Children were also unproblematically called upon to be language brokers (Schwartz & Verschik, 2013, p. 13) by some participants.

Another reason given for the normality of the linguistic difference was that their partner's English proficiency was so high that the difference was essentially invisible on a practical day to day level. This is similar to the cross-cultural married couples in Piller, who used the strategy of comparing themselves to interracial relationships which were constructed as more "exotic" (Piller, 2002, p. 201). In the data ESB participants compared themselves favourably to other couples they knew where the proficiency gap was much higher or more salient and where it would lead to communicative difficulties they did not experience:

> *Excerpt 76*
> I can speak very freely with her because her English is so good, […] it is interesting to see other relationships where one member doesn't really speak English very well, like we had, um, uh, coffee with a couple who have been together for um 20 years maybe, she's Japanese background and he, um, still sort of corrects words for her and helps her out so um you know I- it's very, very rare that I do that. (Elliot)

> *Excerpt 77*
> I think we were very, very fortunate in that Klahan, Klahan has, has quite a good strong language background in the first place and my being a language teacher I have that sort of tolerance for ambiguity and miscommunications that sort of happen and what have you and so language was never ever a problem was never a bump in our relationship, (…) at a language level we were very fortunate yeah. (George)

For many participants who had limited language skills in an L2 or an L3, being communicatively flexible and sharing the communicative burden was an important part of their linguistic repertoire. Participants often describe managing interactions with interlocutors as based on mutual accommodation of each other's limited language skills:

Excerpt 78
Hanna: So how do you communicate with [your wife's] sister?

Lindsay: With her, uh, I try to do it in Japanese, she'll occasionally try and come back with English or uh fill in for me if I can't get the word the Japanese word sort of thing yeah there's sort of a bit of give and take each way but it's it's mainly Japanese I'd say yep.

Excerpt 79
Hanna: And do you ever have to deal with [your parents in law] without [your husband]?

Elaine: […] once or twice he's left me and gone, and we manage. A bit of sign language, a bit of English, a bit of Dutch and we manage […]

The main site for the performance of this L2-speaking self was the personal rather than professional and conversation partners were often friends or in-laws. A common context for the use of both languages was the marriage ceremony, where the L2 was sometimes used to surprise or accommodate L2 speaking in-laws. Five ESB participants were married in their partner's home country in the partner's L1 and a further three ESB participants had bilingual weddings in Australia (see Section 4.2.2). ESB participants spoke about how using the L2 was a gesture of respect and acknowledgement of their partner's identity:

Excerpt 80
Hanna: […] so was it important to you personally at the wedding that there was that [mix of languages]?

Matthew: Yeah, it was actually because I did think it was, if you're going to marry someone from a different background you should sort of know a bit about that. Yeah.

Overall, participants were invested in presenting language difference as often unproblematic, mostly as a result of their partner's bilingualism but also their own communicative flexibility and willingness to accommodate in L2 interactions.

6.2.2 "Act like a Russian man, say nothing, let me do all the talking!"

For many ESB participants, their experience of being the linguistic outsider was limited to overseas interactions with friends and family. Many (but not all) male ESB participants had few problems accepting their outsider status and were often able to perform some kinds of masculine identities with limited LOTE proficiencies.

> *Excerpt 81*
> Nadia said "don't say anything, be like a Russian man, don't say anything in taxis" because they charge you automatically like three times more if you, uh, if you're not Russian, so she said "act like a Russian man, say nothing, let me do all the talking!" (laughs) (Elliot)
>
> *Excerpt 82*
> […] but however my dad had no trouble with [ESB husband] Scott because as men they going out to drink, they don't need to communicate, just need to drink (Laughs). (Jessie)
>
> *Excerpt 83*
> Mmm but I also, that thing of a holiday in Argentina, I, I, like, have a busy life, I love the fact that I could just sit around and watch telly, you know like it was just, I don't have to do anything today, all I have to do is wait for Angela's mother to cook some fantastic lunch and then have a nap, and then I might lay down afterwards have a little, you know, watch a bit more telly have a little snooze and then all of a sudden some friends'll show up in the afternoon and uh it's lively again, but I'm not expected to do much […] (David).

Different kinds of masculine identities are presented here, all of which involved little communicative work. These are: gendered expectations to stay silent (see Excerpt 81), not do any domestic work nor organise social activities (see Excerpt 83) or to communicate through drinking rather than talking (see Excerpt 82). These expectations allowed some ESB men to fulfil their obligations without needing to be proficient in the LOTE. Furthermore, participants were often linguistically accommodated by others and accompanied by their migrant partner, and thus felt comfortable with being the only non-L2 speaker in a group:

Excerpt 84
[…] I think there were times when [the accommodation] got just too much or, like when we were in Germany I can remember clearly saying quite a few times "speak German if you need to speak German!", you know, like I am in Germany for god's sake (giggles). (Jimmy)

Excerpt 85
[…] I never found it too hard [in Japan] but it's mainly when you say that but day to day there are so many little things you sort of, oh my Eng- my Japanese is just not good enough, I won't even bother trying, you know, you might think oh I'd like to um just know a bit more about this but I can't understand what this guy's going to say to me anyway so I won't bother asking (laughs). (Peter)

ESB participants often accepted that in other spaces, other languages were dominant and it was unreasonable and untenable to expect that English would be the wider language of communication. In consequence, they did not portray being in a LOTE environment overseas as a negative, as in this example from Stephen:

Excerpt 86
Hanna: Have you ever been in a situation where you've felt like wallflower because you couldn't understand and just gone and read a book or something like that?

Stephen: Well, it would be impolite to absent yourself, and it's just a matter of well, I will be there for hours. But it's not without its entertainment because there's always something going on and a lot of animation, conveying of the message in a foreign language. As I say, I do try in my own humble way to follow the gist of the conversation. I often play little games with myself, recognising that I'll be sitting next to my wife; you know it's not as though I'm completely removed from the conversation. You know I'm a part of the family and people will occasionally say poor [Stephen] - *pobre* Stephen being Spanish for poor Stephen - and will, will make a token deviation into English or for, for 50 words and then we're back into the active. So it's not a, not an issue in the sense of - as I said before, it's recognition that I really should make a greater effort to learn Spanish, and especially as most of these scenarios are occurring in Argentina. And, and we're not there - we go regularly but we go for two or three weeks, of which time we'll travel elsewhere and do touristy things, so it's

only, you know it's only family anniversaries and weddings and birthdays and that sort of thing.[…]

Stephen draws on a number of strategies to portray the challenge of LOTE-dominant environments in a positive way. He uses Spanish – *pobre Stephen* – to demonstrate his familiarity with the language and he downplays his exclusion throughout: "it's not without its entertainment", "it's not an issue", "it's only for family events". Stephen was careful throughout the interview to be positive about his wife's bilingualism and to reject any suggestion that it could be in any way problematic or negative. In another data section he describes trips such as the one above as an "equity play" between him and his wife, who he feels has given up her Spanish-speaking social world in Argentina for a life in Australia with him. It is also notable that Stephen's in-laws are presented as bilingual, keen to help him communicate and to feel included.

In contrast, some female ESB participants found being the linguistic outsider in overseas environments extremely challenging. For example, on her first trip to Holland as a twenty-two year old, Elaine found the experience of being linguistically isolated at the dinner table at her future in-laws confronting and upsetting because "they'd get involved in a conversation and just forget I was there". However, she found this changed over time and now she is supported by English-speakers much more (see Section 7.3.2) For another ESB woman, Amy, her lack of communicative competence in Spanish on her trip to Columbia to meet his family challenged her sense of self as an adult and at one point left her in tears.

> *Excerpt 87*
> Um I felt like I was 18 again you know. That feeling of insecurity and not feeling independent and not feeling confident and yeah, just yeah, I 'spose feeling, feeling like a bit of a loser and a bit you know you know what I mean yeah. Almost like getting um angry at everyone else as well. There was that feeling of, you know I don't know, (laughs) actually I was talking to one of Herman's cousins and all of a sudden I actually started speaking in

English. I was speaking in Spanish and then I just went blah, blah, blah. I didn't even realise and they just were like (makes face?) - because they didn't understand a word and then everyone laughed you know but yeah, I was a bit, I was very shocked at how I felt because I did feel like a little girl. I just wanted to run in the corner and cry. And I did go outside and start crying at one stage.

Being in overseas environments with low LOTE proficiency was problematic for these women because it led to them being ignored, being dependent and being laughed at. In contrast, the men in the examples here describe being looked after by LOTE speakers as positive because it means they can relax. Moreover, they are still able to fulfil the social roles others expect of them.

6.2.3   "Speak English or get out!"

This gendered response to LOTE environments overseas was not present for LOTE interactions in Sydney. Although a number of participants expressed no discomfort with LOTEs spoken by in-laws or friends who lived in Sydney, the strongest reactions against LOTE interactions were those which occurred there. The negative reactions were often hedged, as in Excerpt 88 where friends' reactions are described as negative, rather than the participant's own.

Excerpt 88

Hanna: Have you ever had any of your friends hear Herman speaking Spanish or your family?

Amy: Yeah, and, and they think it's, that I'm like, they think it's the - you could hear their ears prick up and it's a novelty. You can tell it's a novelty to them, you know especially my brother it's like oh you know and friends as well. They are like it's cool. It's a novelty I think more than anything.

Hanna: It's a pretty positive reaction?

Amy: Yeah definitely. I think though, I would have some friends who probably wouldn't like it if um there was a group of them just speaking Spanish. I think there

are a couple of friends that wouldn't like that um [clicks tongue], but yeah, no never. I think there's more of an interest than a negative thing on it I would say.

Some participants engaged in lengthy justifications to explain their discomfort with being in LOTE environments in Sydney, such as David in this example talking about the regular gatherings of Argentine expatriates he attends with his family:

> *Excerpt 89*
> David: I'm not that comfortable there, I, I don't have, with the men, the Argentine men, because I've met them through Angela, I don't necessarily have a lot in common with them. Um, they're nice enough guys and you know, I get told all the time they're lovely men and they are but I don't actually have, and when they get together, they want to speak Spanish, and they are, once- My level of Spanish is fine one on one but once you get a group of men speaking together, it's another level of Spanish, um so I don't feel, they make me welcome, and there's no problem with that, but at the end of the day it's yeah, it's yeah.
>
> Hanna: It's not your scene.
>
> David: It's not my scene. I do it and I'm quite happy to do it but sometimes it can grind a bit.

David was candid about his discomfort with this environment but simultaneously aware of the way that being critical of migrants speaking their own languages feeds into a discourse of racism and exclusion. Throughout the interview David is careful to frame the problems he has with these gatherings as because of his lack of Spanish language communicative ability, not because Spanish or Spanish-speakers are a problem. This is highlighted in a story about a particular gathering where he came into conflict with his wife (Excerpt 90). David explains that as he was leaving to take his son to his next social engagement he was trying to avoid the extended goodbyes he felt were a usual part of the social interaction. However, his wife saw him leaving and wanted to know what was happening. She spoke in Spanish, he felt it was abrupt and responded equally abruptly in English, probably offending her.

Excerpt 90
Um, the, you know, even this last weekend there was a
particular situation, where, I guess what I'm trying to
say is that sometimes, my understanding of the language
and due to its limitations and I understand what's being
said but it's sometimes inflections of the language and
you just feel that the w-, if you understood the language
better you'd maybe understand the context a bit better or
the way it was said but to me sometimes it comes across
as a bit harsh, it's a bit direct, and I f- you know and
that's how I react to it. But it's probably due to my
understanding but that's that's the way we're, that's the
way it is at the moment, where we're at. (David)

From his framing of this story also David is careful to hedge the seriousness of his violation

of Argentine cultural norms (extended goodbyes) as a source of conflict, telling me that he

thought this would be a good story for the research and that was his reason for telling it. He is

constructing the story to be about his limited Spanish proficiency, rather than about the

linguistic and cultural difference of his migrant partner.

Throughout the data participants were aware of discourses of racism which conflate LOTEs

with race and equate speaking LOTEs as failing to belong, and some mentioned this

explicitly:

Excerpt 91
Gerald: It sort of tears me apart inside, sort of in a way,
in being between Sydney and the sort of country area
and part of me, sort of like closet racist almost, so just
can't everybody just speak English or get out?

Hanna: Right (laughs)

Gerald: The other side of me thinks, maybe the more
intellectual side, thinks no this is really good for us and
I'd love to be able to do it myself so I don't know it's
hard to go between the two.

Excerpt 92
A little bit, yeah, but I also get a little bit um – I mean I
can appreciate how hard it is for people to learn another
language, but I do get frustrated at a couple of Herman's
friends, cause I think come on, you've been here awhile

> now, you do need to pick up the English. You know what I mean, you're not doing yourself any favours and it's not that I'm being racist or you know cause I can appreciate that it is very difficult and it's expensive and we don't really have a lot of – there's not really a lot of services really. Do you know what I mean um. (Amy)

Excerpt 92 shows the use of hedging (Crystal, 2009, p. 227) through frequent hesitation and the use of *you know* to position the speaker and the listener on the same side of the argument. Here and elsewhere in the data ESB participants were at times explicit about feeling uncomfortable with LOTE-dominant interactions which left them as linguistic outsiders. They expected locals to speak English, and not engage in multilingual talk while there was a (monolingual) English speaker in the group.

> *Excerpt 93*
> Well I, sort of, um, yeah in parties for instance (…) you go to these parties full of Russian people and I find it very very r - I don't mind if I know the other person speaks Russian and their English is very limited, that's fine by me but if you're at a party and, uh, and they know that there's, particularly if there's two English speakers not just one, uh, I think I find it very, very rude when people speak Russian or even ruder when they start speaking in English and continue to speak in English for the majority of the conversation but some things they say to themselves in Russian, I just well, I don't know what they'd be saying, they're not necessarily saying anything nasty about you or anything like that but I find it, yeah really, really rude when [they] just speak briefly in in Russian. (Gerald)

However, another participant, expressed a different view (see Excerpt 94). Elliot described himself as having problems expressing himself clearly in his first and only language (English) and thus sympathising with the degree of comfort in speaking one's strongest language:

> *Excerpt 94*
> (…) yeah some people see it as rude I guess but, um, for me I could - I can empathise that, um, it's, it's an extra struggle to speak a different, ah, a non-native language

and especially when you're amongst friends, you just want to be comfortable and that would normally be falling back into, ah, into your preferred language (laughs) so it doesn't really bother me. (Elliot)

For those five ESB participants whose partners were child migrants and whose parents were living in Sydney, communication with parents-in-law was more frequent. In addition, there were more opportunities for language issues to arise and participants had to negotiate their own expectations and the more limited proficiencies of older NESB migrants. This was particularly salient for Leon, married to Bernadette, whose family migrated from Hong Kong when she was a child. In his interview, Leon talked at length about the cultural difference between his wife Bernadette's family and his own cultural practices. This reflected his level of frustration with what he saw as an inflexible traditional attitude, particularly from his mother-in-law. He describes the problem as being one of racial difference, that her family would have preferred a Chinese husband for their daughter. Although Leon felt that having some proficiency in Cantonese might have helped his relationship with his mother-in-law, it would not be enough to overcome the problem.

Early on in Leon and Bernadette's relationship he felt very unwelcome in Bernadette's Sydney home, which was in a poorer outer suburb far from the affluent inner city suburbs he was familiar with. Being linguistically excluded contributed to his discomfort.

> *Excerpt 95*
> Leon: Yeah so the first time was when they were living out in the western suburbs so one I was a bit nervous about going out it was near Campbelltown I wouldn't have gone out there uh ever I don't say that from like a snobbish perspective or anything there is this sort of thing but it's another world out there.
>
> Hanna: Yeah it's also miles away (laughs)
>
> Leon: It's a long way away, so and I took the train out there and so passing a lot of stations and suburbs that I've heard of but I wouldn't have wouldn't have gone

out there before yeah definitely a bit intimidating so yeah I think so the first time they weren't really there they weren't there to kind of meet me and introduce it was also a weird situation so she didn't really introduce me as her boyfriend as well cause I think she was a bit nervous about that situation so the first couple of times it was just going there as a more as a fr- friend but the really was it wasn't like no way I would've gone there if it was just a friend.

Hanna: (laughs) I've got friends that are much closer.

Leon: Exactly and I can see her at uni anyway sooo yeah intimidating for sure um a bit pretty nervous.

Hanna: So what was intimidating exactly the fact that they didn't know your status or?

Leon: Sooo yep definitely that's one, two is food. I'm a bit I'm a plain eater so I'm a bit, bit nervous about trying a lot of new things so I like plain food and obviously Chinese culture they eat a lot of different things that I know is gonna, I'm not gonna…

Hanna: Not going to be into?

Leon: Not going to be into so food and obviously language is the third one […]

Hanna: So but they obviously had quite different accents to Bernadette, not as fluent?

Leon: Yeah but half the time I wouldn't know because they were talking to Bernadette in Cantonese so that also made it - cause they'd talk in Cantonese and I'd sit there and go I've got no idea what you're saying but um (laughs) they still do that by the way.

Hanna: So was that like at the dinner table?

Leon: Yeah.

When visiting in-laws in Hong Kong, by contrast, Leon feels quite comfortable being excluded but in Sydney he expects to be accommodated. Being the linguistic outsider contributes to his sense of being an outsider in other ways (racial/cultural) in the family.

This was also the case for a group of participants married to Japanese spouses who were seen by their in-laws as undesirable spouses. Three out of the four ESB women married to Japanese men and one ESB man married to a Japanese woman described the resistance of their in-laws to their marriage or their identity as a non-Japanese outsider. Where L2 skills remained low, language barriers between ESB partners and their in-laws led to misunderstandings which further entrenched their difference. For example, Lindsay told a story about having a phone conversation with his mother-in-law, in which he could not understand what she was saying, and she thought he was lying to her about her daughter's whereabouts:

> *Excerpt 96*
> But that whole conversation all happened in highly emotive, high speed Japanese and I was struggling to really understand and I had to we had to go over it a few times for me to get the chain of events, you know that Sachiko is no longer with her, she's saying she's her, where is she, I'm saying well no she's not I don't where she is, I'm as worried as you are now I don't know where she is, and trying to explain that to somebody who's highly emotive because her mum was really worked up, now it turned out when we finally went back and had another meeting, my first face to face meeting with my mother in law was about five years ago now and I um it turned out that she believed that I was lying to her throughout that whole exchange that in fact her daughter was there but just didn't want to talk […] (Lindsay)

These ESB participants described in-laws with rigid expectations about their linguistic performance, unable to cope with the ambiguity of the communication and unhappy with a potential partner who could not speak in the right way. This was particularly salient for Genevieve, who described dramatic scenes where her partner's parents begged him not to marry her and continued their opposition to the relationship after they moved in to live together. She argued that the age gap between the couple and her lack of standard Japanese skills contributed to their disapproval:

Excerpt 97

One of the things they had said to my husband, his father said to him - because my husband had to - before we were married, he had to go back to them and see them and talk to them. His father had said to him um, you, you need to break this relationship off. You need to find a Japanese girl and the Japanese girl must not be older than you. She must be no more than two years younger than you (coughs). She must be able to speak Keigo, which is honorific Japanese.

Many participants described language difference as part of the challenges in the early stages of their relationship, however, at the time of the interview when relationships were long-term and established, and the couple was living in Sydney, the language differences were less relevant for the ESB partner.

In sum, the majority of ESB participants could not fully participate in LOTE-dominant interactions; such occasions were often rare and included communication with in-laws and social gatherings during trips to the partner's country of origin or with the LOTE community in Sydney. Participants experienced LOTE interactions as normal and interpreting was often provided by partners and children. LOTE dominant environments overseas were rarely experienced as a problem by ESB men, who were comfortable being a linguistic outsider in that content. In contrast, some ESB women felt disempowered in LOTE-dominant environments overseas. However, this contrast did not exist in LOTE environments in Sydney, where ESB participants expressed the strongest negative reactions to being a linguistic outsider.

6.3   Challenges arising out of migrant partner needing support after migration

One of the key challenges faced by migrants is employment, and both gender and NESB status can be significant to creating additional barriers to entry to the workforce (Colic-Peisker, 2011; Foroutan, 2008; Tovares & Kamwangamalu, 2017). For some NESB partners, such as Jessie, the negative effect of migration on the value of their linguistic repertoire had a

significant effect on employment, as their LOTE skill was downgraded from an essential life skill to a skill which was an invisible, often unnecessary extra, and their English skills were taken for granted:

> *Excerpt 98*
> Hanna: And was it easy for you to find work here, do you feel like it was just as easy as in China or was it more difficult?
>
> Jessie: Mmmmm. I, it wasn't easy here no. In China I guess English is my plus, because I can speak Chinese and English but here English is just, just basic.

This section will describe the ESB participants' construction of their responses to the language-related challenges of migration, in particular employment, for their migrant partner. A common reaction was to provide language assistance in the early stages of their migration. This support was often framed as another kind of "equity play", which was Stephen's term for his exclusion from social interaction when in Argentina (see Section 6.2.2). That is, a mitigation of the uneven power relations derived from being a migrant spouse of a locally-born partner. In contrast, some ESB participants were focused more on their own careers and employment opportunities, or did not recognise the language challenges of migration for their partner.

6.3.1   "I've always felt in a way a responsibility."

In the interviews ESB participants were asked if they helped their partner when they first migrated. Ten ESB participants said they helped their partner in a number of ways; by interpreting with friends and family, by making phone calls, managing the bureaucratic needs of their household or their children's school, by explaining the meaning of words and checking work documents such as resumes or emails. The most extensive discussion of language support was in the interview with Paul (P01-ESB) and Sara (P01-NESB). Paul and Sara had been living in Australia for 12 years at the time of the interview. The couple met in

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Nicaragua where Paul was on holiday and Sara, who is from Spain, was doing postgraduate study. They lived and worked together in Latin America for four years before migrating to Australia. After leaving Nicaragua they arrived in Chile, where Paul first worked as an English language teacher. This experience made the privilege of being a native speaker visible to him for the first time. Although he was quickly hired because he was a native speaker, it was Sara who taught him enough English grammar to make it through the first lesson. However, after migration this dynamic shifted and Paul became Sara's language advisor. Sara's first job in Sydney was in the community sector and at that time she asked her husband Paul to check all of her written work. Paul constructed his support for Sara's professional English as part of a larger commitment to making an intercultural marriage work and to compensate her for the sacrifices of migration.

> *Excerpt 99*
> I've always felt in a way a responsibility, Sara has chosen to move to this country, she's left her family in [Spain], she's moved to a whole new country, a whole new culture, etcetera, etcetera and in order to make our-one of the first things we did, because we recognised early on that we would have, um not a problem, not issues, but there would be challenges to our being together because we were from different parts of the world, not just because we spoke different languages but because, you know, Australia's a bloody long way from anywhere else, so, you know, the first commitment we made was that our relationship would come first and we would do things to ensure that our relationship would remain strong and loving etcetera and part of that was well, you know, she's living here so I can't read a few emails and whatever else? (Paul)

The issue of Paul's support for Sara's work-related language needs came up when I asked the couple about the ongoing role and significance of different languages in their lives, sixteen years into their marriage. Sara responded by talking about the continuing challenge presented by informal written English at work:

Excerpt 100
Sara: I mean, I've been here now for 12 years […] but still there are some times where I know, I do not know the right way of saying something or writing something, you know, even to this day normally Paul has a look at everything important that I need to write. It's not only the grammar, maybe one preposition here and there, but it's the tone.

Paul: It's the tone.

Sara: That still is difficult, you know. Not the formal tone, I think the formal tone, you know, I've nailed it but it's the informal that, it's much more difficult to, to you know the boundaries of an informal email for instance. If I'm not comfortable, I ask him to look over my shoulder.

However, Paul disagrees with the extent of his current support and compares what he used to do when she first arrived with what he does now:

Excerpt 101
Paul: […] I mean you say that I check everything, there was a time, when Sara and I first moved back to Australia which was just prior to the Sydney Olympics and Sara started, work[ing] here and there was a time that, the benefit is that Sara kind of works 24 hours behind everyone else because she would come home, I'd review it and then it'd go back, so every email would have been drafted every document, every, everything.

Sara: I had never worked in English so even if I knew how to speak English, I think it's very different to speaking English-

[…]

Paul: […] But having said that, it used to take me an hour every night and now it takes me three minutes, I don't see as much because Sara is a lot more confident these days and b- I think you've changed a bit, because, you know, if a few prepositions slip though you don't give a shit.

Paul's positive evaluation of his wife's English language improvement since migration and current confidence is part of a wider discourse of praise throughout the interview. Paul is invested in presenting his support for his wife's career as an important part of their

relationship, as a result of recognising the consequences that migration had for Sara's work-related language needs. Because Sara was able to achieve the professional success she wanted, the inequality brought about by migration in relation to language was not an ongoing source of tension for this couple.

6.3.2   "One of the big factors whether we like it or not is the economic side of things."

The devaluing of both LOTE skills and English skills experienced by NESB migrants is particularly marked for those who work in fields where language is a key aspect of the profession, such as teachers. A lack of Australian qualifications and English-language degrees further compounds the disadvantages faced by migrants from countries outside the Anglosphere (Chiswick, Lee, & Miller, 2003). This was the case for Klahan, who gave up a government job in Thailand as a school teacher to be with his partner George. This came up frequently in both participants' talk about their life together.

> *Excerpt 102*
> George: [...] but the day he arrived [in Vietnam] I, I, I for some reason just all of a sudden thought of that I'd taken him out of his culture and out of his out of his country of residence and his place of work and what have you […] as I said we hadn't thought this through properly, um, he arrived, um, <u>with no job immediately dependent on me in terms of his welfare, his socialization, in all aspects and, um, and I felt this incredible responsibility</u> (my emphasis) to sort of, well I've got to get him through this so that he's independent and he is respected and he has that sort of same level of respect and freedom and independence that he had in Thailand.

George and Klahan met while he was holidaying in Thailand, where Klahan worked as a school teacher. The couple had a long-distance three year relationship while George was living in and working in Vietnam. Initially, Klahan migrated to Vietnam to be with George. Leaving the secure, government job he had occupied since graduating from university was a

source of anxiety to his friends and family and meant that he was totally financially dependent on his partner for the first time in their relationship.

> *Excerpt 103*
> Klahan: Because, um, I, um finished university and I got a job straight away and leaving my parents, but I never leave my parents, I visiting them, we were quite close and um I thought that was, um quite quick decision, but it was- I trust him and I think what what we did that- they, the promise that we made it's um, you know, it's I feel secure, so when I went back [to Thailand after visiting George in Vietnam] and I'd been thinking, I didn't, I didn't make long time to think about it, but it was quite, quite quick to everyone to friends and family too.
>
> Hanna: The decision to move to Vietnam?
>
> Klahan: To move to Vietnam and leave, the, uh, leave the job.
>
> George: It was a decision we didn't think through very, very well at the time but you know it was just-
>
> Klahan: Yeah at the time I was working for the Thai government as a teacher for twelve years and usually that position, it's quite decent job, you know, you get pension, you get respect with people, so a lot of people kind of, um, surprised that I, um, um I leave the job, my parents too, especially my mother, she was quite upset but mum understood quite well that you know but um I wasn't wrong (laughs).

The advantages of Klahan's pre-migration profession were the financial security, the status and the fact that he had essentially worked in one position his entire working life. None of these advantages were available in Vietnam, both his Asian ethnicity and lack of Vietnamese language skills were barriers to his entry into the education system as an English Language Teacher or primary school teacher. The couple both described Klahan's initial period of being unemployed for the first time in his adult life as difficult, causing him to question why he had migrated and ultimately leading the couple to decide to migrate to Australia together where Klahan would have more opportunities to be financially independent from George.

Excerpt 104
George: Well the plan, there was a sort of loose plan that we would come to Australia […] (laughs) it was basically, I remember the specific the day when I came home, Klahan was going through the worst of his culture shock, he was depressed because of, of, um, um, um, you know, workwise and just, sort of, you know, well feeling, well, what am I doing here, um and he was lying on the bed and and I, do you remember that day?

Klahan: Hmm.

George: And you sort of saying what are we doing George and I said look let's change the plan let's go to Australia, you know.

Klahan: Mm mm.

George: And I think it was always at the back of my mind, you know, because the thing was I'd had previous relationships, cross-cultural relationships and I think the thing for me was always being an equal partner in the relationship and, and one of the big factors whether we like it or not is the economic side of things and the only way that I could see for us to be equal partners and growing a developing together would be to be in a country where we could be, where would be in the opportunity to be equal partners.

Hanna: So you mean where you could both work?

George: Where we could both work and we would be, be economically sort of independent, we wouldn't have to be dependent on each other uh dependent on each other financially and, um, we can explore sort of self-actualise and do things we want to do.

The decision to return to Australia after more than twenty years of living and working overseas for George, and to migrate to an English-speaking country for Klahan was thus constructed by George as motivated by a desire for economic equality by both couple members. However, it was not an easy transition for either of them:

Excerpt 105
Klahan: Well I think, I think it was, um, it was, it was a bit, it wasn't easy, it wasn't for both of us. George left Australia since he, he was 20, 25 and straight away he came back in and.

Hanna: So sorry the part that wasn't easy was coming back to Australia?

Klahan: Yes I think I, I saw, he took some time to settle back in the Australian society too.

Hanna: I was away for three and a half years and it took me a year to settle back in.

George: [laughs].

[..]

Klahan: But um lucky that he got a job straight away but, um, it took some time for me to settle myself again for the second time.

Klahan became more interested in Thai massage after having done a course in Thailand previously, and shortly before they migrated to Sydney he had built up a small business in Thai massage catering to English-speaking migrants (ex-patriates). At the time of the interview the couple had been living in Sydney for "about three years". Klahan worked as a self-employed massage therapist in Sydney and was doing another massage course to further specialise and consolidate his skills. Thus Klahan's move into less secure work was also in part motivated by his personal choices and interests. However, his migration to Australia had not yet provided the kind of economic security he enjoyed in Thailand, nor professional parity with his partner who was able to find a professional job equivalent to his work in Vietnam very quickly after their arrival.

Having a partner excluded from the employment market as a result of their linguistic and national identity was for many ESB participants the first time they had experienced the disadvantages on the employment market in Australia faced by those outside of the Anglosphere. For example, in Amy's case living with Herman as he tried to get accredited to become a dentist in Australia caused her to reassess how fair the accreditation system for skilled migrants.

Excerpt 106

Hanna: Has being with Herman changed the way you see Australia and Australian culture? That's my favourite question.

Amy: Ummmm. Yeah I mean I, I don't know if we've ever experienced any racism as such. Herman probably could tell you more about that. Not really. Ummm not really, not being with Herman as such, no, I don't think so umm. […] Actually, I will tell I will the thing in a way actually um it has changed my view of what's happened to Herman with the dental thing. That actually has just made me very frustrated with, with, I 'spose, Australia and their acceptance of people coming into the country and trying to you know make a break here um. Just, just with that, I had totally forgotten about that because that has been the most frustrating and ridiculous process ever and senseless, you know what I mean, you know, so huge amounts of frustration and, and, yeah I suppose, um.

Hanna: That's been the difficulties with getting accredited [in Australia as a dentist]?

Amy: Yeah, exactly, exactly and how and I s- yeah and how much money they are making out of all the students that are trying to do it and you know you know what I mean. Yeah, so that's changed my view I suppose in a way.

Hanna: What was your view before do you think?

Amy: Umm, I, I suppose I was you know I was very unaware and I thought you know - well when I first met Herman one of the first things he said to me was um - well after a while, you were talking about the process and you said, it might take me a while. And I said, oh no, you'll be right, you know, you speak really, your English is really good. I couldn't see how it was going to take you know any longer than a couple of years.

Herman: It's been five now.

Amy: Yeah, that feeling of disappointment and then I 'spose finding out that um it's actually been this way for years do you know what I mean.

Three years after data collection Herman had given up on dentistry, retrained as a medical technician and taken his family to regional Australia in order to find work (personal

communication, 2015). Thus for both Klahan and Herman, migration had led to downward

occupational mobility as a result of their linguistic, racial and national background as non-

Anglophones.

6.3.3 "I don't know whether I'm going to have any income."

Gendered childrearing roles were another salient factor in contributing to difficulties in early

migration. Multilingual repertoires and NES background often intersect with gendered

expectations about childrearing responsibilities to make employment challenging for migrant

mothers in particular (See Section 2.3.2; Okita, 2002).

> *Excerpt 107*
> If I found a nine to five job, it would pay so little it wouldn't even cover the cost of being away from the children. It would be kind of pointless. (Laura P24-NESB)

In this excerpt Laura is counting the costs of childcare only out of her imagined salary, rather

than that of her husband James. The expectation that childrearing is to a greater extent the

mother's responsibility underlies this accounting and is largely uncontested in the data. The

most salient example comes from the data comes from the interview with ESB participant

Scott and his wife Jessie. The couple met in Sydney while Jessie was studying her for

Master's degree and Scott was working as an English language teacher. Jessie then returned

to China where she worked in international trade for a multinational company. Scott took

some work in China in order to pursue the relationship and they married there and had a

child. After a year and a half, during which time their young son Louis was living in a nearby

city being cared for by Jessie's parents, Scott decided he was unhappy with this situation and

the family thus migrated to Sydney.

Excerpt 108

Jessie: And I think for me, I think, uh (laughs) I didn't have a issue with it [Louis being away from them] but for Scott, he would like to be more involved.

Scott: I wanted, it was probably partly a power thing too. Like I just felt like I wanted more power, I felt like he's my son and I think I should have dec- , you know, if things don't, if things get decided for me, that's not on. When it's involving my son. So I got into this protectionist mode and I was worried that he wouldn't learn any English (laughs) but. Yeah so that was an issue, that was a major issue that we sort of had to work through and Jessie's been flexible with me actually about that. Um. And um yeah, I mean nowadays I have a lot of mixed feelings about, yeah some days I feel really guilty about that decision and um. […]

Hanna: So it was sort of abrupt, you just left?

Jessie: Umm, well the decision was made quite, quite, quite quick. So from Scott decide well we want to move back to we actually move back it's only like few months' time isn't it?

Scott: Ah you mean from Sydney, from China to Sydney?

Jessie: From, from the time when you decide to when we actually move back is only few months' time I think.

Scott: Well I was on a, I was on a three month contract when I decided to leave another job. I was working for TAFE global with a three month deal which was very financially lucrative at that time. I was going to stay for another twelve months but I decided I might, I might just do it after I finished off the three month contract. And Jessie was going to come over seven months later.

Jessie uses "you" to talk about the decision for the whole family to move to Sydney while Scott describes his career decisions in the first person only. The decision to return to Australia for Scott and to migrate to Australia for Jessie is thus jointly constructed by the couple as Scott's decision in response to the distance from his young child and his lack of control over the decisions that were made regarding him. This kind of dynamic where Jessie

is positioned as being tolerant and flexible while Scott positions himself as full of praise and

support for her occurred throughout the interview:

> *Excerpt 109*
> It took a few months but she's prospered [in Sydney].
> (Scott)
>
> *Excerpt 110*
> I've always had confidence in her, there were times though when she doubted herself but I figured you know she can survive. If she can survive in Shanghai, cause Shanghai's a, it's an incredibly competitive environment and if you're not Shanghaiese and you come from an outside location like she did, there's a lot of doors that close. (Scott)
>
> *Excerpt 111*
> I can't stop bragging about Jessie […] she's very, very, very flexible and she's um if ever anyone sort of puts any othering, critique-style othering when they're making an observation about our relationship, yeah I do sometimes get very sensitive about it because I believe that she's been much more flexible at cultural immersion than, than any other critics. (Scott)

These extracts point to two issues. One is the way that participants with Asian, African and

other non-white partners were sensitive to the way others saw their relationship in inter-racial

terms in ways that were absent for those with white partners. Scott calls this "othering,

critique-style othering" and his response is to position Jessie as a flexible and tolerant migrant

who has adapted to life in Australia very well. However, the second issue is that this

construction is slightly problematic when it comes to discussion about family roles in the

data. The couple had a challenging start to living in Sydney together as a result of the

family's sudden migration to Sydney away from the family support of Jessie's parents. This

had a negative effect on Jessie's career trajectory and affected their parenting roles. In this

context, Jessie's flexibility is less a choice and more a requirement as a result of her

migration and lack of family support, which she constructs as a problem for her career.

For Jessie the most salient outcome of migration was the change in her employment status. The value of Mandarin/English bilingualism in the two job markets had a significant impact on Jessie's ability to find work in a similarly international field to that of her work in Shanghai. Instead she found that Chinese in the commercial banking sector was a local language and her use of Chinese was restricted to helping customers in the bank branch, work which she did not enjoy and which she felt was not valued by her employers.

Excerpt 112
Hanna: And did you find work where Chinese was a plus, or was it hard to find that sort of work?

Jessie: Ummm, I s- I was – I was thinking, well I can speak Chinese, I was doing buying, purchasing, importing, exporting in China, I know the suppliers, I know the factories. I thought that gave me a stronger, you know applicant background, but I didn't get a job in that kind of industry. Funny enough um, wrongly or rightly I end up working for a bank so.

[…]

Hanna: […] Do you like being in a job where you can use your multilingualism or-?

Jessie: Not necessary for me, because I say, at the moment I'm actually work at [R suburb]. Which is, my customer maybe ten percent Chinese, ninety percent again non-Chinese. […] Um because I think for me from a banker point of view Chinese have their own habit of doing tax return now, which is not helping when they get financials through, so for that aspect […] I prefer not to [deal with Chinese people], because they do have their own negative side of way of doing things, um yeah, but I don't mind to help them, if, if this Chinese customer don't understand I often do the translation in the branch anyway for them.

Hanna: Okay, okay. And do you feel that that's appreciated at work, that interpreting translation stuff or is it kind of invisible?

Jessie: Kind of invisible to me, at least that's my, my take.

Hanna: And does your boss appreciate it?

Jessie: Don't think it makes difference to them (laughs)
Not as if I can say, no I'm not going to translate, I have to.

Jessie's Chinese language skills are constructed here as a burden which forces her to engage with cultural outsiders. Chinese gives her access to a second-tier language market which has little value and is unappealing. Moreover, the change in her domestic roles made her initial employment search difficult:

> *Excerpt 113*
> And yeah, so I always had a job […] So I'm in a panic thinking oh my god my god, I don't [have] a job, my god, first time in my life, and with Louis it's particularly hard because I can't send him to any childcare yet, because I don't know whether I'm going to have income, I can't afford to pay eighty dollars per day when I don't have income to (pay it). So I start by sending my resume through the Seek, the job searching website, if people call me, say can we have a phone interview tomorrow, say ten o'clock I'm just hoping Louis will go to sleep then because then- when they're baby they want to get your attention all the time, if you're on the phone, they grab your legs, so you can't concentrate, so I'm like hoping please Louis go to sleep (child interrupts) Good boy. And, um, yeah sometime people say, can you come over for interview tomorrow and I can't say yes or no straight away because I need to find someone to look after Louis first, so I have [to] say, can I give you a call back, I need to find someone to babysit first, so that was hard. Yeah, um. (Jessie)

Jessie uses the first-person pronoun to describe the responsibility for paying for and finding childcare rather than a joint responsibility with her husband. In this construction the burden of childcare has shifted from her parents to herself. Moreover, when I asked about Scott's support in her employment search Jessie replied by laughing.

> *Excerpt 114*
> Hanna: And did Scott need to help you at first with some of those things? Did he help you at all with your new job or?
>
> Jessie: (laughs)

Hanna: Okay, sorry, wrong question (laughs).

Jessie's response shows some tension around the division of labour and the domestic role which Jessie found herself in as a result of migration that was largely Scott's decision. As neither parent had any experience looking after a young child, the migration presented challenges for them on both a practical and a relationship level. Both felt unprepared as parents and Jessie found the domestic work she was suddenly responsible for, such as cooking for the family and organising childcare difficult. She particularly reacts to Scott's praise of her strong work ethic as a criticism of her commitment to investing in her career:

> *Excerpt 115*
> Scott: It was like a, if can speak on behalf of both of us, first of all I hadn't had any parenting practise for a year and a half, so that was like a bucket of cold water poured over my head. For Jessie, well she hadn't, she had, well she'd been busy working in Shanghai so she was thrown into that role plus being relocated to a different, yeah, back over the, over the water. With some-
>
> Hanna: And were you working at that time, sorry?
>
> Jessie: Not for the first few months.
>
> Scott: And that was pretty hard for you wasn't it? Cause Jessie, Jessie loves work, she's-
>
> Jessie: I'm a workaholic, apparently. Um, it was hard because as Scott said I felt, I felt all of a sudden I have a son, you know. The first one year and a half I know he's there but I don't have to look after him but all of a sudden I have to look after him. And, especially I'd never cooked before and I don't know how to cook, for just me and Scott I can eat noodles for six months, I don't care but all of a sudden you have a little baby to look after, you feel guilty you think you better cook something nutritious for him. So that was hard.

Jessie's use of the first person to describe the change in domestic roles further signals her construction of the responsibility for childcare as falling primarily onto her. In this context, Scott's comment that Jessie loves her work is clearly a source of some tension as it is not

received as a compliment but as a criticism, as seen in the use of the negatively connoted "workaholic" and "apparently", a discourse marker which signals the speakers' critical stance (Cameron, 2001, p. 93). Scott also specifies that it was because Jessie was "busy working in Shanghai" which kept her out of the role of mother, that is, he constructs her work in opposition to motherhood.

The decision to return to Australia had significant consequences for Jessie whose work in international trade was in part reliant on her multilingual repertoire and knowledge of the various markets. For the couple the consequences of migrant career trajectories for their relationship were tensions around managing career and childrearing connected to a lack of local family support and a struggle over domestic roles. Furthermore, for Jessie migration and language produced tension around her career trajectory in a field where her bilingualism was not valued and domestic responsibilities had a greater effect on her career opportunities.

In sum, ESB participants reacted to the challenges of their partner's support needs in various ways, ranging from active language support to professing a commitment to equality or praising their partner's flexibility. However, some NESB partners experienced downward occupational mobility or difficulties gaining equivalent employment and this led to tensions and challenges for couples. Moreover, race and gender intersected with NESB status to create barriers to employment for some migrant partners, particularly gendered childrearing and domestic roles.

6.4   Summary

This chapter has shown the ways that ESB partners reacted to the language difference between them and their partner, and the language challenges that arose as a result. Much work on linguistic intermarriage in migration focuses on the minority language speaking partner (Gonçalves, 2013a; Heller & Lévy, 1992; Jackson, 2006; Okita, 2002; Souza, 2015;

Walters, 1996; Yeh, 2010). This chapter has aimed to describe the experience of language difference for the other couple member. It has shown that their attitudes and approaches are diverse, underpinned by various beliefs about linguistic practice, and that these beliefs in turn influence reactions to language difference. I have argued that ESB partners' attitudes towards LOTE interactions are shaped by the territorial principle, yet the construction of LOTE interactions as negative is a problem for many participants who recognize that this construction is situated in a discourse of racism (Lippi-Green, 2012). As a result participants' attempt to mitigate their criticism by downplaying difference as the source of tension and instead blaming other factors, such as language proficiency or individual personality. This echoes Heller and Lévy's (1992) conclusion that wider societal debates about language and difference influence linguistic practice and can change over time. Migration was a key issue for NESB partners and caused them to have increased language support needs, particularly in employment, and that ESB partners reacted to this in various ways. The different kinds of support show that the attitude of ESB partner towards language challenges of migration has an effect on the migration employment experience of the NESB partner. Furthermore the language challenges of migration intersected with parenting challenges and were a key area of tension for some couples, as migration exacerbated the unequal division of domestic and childrearing labour for some couples (Okita, 2002). This domain will be the focus of the final analysis chapter on language in the family.

7 Family communication: Bilingual childrearing and kinwork

7.1 Introduction

> *Excerpt 116*
> All his friends said "oh my god, you're not, your children aren't speaking French" and I would just say to them "that's the whole, that's why it's called mother tongue, you generally, as a kid you generally spend more time with your mother" and so you know, um, I think that's it. (Michelle P17-ESB)

This chapter shifts the focus back to the home domain and concentrates on the wider family unit, including children and in-laws. It will explore the discursive construction of communication within the family, focusing on two areas where language is implicated: bilingual childrearing and communication with LOTE-speaking in-laws. The first section focuses on bilingual childrearing and outlines the beliefs about and representation of responsibilities for raising children speaking both the LOTE and English. In this section I identify two dominant discourses in which bilingual childrearing is situated. Moreover, I describe the link between gendered parenting roles and the discursive construction of bilingual childrearing in the data. In the second section I discuss the representation of communication with in-laws in the LOTE and identify gender as salient in the construction of "kinwork" (di Leonardo, 1987; Rosenthal, 1985). The work of bilingual childrearing and maintaining contact with family members have been characterised in the research as women's work because they involve work which is part of being seen as a good mother and wife (di Leonardo, 1987; Mills, 2004; Okita, 2002; Rosenthal, 1985). This is exemplified in Excerpt 116 where Michelle is sensitive to the pressure to raise bilingual children from "all" her husband's French friends. However, she resists being positioned as a bad parent through the link between motherhood and the mother tongue (hers is English and therefore she has done her duty). The two kinds of family communication discussed in this chapter are thus both kinds of language work usually expected of wives rather than husbands. I argue that gender,

linguistic repertoire and societal language ideologies intersect to produce particular constructions of roles and responsibilities around managing successful family communication. That is, there is a gendered division of the language work of family communication and it is amplified by different linguistic repertoires in the family.

7.2   Bilingual childrearing

This section develops the argument regarding the gendered division of family communication work in the realm of raising children to speak two languages. It has two parts. The first part focuses on the language ideologies present in the data which undergird beliefs about bilingual childrearing from both ESB and NESB participants. I identify two dominant ideologies in the data: the monolingual mindset and the "bilingual bonus" (Gerber, 2015, p. 12). The second part describes the ways in which the ESB participants positioned themselves in terms of the couples' roles and responsibilities for raising their children bilingually. I then identify some significant differences between ESB husbands and other participants in their stances towards their responsibilities for raising their children in both the LOTE and English.

In this section the focus is on the 22 couples with children (see Table 7.1). The topic of raising children to speak two languages was clearly salient for the participants, which can be seen in the fact that in 19 out of 30 interviews the topic was raised by the participants early on in the interview rather than by the interviewer. This was often in response to an opening question about their interest in language. Moreover, 28 out of 30 participants mentioned children's bilingual skills, including six who planned to but did not yet have children (at the time of writing 5/6 of these have since had a child).

ESB PARTNER ALIAS	GENDER	MIGRANT PARTNER'S PLACE OF BIRTH	NO. OF CHILDREN	EDUCATIONAL AGE RANGE OF COUPLE'S OLDEST CHILD	MAIN HOME LANGUAGE/S SPOKEN TO CHILD
PAUL	M	Spain	1	Under 5	English, Spanish
SCOTT	M	China	1	Primary school	English, Chinese
DAVID	M	Argentina	2	Primary school	English, Spanish
MARNIE	F	Japan	1	Adult	English
ELAINE	F	The Netherlands	2	Primary school	English
THALIA	F	Sierra Leone	1	Under 5	English
MARK	M	Argentina	3	Under 5	Spanish, English
JASMINE	F	Japan	2	Primary school	English, Japanese
JIMMY	M	Germany	1	Under 5	English, German
RALPH	M	Brazil	1	Under 1	English, Portuguese
JOHN	M	Germany*	2	Secondary school	English
LINDSAY	M	Japan	1	Primary school	English
MICHELLE	F	France	2	Primary school	English
LEON	M	China (Hong Kong)*	1	Under 1	English, Cantonese
PETER	M	Japan	3	Adult	English
STEPHEN	M	Argentina	2	Secondary school	English, Spanish
ABIGAIL	F	Argentina	2	Primary school	English
JAMES	M	Estonia	2	Under 5	Estonian, English
MATTHEW	M	China (Hong Kong)*	1	Under 1	English, Cantonese
EMMA	F	Ghana	2	Adult	English
LOUISE	F	Chile*	1	Under 1	English, Spanish
MEGAN	F	Korea	4	Primary school	English

*child/young adult migrant

Table 7.1 Family characteristics: Family size and languages spoken at home

Within each of these 28 interviews there was a range of between 1-15 mentions of the topic of bilingual childrearing and 189 references to it in the data as a whole. This response was typical:

> *Excerpt 117*
> Hanna: So thank you, and the first question that I'm asking everyone is, apart from just being very generous and doing me a favour, why was this topic interesting for you?
>
> Lisa: I guess, um, because our daughter was just born and that's kind of something that I've been thinking about a lot, how we can make sure that my language will be part of the languages that she can speak, so it is quite involved if you are the, um, non-English-speaking parent to make sure there is enough of the other language that, um, she can pick in a way.
>
> Jimmy: […] I'm really keen for her to learn German so that she can experience that and not just, you know, like, education, health care and what not, but also family and the culture and yeah, the I guess the different perspective that living in another country gives you.

Although many couples were enthusiastic about LOTE learning for their young children, the available language education in community LOTEs was minimal for most participants. This increased the pressure on parents to undertake private language planning if they wished their children to be bilingual. Moreover, the increasing value of bilingualism as part of "good" parenting among the middle class may account for the awareness of this topic even amongst those who were not yet parents (Gerber, 2015; King & Fogle, 2006). However, participants' understanding of what constituted the right kind of bilingualism was underpinned by a particular set of beliefs which are discussed in the next section.

7.2.1 "We wanted to try and raise her as a native speaker."

This section discusses how the discursive construction of bilingual childrearing by the participants is underpinned in part by their beliefs about what constitutes bilingualism (see

Section 2.5). Bilingualism is represented in the data through three discourses: the

monolingual mindset (Clyne, 2005), double monolingualism (Heller, 2002) and the bilingual

bonus (Gerber, 2015). Unsurprisingly, given its dominance in Australian discourse, the

monolingual mindset was apparent throughout the data on bilingualism and bilingual

childrearing. In particular, the belief that learning a LOTE would have a negative impact on a

child's English language development, as in the following example:

> *Excerpt 118*
> Hanna: So when it came to your children's language learning did you and Tom decide from the get go not to speak Dutch to them or did it just happen?
>
> Elaine: [sighs] Well I met this friend through mother's group, we had thought we should do it, do it while they're young initially, and we had this friend from mother's group who's still friends with us, she's Dutch, and she was the one who was at home, so she was speaking to her son who's only a week younger than our son in Dutch all the time. His English was so poor, he really struggled with, with speaking (loud) English, he was just, he was light years behind our son, and we just saw that going on and we went "no". So when we saw what was going on and that he had to go to speech therapy and all those things had to happen with him because all sh- all he knew was Dutch, um, we didn't want that to happen to [son] so we did we absolutely made a conscious decision not to speak to them in Dutch when they were little, um.

In this example the mother described is a Dutch first language speaker, while Elaine

described herself as a very poor speaker of Dutch. Thus it is unlikely she would have been

able to provide the same level of Dutch input and much of her communication with her child

would have been in English, her first and main language. However, the anxiety around a

possible delay in learning English as a result of any exposure to a LOTE remains. In the data,

this kind of anxiety, about the quality of the language (e.g. good vs. bad Spanish), the amount

of input and the possible effects on the quality of the child's English were all given as

justifications for limited or no attempts to raise children bilingually. Another example from

an ESB participant who did not yet have children is Excerpt 119:

> *Excerpt 119*
> And I, I very much like the idea of bilingual children but at the same time I'd very much like them to speak English well, we were discussing it […], should we have them, should we talk to them from - English and Russian from the very beginning from day one or should we wait a year for them to learn English first and then learn Russian. I had a concern that I don't want, you know, I've had others who've been thrown who've had both thrown at them and speaking neither very well and creating big problems for them as they go through school and I definitely don't want that […] (Gerald)

Despite ESB and NESB participants describing their children's bilingualism as "important"

and "valuable", bilingual childrearing was often seen as impossible in an English-dominant

country. These anxieties are situated within an understanding of bilingualism where the two

languages must be kept entirely separate and the LOTE must not affect the quality of English.

Moreover, the monolingual mindset, as made manifest in these examples and others from the

data, is closely connected to the idea of the native speaker, whose value lies in their high

command of the imagined standard language which they have learnt from birth. Many

participants viewed bilingualism through this monolingual lens and with a view to raising

native speakers of both languages, what Heller (2006, p. 17) terms "double monolingualism",

where both languages are spoken as an idealised native speaker, there is no mixing of the

languages and both languages are high-value "standard" languages spoken by the educated

elite. Participants gave examples of second generation migrants who they felt spoke the

language badly as a result:

> *Excerpt 120*
> Laura: One thing I wanted to say was when we go back [to Estonia], it's just complicated a bit by my very strong belief that you have to teach and only respond in one

language. Whatever you choose, your native or - and not mingle it…

James: Yeah that's right.

Laura: Because I've seen this happening.

James: Well the evidence is for that-

Laura: I've also seen it happening very strongly in the Sydney Finnish community. There are some people [inaudible] I met some people who kind of use both languages and say a word here, a word there. It's very kind of laissez-faire and I call it cabbage language. I don't want that to happen to my children. It is the worst thing in my mind to do to a child. Confuse them in two languages and they end up with this mix of nothing. […]

Excerpt 121
Sara: […] I do speak good Spanish cause I'm, you know, I had a good education, I come from a family where they're really good speakers of Spanish but we know lots of people who speak bad Spanish and write really bad Spanish and there was also a conversation about [the fact that] Marie's going to have good Spanish input, I didn't want her to have anything less than that. And so I have friend, quite a bit of friends from second generation, you know, even second generation of people who were born overseas but for whatever reason they don't speak it as a first language and they really speak it and write it appallingly and I think that it's a pity and it's something that we-

Paul: Because we wanted to try and raise Marie as a native speaker rather than any other way and that's gonna be a constant challenge down through the years, and how we're going to do that I don't know.

Sara: (laughs)

The process of fractal recursivity is apparent here, whereby the socio-economic distinctions which come about due to educational (dis)advantage are indexed in the linguistic variation between "good" and "bad" language. Moreover, these oppositions are then projected onto the relationship between the order in which the language is learned – whether it is the first language or not – and the subsequent language proficiency of the child. In other words, the only kind of bilingualism which is valuable is double monolingualism.

However, this did not always mean excluding the possibility of bilingualism. Despite orienting to a similar native speaker norm in terms of Spanish, NESB participant Lucia had lower expectations about her children's ability to speak Spanish as native speakers than other participants such as Paul and Sara:

> *Excerpt 122*
> And I never asked them to do it, it happened naturally and they always talk to each other in Spanish, of course they mix English word when they don't have them, when they don't have the Spanish word they, you know, insert the English word, but you know all the structure and the communication's in Spanish. […] Well they will not speak fluent Spanish as if they had been born there, um, unless we go to Argentina, that's why I want to go to Argentina for a year, it's very important to me, because I know at their age, they already have the language, they will pick the accent and everything very fast. So um. But that doesn't worry me too much I don't, I don't care if they don't speak you know, perfect Spanish, um, I mean I want them to speak as good as they can. I don't care too much if they have a little accent but I do want them to be able to communicate in the language, to write it and you know to take the advantage of [having it]. (Lucia)

These low expectations co-existed with both Lucia and her husband Marc placing a high value on the children's bilingual development, including the development of biliteracy:

> *Excerpt 123*
> Hanna: […] How important is it to you that they continue their Spanish?
>
> Marc: Very important.
>
> Lucia: Very important yeah. Very, very important.
>
> Marc: I mean Lucia will be speaking Spanish to them their whole life.
>
> Lucia: I will always speak to them in Spanish.
>
> Marc: Only listening to Spanish as well so.
>
> Lucia: That's right.

> Marc: They've got that positive reinforcement always going on and that's why if anything their Spanish will improve.
>
> Lucia: Yeah and I, I really want them to learn it formally not just from me, just, just.
>
> Marc: Learn to read and write it.
>
> Lucia: To get a Spanish teacher or that we could get it into the school. But I certainly want them to learn it formally as well.

Significantly, in contrast to the eight other couples with more than one child of speaking age, Lucia and her husband Marc reported that their two older children spoke the LOTE to each other and they expressed no anxiety about the children's English abilities being affected by their bilingualism. For this family the absence of an impossible standard of double monolingualism was perhaps one factor in their increased success.

The other discourse through which bilingual childrearing was viewed was that of bilingualism as an advantage, what Gerber (2015, p. 12) terms the "bilingual bonus". Firstly the need for good English was imperative, as in Excerpt 118-9, and any second language was considered a bonus. Moreover, participants viewed having exposure to a second language as so obviously beneficial for their children they did not need to justify it, perhaps assuming that as the interviewer was a linguistics researcher it would not need explanation. In response to direct questions, participants gave reasons such as tolerance for difference, understanding of family background, career and travel opportunities and connections with family in Australia and overseas. ESB participants in particular felt that they wanted their children to have an advantage which they themselves never had. Moreover, ESB participants with new babies were particularly hopeful about the potential for bilingualism as in the following excerpts:

Excerpt 124
[…] I always, I always, like I wish I learnt another language and I haven't. […] And I also think it's really important for her. (Thalia)

Excerpt 125
I think because I had grown up in a similar sort of family [with an NESB migrant mother] but hadn't learnt the language, I did think I'd love to do things to encourage it so to the extent where, you know, I'll if, if, um, if her parents and teaching her don't work I'll definitely send her to school somewhere to learn in addition, just yeah. […] um, because I 'spose I feel it was a lost opportunity with me, not that not that knowing that language would have made much difference to my life really but, oh, maybe my appreciation of life might have been different but in terms of opportunities it wouldn't have made any difference, um, it might make a bit more difference with her because its slightly more valuable to know, so yeah, so just to sort of make the opportunity yeah. (Matthew)

Throughout the data there is a tension between the advantages of childhood bilingualism and the dominance of the monolingual mindset and the related belief in the value of native speakerism. This tension was a key factor in the decisions, doubts and regrets in bilingual childrearing for the participants. However, participants' orientation towards their role in language transmission was different for mothers and fathers. These differences extended across the data and what is salient here is the investment in gendered parenting roles of the parents which is described in the next section.

7.2.2 "I'm happy to help."

This section identifies the intersection of gendered parenting norms and the discursive construction of the bilingual childrearing project. Language transmission research has found that gender roles are a factor in language maintenance (Clyne, 1991) and further that the belief that mothers are held to be the bearers of cultural heritage continues to have validity for some groups (Winter & Pauwels, 2005). This is also the case here. While most ESB parents viewed bilingual childrearing through the lens of double monolingualism in their

representation of the aims and potential success of bilingual childrearing, when it came to talking about whose job it was there was a clear difference in the way that ESB women and ESB men talked about the development of their children's language skills. The ESB husbands talked about their role largely as secondary to the mother, who is constructed as the primary decision-maker regarding bilingual child rearing. Thus the fathers' role was supporting, helping or allowing the development of bilingualism in their children or in simply supporting their partner's decision regarding bilingual childrearing. Furthermore, commonly in the data bilingual childrearing is constructed by ESB men as a kind of cultural capital, an educational or personal advantage they did not have but are able to facilitate for their children through their support. When giving reasons for raising bilingual children ESB husbands focused on these general advantages of bilingualism more than the specific family connections which were the focus for both ESB women and many NESB partners:

> *Excerpt 126*
> I'm, I'm proud of it, I'm proud of [son] being able to speak fluent Mandarin, and I also feel proud to be married to Jessie and proud that she, sort of, tries to keep him up with his Mandarin. I mean, a very, a very prominent linguist in England told me that that's one of the best, one of the best gifts that we could give to him so I was also encouraged by that. (Scott)

In general, an awareness of the actual language work of bilingual childrearing, such as having to switch languages or support both school and home language practice, was missing from the ESB male partners and husbands when they spoke about their children's bilingualism. An interesting exception was a comment from ESB participant James, whose first child was born in Estonia. The work involved in raising a child in a minority language became visible to him because as the English speaker he was the minority language speaker in Estonia:

> *Excerpt 127*
> Yeah, I was always on board with the idea [of raising the couple's daughter bilingually] but I found it, in Estonia

I tried to always speak Estonian so I had this disconnect where suddenly I was trying to actually speak English with this one person. And so, like, I just kept finding myself slipping into Estonian. It's a lot easier here in Australia to speak English um with her, but still occasionally I say something in Estonian. She's always like, "Daddy don't speak Estonian, speak English" (laughs). (James)

The following excerpt from Jonathan and Eva, a couple who were expecting their first child, is typical in the data of the positioning of the male partner in the support role.

Excerpt 128
Eva: Well, [raising their child bilingually] is the plan. We'll see whether it eventuates or not. Yeah, I'll try and I'll tell you know my, my father, too, to try as well. But I think it'll be, it will be difficult because it's, it will just be me and my dad here that, that will speak it. So there might have to be lots of trips to Bulgaria (laughs).

Jonathan: Hey look, I'm happy to help. If you're trying to teach the baby something or talking to it in Bulgarian teach me a couple of phrases like "put that down, don't do that, piss off and stop bothering me".

The development of children's bilingual skills were frequently framed as the mother's domain, particularly where the mother was the LOTE speaker. This speaks to the comment at the beginning of this chapter from Michelle, where the metaphor of mother tongue shows the discursive links between the nurturing role of motherhood and her responsibility for a child's language development. Where the mother was not the LOTE-background speaker, ESB women showed a frustration with their inability to support their children's bi/multilingualism as a result of a lack of language proficiency. Some participants, such as Michelle, attributed this to their husband's attitudes and practices, as in the following example:

Excerpt 129
[My husband]'s linguistically lazy and it's just easier for him to speak English, um, and every now and then he gets on his high horse and he'll only speak French to them and [son] Jakob definitely benefits and I, Jakob definitely wants to speak French and has the interest to

speak French but Henri doesn't encourage it enough, oh
you don't [to Henri]. (Michelle)

One way of overcoming this frustration and supporting bilingual childrearing without being

the person providing the language input was to encourage partners or in-laws to speak the

LOTE with the children, which was a common strategy for ESB women:

> *Excerpt 130*
> My husband, he's more than happy to read them books
> in Korean but I have to be the instigator of everything
> (laughs). "Why don't you sing them a song in Korean?
> Why don't you read them a book in Korean?" (Megan)

Other ESB wives did not hold their husbands responsible for providing language input to

their children but nonetheless were invested in the project of bilingual childrearing:

> *Excerpt 131*
> I know he'd love me to be fluent in Dutch, he'd love the
> kids to be fluent in Dutch […] we started going to one-
> on-one Dutch tutoring, and [the teacher]'s quite strict,
> she runs a Dutch school for kids here. But you have to
> be speaking Dutch at home all the time to go to the
> school and you have to be fluent in it, for kids yeah. So
> she was quite strict with us and she basically said to us,
> to Tom you have to speak Dutch all the time, all the time.
> And he just, he can't do that because he has long days at
> work, he comes home, he just wants to enjoy his children
> and they'll just go "daaad talk in English", and that's
> why, predominantly why we stopped really because it
> was just too hard. yeah so that's why we haven't gone
> any further with that but I know he would love us to do
> that so. […] (laughs) I think, I think his parents are pretty
> sad, that the kids don't speak Dutch. […] I, I think they
> would really like us all to be able to, so we could, they
> wouldn't have to, 'cause they've got to think about
> speaking in English you know, just as much as I've gotta
> think about listening to them in Dutch. So I think they'd
> love it to be you know easier all around, that we could
> all participate, be involved. (Elaine)

In Excerpt 131 and other examples from the ESB wives' data, there is regret about the loss of

family relationships which comes about as a result of the language gap between the

husband's parents and grandchildren (see Section 7.3). Maintaining this kind of

intergenerational communication is part of "kinwork", and I draw here on an understanding

of kinwork as "the conception, maintenance and ritual celebration of cross-household kin

ties" (di Leonardo, 1987, p. 442) which is largely undertaken by women. If women are held

responsible for the maintenance of these relationships it is unsurprising that they would feel

their loss more keenly than the ESB husbands. In the data there are 14 mentions of pressure

from LOTE-speaking in-laws or friends for the children to speak the LOTE and 13 of these

are from women (both ESB and NESB). The single comment from an ESB husband is the

following:

> *Excerpt 132*
> Um, look Aiko got a bit of stick from her Japanese
> family and friends some for not making a bigger effort,
> effort to make the kids bilingual, so maybe if you talk to
> her about it, it might be quite a touchy issue, um, I'm not
> sure what she'd say. (Peter)

Moreover, the expectations about the role of the mother in maintaining minority languages

are fairly universal in the data. The extent to which ESB mothers invest in bilingual

childrearing is perhaps best illustrated by those ESB wives who position themselves as not

only responsible for encouraging the children to be spoken to in the LOTE but actually doing

it themselves. Marnie and Abigail, both bilingual in the LOTE (Japanese and Spanish

respectively), describe the responsibility for speaking the LOTE to the children as being

theirs rather than their husbands, despite the fact that their husbands speak the languages as

first languages and the couples speak both languages at home:

> *Excerpt 133*
> So Vanessa understands a lot of Japanese to hear but she
> doesn't speak that much except the odd word comes out
> that really surprises me, you think, how come you
> remember that? But it wasn't that kind of […] But I
> didn't make a concerted effort to speak Japanese which
> I really regret, I really, really regret. (Marnie)

> *Excerpt 134*

> Because we try - I tried so much with Marissa to get her to speak Spanish when she was born, but she wasn't. She'd always answer back to me in English and all her little friends were all speaking Spanish but then I - we went to a Christmas party one day and I realised that all our little friends who spoke Spanish had aunties and uncles and grandparents on both sides that also - whereas all - our kids hear it here but that's all so. (Abigail)

These second language-speaking ESB mothers see themselves as thus responsible for their children's lack of bilingualism. While the majority of ESB men see themselves as secondary partners, as helping their partners raise their children bilingually, these ESB women position themselves as primarily responsible for bilingual childrearing. They describe bilingual childrearing as part of their role as a good mother in managing and being invested in the children's ongoing development. Thus in the data there is often a traditionally gendered division of labour within the family, which leave the responsibility for the children's social and emotional development to women. This intersects with language proficiency to produce circumstances where being a mother in a mixed language couple, particularly a bilingual mother, leads to more of this kind of invisible language work than being the father, even when the minority language is the woman's second language.

This intersection of a gendered division of parenting and language proficiency meant that many ESB mothers felt both responsible for and unable to provide LOTE input for their children. For these ESB mothers bilingual childrearing was an area where their own language proficiency and their willingness to engage in LOTE interactions were connected to their identity as a good mother who is facilitating bilingual childrearing as exemplified in the excerpts below.

> *Excerpt 15*
> Jasmine: Our boys are going to start at their Japanese school on Saturdays next year, […] so they can both start in the kindergarten class there so we're hope yeah I don't

know, Isaac's starting school five days a week and Saturday morning class just seems kinds crazy but we're going to give it a go you know I said to Hiro, I understand it's important to him so we'll try it, um, if it doesn't work out we've got some other ideas like, um, what is it? Aikido? A kind of, um, martial art that they apparently in Leichhardt there's a very good Japanese sensei who teaches there and so he speaks Japanese while he's teaching it as well so that might be something, that would be an alternative rather than just sitting in a classroom so.

Hanna: It sounds like it's quite important to him?

Jasmine: Oh very.

Hanna: And do you kind of support that or do you feel the same?

Jasmine: Yes, yeah, no, no, I really do, I mean 'cause I'd hate, I mean, 'cause I can speak to his family, although it's limited sometimes, I would hate for our children not to be able to speak to their other grandmother and their aunt and uncle and their cousins I mean Hiro's brother has two boys as well I mean that would be really sad if they couldn't interact.

Excerpt 16
Hanna: My last question is about family, future children. Have you talked about language and child raising together?

Amy: Yeah, we have. Like Herman before, I have always said to him that it's really, really important that you speak Spanish and perhaps I speak English um and that maybe I learn more Spanish so then we can all have conversations together in Spanish at home because obviously outside of home they're not going to be speaking Spanish.

In contrast those ESB mothers who were very fluent in the LOTE did not represent their willingness to engage in LOTE interactions as linked to bilingual childrearing but nonetheless found that their inability to raise their children bilingually was a source of great regret (see case studies of Marnie, Section 5.3.2, and Abigail, Section 5.3.3).

Gender and family roles were also key factors in the participants' discursive representation of the (language) work of interacting with LOTE-speaking in-laws, which I turn to in the next section.

7.3 Kinwork: Communication with in-laws

This section will focus on the ESB participants' discursive construction of kinwork, specifically maintaining relationships with their in-laws and other LOTE-speaking kin members of their NESB partner. This section consists of two parts. The first part discusses how communication with LOTE-speaking in-laws was often represented as a problem in the data, with some significant exceptions. The second part describes how for a group of ESB husbands and partners the communicative expectations in kinwork were seen as absent and the language barrier was thus not presented as a problem. For example, Scott and Jessie both describe Scott's current relationship with his father-in-law as being a drinking relationship, which solved the problem of a lack of common language (see Section 7.2.2). I further argue that kinwork in mixed language couples is largely constructed by participants as women's work even when the women do not have the language proficiency to carry out the role.

7.3.1 "His family don't really know me."

This section focuses on the way in which the language barrier between ESB participants' and LOTE-speaking in-laws was discursively constructed as a problem, through participants expressing regret, sadness and anger about communication breakdowns and linguistic exclusion. Kinwork involves maintaining the relationships between extended family members and thus may often require some communicative competence in a common language. It is therefore to be expected that for those ESB participants who were very fluent in the LOTE the language barrier would not stop them doing kinwork. However, kinwork was rarely problem-free. For Marnie, who is very fluent in Japanese, her bilingualism meant a lifetime

of managing family communication for her non-English-speaking parents-in-law. They lived with her, her husband and their daughter for 15 years in the same house in Sydney and in that time she and her husband managed the parents-in-law's interactions with English-speakers, effectively acting as cultural mediators and spending most of their leisure time with them:

> *Excerpt 135*
> We had one holiday by ourselves, you know, they'd always tag along, if we went to dinner they'd tag along, we went to friends they'd, we had to make up excuses to go out by ourselves, it was very hard (Marnie).

The decision to migrate to Australia was taken by the parents-in-law independently of Marnie and her husband Sam and led to the purchase of a larger house so the family could all live together. Marnie also worked for her father-in-law as an interpreter at various times. Marnie presents her fluency in Japanese as directly contributing to her ability to fulfil her role as daughter-in-law in acting as an interpreter for them when they lived in Sydney, something which she found at times difficult but could not refuse to do:

> *Excerpt 136*
> Hanna: And what about your friends and your family with grandma and grandpa, how did that work?
>
> Marnie: Oh at Christmas? We'd have to go to father's place and my father was Jewish but that didn't matter, he was married to a Catholic wife who had a *Grandmamma* in tow, um. Who'd come out from France but wasn't living with them she lived independently, and the son. And so we'd have these insane Christmas dinners […]
>
> Hanna: So did you have to do lots of work in those [family] situations, a lot of interpreting?
>
> Marnie: A lot of the time yes, it pissed me off, I get so tired. And grandfather in particular would be relying on Sam or myself because he. Grandma would sit there quite happily um, or go do the washing up or you know whatever, but grandfather did want to be part of everything um as though. And I d-, because I'd done a

lot of interpreting for him work wise anyway I'd sort of [become] used to it really […]

Hanna: But that was never something you felt you could control, again because of the relationship, you didn't feel you could say I'm not interpreting today, you're gonna have to be on your own?

Marnie: Oh no, no.

Being fluent in Japanese is thus represented here as a central part of the work of being a dutiful daughter-in-law, keeping the parents-in-law happy and maintaining family cohesion. For Marnie kinwork involved language work, which was both frustrating and tiring yet which allowed her to perform the role she felt was expected of her. Other ESB participants fluent in a LOTE saw their in-laws less regularly and were thus less called on to perform language work and more likely to see their language skills as facilitating good relationships.

Excerpt 137
[…] had I not been able to speak Japanese and [her grandmother-in-law] made all those funny jokes and laughed at me, then it might be different I might feel uncomfortable and you know, having to ask your partner always to translate is never great. either because sometimes you don't wanna translate things sometimes some things are easier left unsaid. um so that wasn't an issue, language is not a barrier but I'm sure for other people it would be a big barrier and then particularly if the other partner is not interested in engaging with that. (Mary)

Excerpt 138
Hanna: Did you have family come out for the wedding?

Fernando: Yes, my mum came and my father stayed.

Hanna: Okay. Was it good that Abi spoke Spanish for those relationships?

Fernando: It helped, yeah a lot.

Abigail: Yeah, yeah, yeah a huge amount, and also that I'm really comfortable within Latin American community (clears throat).

Fernando: Yes, but the language is critical.

> Hanna: Yes.
>
> Fernando: Just with the person and [unclear] is going to part of your family.
>
> Hanna: Yes. Does anyone else in your family speak English?
>
> Fernando: No, no.
>
> Hanna: Okay, so it was absolutely crucial?
>
> Fernando: Yeah, it was very crucial yeah it was.

In Excerpt 136 speaking the LOTE is seen as part of being able to participate in and understand cultural practices and thus avoiding misunderstandings and conflict. Conversely, being unable to perform even very limited kinwork due to a lack of language proficiency was a cause of regret, guilt and failure for many ESB participants. Participants explained that they felt invisible to their in-laws, they felt they were being judged as deficient in intelligence or that they felt isolated from family communication at family events. Sadness, anger and discomfort were common responses in the data to interactions with in-laws both in Sydney and overseas.

The most common type of LOTE-related in-law interaction in the data was through the partner interpreting on visits overseas. The uneven effect of the global spread of English language learning in the last fifty years was a salient factor here, as older parents-in-law often did not have the English competency of younger relatives and friends which facilitated their communication with monolingual ESB participants and reduced the need for them to use the LOTE with the family as a whole. Thus the 27 ESB participants who reported that their partners did some level of interpreting for them in interactions mostly referred to communication with their parents-in-law. Participants spoke about the desire to impress their future parents-in-law or to forge deeper relationships with them and their failure due to the language barrier. ESB participants who were monolingual and had never lived in multilingual

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communities or homes were sometimes shocked by what was often their first experience of

linguistic exclusion and subsequent lack of personal agency as a result (see Chapter 6 and

Section 6.2). For example, for Amy the need to rely on her partner to interpret for her on her

trip to Columbia to meet his family challenged her sense of self as an independent adult:

> *Excerpt 139*
> Um, um, but there I felt like I was so dependent on him and that's why I feel for people that are in that situation for a long time. […] So yeah, I found that extremely frustrating and I felt like, and I still feel like that. His family don't really know me. They don't know my true personality at all. (Amy)

Another ESB woman, Jasmine felt her mother-in-law's failure to understand her non-native

Japanese was a judgement of her as a racially inferior outsider:

> *Excerpt 140*
> Just because I have a foreign face. So she, um, she doesn't take the time to try and work out what I'm saying, if I get one tiny ending of a verb wrong or something like that then she kind of goes, oh I don't understand. (Jasmine)

Elliot felt that his girlfriends' mother would think he was "stupid", "clueless" and "anti-

social" for not understanding her when she spoke to him in Russian:

> *Excerpt 141*
> Elliot: I'd try not to look too blank because then that makes me look stupid but then I'd catch maybe one word in a hundred (laughs) so.
>
> Hanna: Wow, and would she just keep talking?
>
> Elliot: For a bit like for a couple of minutes and I still have no idea what she was saying (laughs).
>
> Hanna: Fair enough! And did that seem ok for her?
>
> Elliot: Um I I guess it's a bit hard to ascertain cause for me I was the opposite in terms of I didn't know what to say and I if I didn't couldn't express it in Russian then I'd be silent I was a bit troubled at the time as to should

I just try and um you know cause sometimes a couple of words you can almost work out but it's v- quite rare, should I actually just say something and therefore it makes me look clueless um, cause when you don't communicate then it looks anti-social and I didn't want to appear anti-social but yeah […]

The language barrier to communication with parents-in-law was a problem for these participants as it challenged the projection of the various social selves they invested in with people who they wanted to communicate with as part of their new family.

In general, the problem of a language barrier with in-laws was raised by ESB women and younger ESB men, notably those younger ESB husbands married to NESB wives who were strongly invested in bilingual childrearing. Participants expressed regret that they were not able to communicate more with their in-laws and this was perhaps related to the wives' commitment to bilingual childrearing and their interest in learning the LOTE, as in the following excerpt (see also Excerpt 123):

Excerpt 142
Hanna: So when you think about your Spanish, do you ever have moments where you get frustrated with the limitations of your Spanish?

Marc: Yeah, sure, I wish I knew it better.

Lucia: Aw [laughs].

Hanna: Yeah? And can you give me any examples of that? Like maybe moments where it was important and you missed something?

Marc: I, I wish I could communicate with my Argentinean family better, especially when I'm over there 'cause I'm a bit left out sometimes just 'cause I can't follow the conversation, and they make an effort to speak English with me but, I mean their English is better than my Spanish let's say, but I wish I could communicate better with my in-laws, particularly with my mother in law.

The reaction from Lucia to Marc's professed desire to improve his Spanish – "Aw!" plus laughter- signals joking dismay towards his attitude about Spanish learning, as well as the generally low expectations of his investment in both learning Spanish and in doing kinwork. It could be argued that his regret about the language barrier is linked to his role as a husband who places a high value on bilingual childrearing (see Excerpt 123) rather than an investment in doing kinwork. However, low expectations of a contribution to kinwork or family communication were not always welcomed by husbands. Leon, married to Bernadette who migrated as a child and whose parents lived in Sydney, sees his linguistic exclusion from family dinners with his parents-in-law as an ongoing problem for which he holds his wife partially responsible:

> *Excerpt 143*
> Leon: [My mother in law]'ll occasionally ask me a question in English but, uh, not much so I've always found it very awkward the four of us at the dinner table […] I found it much easier when a cousin has been there or a, another family with a couple of other younger people the dynamic changes and it's a lot more relaxing but every time when it's when it's the four of us at the table yeah I hate it (laughs).
>
> Hanna: Yeah and that's been pretty much the same? And what about Bernadette does she hate it too? Does she have to do a lot of interpreting or?
>
> Leon: Uh no she this is where she arguably could be a bit more thoughtful she tends to just eat her food and talk away but probably not totally aware of the, the lack of comfort.

The accommodation of in-laws and partners was particularly important for how the participants viewed communication with in-laws and where it was lacking participants often expressed dissatisfaction, anger or regret.

7.3.2 "You can get away with a lot …with a wink and a smile."

However, a language barrier to engaging in kinwork was not always represented as a problem in the data. While the lack was acknowledged, due to accommodation by others or a level of comfort with being linguistically excluded, it was not always constructed as a regret, nor described in terms of loss, anger or discomfort. Participants described how they were accommodated by spouses, children and in-laws, often through bilingual support, or simply through goodwill and love when there was no common language. Moreover, some ESB fathers viewed LOTE interactions with overseas family (and local bilingual networks) to be important for their wives to alleviate the isolation of motherhood. Their comfort with their linguistic exclusion in these contexts was positioned as less important than the maintenance of family ties and emotional support from friends, as in the following excerpt:

> *Excerpt 144*
> Angela's family's not in this country, she has built, to her credit an incredible strong uhh group of friends that are all Argentinean or Latin, and we call them the dispossessed uh because they're all young families, they're all, there's quite a major immigration thing that's coming out of Argentina in the last ten years and they're all young professionals, that's how they got into the country on a points system, that's how why they're here, cause they've got skills Australia required so they've all (unclear) to come in, they're all young families, they're all like us without the support of their parents and so they gravitated together. (David)

Importantly, these participants did not feel they were expected to manage kinwork and thus did not regret their inability to do so through language as seen in the excerpt below:

> *Excerpt 145*
> Hanna: Was it hard for [your parents-in-law] that they can't, sort of, talk to you easily?
>
> Ralph: Oh look, I think, a little, you know, […] but they've always been incredibly welcoming […] I'd say it's given them an opportunity to maybe practise a bit of their English and stuff, you know, I, I think I said to, to

> Alex's dad, maybe sort of expressed the view to her
> brother, she has two brothers, you can get away with a
> lot of a lot of inadequacies with a wink and a smile,
> people understand each other and it's great.

A further example comes from David, who on trips to Argentina is not expected to do much but "wait for Angela's mother to cook some fantastic lunch and then have a nap". In-laws are represented as conscious, sometimes too conscious, of the linguistic isolation of non-LOTE speakers and as accommodating them accordingly (see also Section 3.2.2). In contrast to the regret many participants felt about their inability to meet expectations of their communicative abilities, these men focus on how their in-laws accommodated their lack of language. In her 1987 work di Leonardo argues that kinwork is "like housework and child-care: men in the aggregate do not do it" (p. 443) and twenty years later Baldassar's (2007) ethnographic research into transnational caregiving reveals a dominance of women's voices and expectations about their responsibility for caregiving of overseas kin. This persistent gendered division of roles may underlie the lack of responsibility participants such as David and Ralph feel about managing family relationships with LOTE-speaking in-laws as well as their perception of a lack of expectation from the in-laws themselves.

For other ESB participants there was a transition from finding communication with LOTE-speaking in-laws problematic early in the relationship to accepting the situation over time. For example, although when Elaine first met her in-laws in Holland she was shocked and upset by being left out of the conversation, after 16 years of marriage she has no problem with being left out and is happy to talk to her two children rather than get involved.

> *Excerpt 146*
> […] because that first visit I felt extraordinarily isolated,
> um, because my husband's parents don't speak, speak
> very little uh English. And I was sitting round the dining
> table they would forget I was there. Um I had that
> happen to me on a number of situations in my five weeks
> in Holland and I didn't have an enjoyable time when I

was surrounded - if I just with my then boyfriend, um I'm sure it was, it was fine, but when I was surrounded by lots of other Dutch people who weren't inclined to speak in English for me, it was very isolating

Excerpt 147
[…] when his best friend's wife who's not confident in her (English), they sat and talked for an hour straight, they didn't even look my way. And I sat in this room and I, I cried when I left. So I had lots of experiences in Holland, that trip to Holland, when we were in Holland, when I cried (laughs). Um and got angry, I was only twenty two years old, um so yes.

Excerpt 148
[these days] often they'll start talking fast or they'll break into dialect and then I'm lost again. And sometimes I just tune out of conversations everybody the table and Tom's younger brother, is quite, he, he now picks up on that, he wasn't confident when I first went to the country so he hardly spoke to me but now he's older and he's fine and he'll sit there and goes "Elaine do you understand what we're talking about" and I'll say "I wasn't listening sorry" (laughs) and I now have the kids to focus on as well, and they understand even less than I do, so if they're having a conversation going on I can just talk to my children (laughs).

However, like other ESB women in the data, Elaine continues to frame her and her children's lack of Dutch skills as negative for family communication (see Excerpt 131). Overall, gender was a key factor in the ways that ESB participants discursively constructed their communication with LOTE-speaking in-laws and their relation to the roles and responsibilities for the work of maintaining family relationships with LOTE speakers. ESB women and some ESB men were more likely to find their linguistic exclusion due to a lack of language skills a problem for family communication while other ESB men were happier with their limited contribution to the language work of maintaining relationships with LOTE-speaking in-laws. In her foundational work on the commodification of feeling, Hochschild (1985) argues that because of their lower social status in a patriarchy, women have a greater investment in what she calls "shadow work", the emotional work of managing the feelings of

others, and this may account in part for the gendered difference in attitudes towards kinwork in the data.

7.4   Summary

This chapter has explored the representation of family communication with a focus on the ESB participants. I have addressed two aspects of family communication linked to having a LOTE-speaking partner: bilingual childrearing and communication with LOTE-speaking family members. Drawing on the idea of both kinds of communication as elements of women's work in the family I have explored how this kind of work is discursively represented in LOTE/English couples.

The first explores private language planning in the form of bilingual childrearing, discussing participants' beliefs about bilingualism and the language ideologies these beliefs are situated in. I identify three dominant ways of seeing bilingualism in the data: the bilingual bonus, double monolingualism and the monolingual mindset. The bilingual bonus is a view which constructs bilingualism as an advantage for children while the monolingual mindset views bilingualism through a lens of native speakerism and linguistic purity. I have shown that the tension between these two ideologies means that most participants represented bilingual childrearing as unlikely or impossible despite its attractiveness. I then demonstrated that the roles and responsibilities for the success or failure of bilingual childrearing were linked to gendered parenting roles and that women, both ESB and NESB, were more likely to invest in their children's bilingual development than men.

The second section of the chapter deals with the communication with in-laws, with a focus on the ESB participants' communication with LOTE-speaking in-laws. It situates this kind of communication within the work of kinwork which is largely gendered work that maintains family connections across related family groups. It describes how most participants relied on

some level of interpreting from their partner and how there are differences in the way this is represented by the men and women in the data, with some exceptions. Unsurprisingly, women expressed regret about a lack of communication between extended family members while men were largely comfortable with the lack of communication. However, some (mostly younger) ESB men did express discomfort with linguistic exclusion and limited contributions to kinwork.

In this data, gender, linguistic repertoire and societal language ideologies intersect to produce a gendered construction of roles and responsibilities around doing the language work of bilingual childrearing and kinwork. That is, it was often seen by participants as women's work regardless of their language competency. Furthermore, the tensions between the two dominant language ideologies in the data around bilingual childrearing limited the extent to which it could be seen as successful. Although younger husbands in the data did engage with both bilingual childrearing and kinwork in similar ways to the wives, they continued to see the primary responsibility for managing bilingual childrearing and kinwork as their partner's. This was in part due to the perceived lack of expectation from others regarding their contribution to this kind of family communication work, which mirrors the low expectations of language learning discussed in Chapter 4. Where proficiency and expectation were low, it is unsurprising that participants felt comfortable with their level of engagement with family communication work. In contrast, where proficiency was low and expectations were high, ESB women participants in particular described family communication as a source of regret. I extend Okita's (2002) argument regarding minority language maintenance as migrant women's invisible work, to women in mixed-language marriages where family communication work is invisible work. That is, gender is more salient than both language background and language proficiency when it comes to the discursive construction of and perceived responsibility for family communication work. The implications of this for

research into bilingualism in the family will be discussed in the following chapter, which

concludes this research.

8   Conclusion

This chapter will conclude the study by revisiting the research questions and considering the implications for multilingualism and migration research and languages-in-education. Lastly, I will make some suggestions regarding directions for future research based on my findings.

8.1   Revisiting the research questions

As stated in Section 2.6, the overarching research problem addressed in this study is:

> How do the English-speaking background (ESB) partners of non-English-speaking (NESB) background migrants orient to language in their relationships and their lives?

Within this overall question, this study explores ways in which ESB partners discursively construct their role in the marriage or partnership in terms of language practices and attitudes. The following specific research questions were identified:

1. How does the ESB partner value and/or understand language learning (their own and their partner's)?
2. How does the ESB partner view LOTEs?
3. How does the ESB partner engage with their partner's language challenges arising from migration?
4. How does the ESB partner represent their role in supporting bilingualism in the family?
5. How is gender related to the above?

This chapter will revisit each of the research questions in turn. I will then turn to implications and suggest directions for future research.

8.2   Research question 1: How does the ESB partner value and/or understand language learning (their own and their partner's)?

The ESB partners expressed their support for adult LOTE learning, but it had little relevance for them in their everyday lives. Moreover, the data clearly shows that participants subscribe

to a belief in a differentiated need for English and LOTEs, with the latter valued as a symbolic gesture and the former as an essential life skill for all speakers. Existing within this belief was the phenomenon of language cringe, which encompasses the shame, embarrassment and guilt ESB participants felt about their own linguistic privilege vis-à-vis their partners.

Firstly, ESB participants expressed positive attitudes towards LOTE learning but they did not actively invest time or effort into it. This may have been a result of the limited nature of language learning during compulsory schooling: the majority of ESB participants (25 out of 30) were either unable to engage in or able to opt out of second language learning in their twelve years of compulsory education. In contrast, 21 out of 26 migrant partners were already fluent in English when they met their Australian partner (this excludes four child migrants). Exceptions to the lack of investment in language learning were Mary (Section 4.2.3), Marnie (Section 5.3.2), Abigail (Section 5.3.3) and to a lesser extent, Jasmine and Michelle. These participants engaged in sustained language learning; in consequence they had greater choice in regards to the use of LOTEs and their LOTE was thus more valuable to them as a linguistic resource in comparison to the majority of ESB participants.

By contrast, English learning was highly valued by participants. There was a clear difference in the data between the discursive representation of the learning of English and the learning of LOTEs. English was seen as a life skill for everyone, while LOTEs were low stakes and often purely symbolic (see Section 4.4). In line with other research into ESB/NESB couples (see Section 2.2.2), the high value of English on the global language market undergirds different language learning trajectories which exist in a dialectic with language learning practices and attitudes. Thus ESB partners valued the English language learning of NESB partners, friends and family significantly more than their own LOTE learning. This is further

reinforced by the lack of LOTE learning opportunities both formally (past and present) and informally (through immersion contexts) for ESB participants (see Section 4.2).

Existing in tension with the low valuation of learning LOTEs was the admiration and embarrassment, encapsulated by a language cringe, which some ESB partners felt about their own monolingualism or low L2 proficiency in comparison to their multilingual partner, in-laws and friends (see Section 5.2.2). Language cringe may be a form of acknowledgment of the unequal language learning responsibilities of L2 English speakers vis–à-vis L1 English speakers. Moreover, it may also be a way to demonstrate that ESB participants value the multilingualism of others despite not having it themselves. In fact ESB participants' attitudes towards LOTEs were often very positive, despite their own low LOTE proficiencies themselves. This valorisation of LOTEs as spoken by others, rather than as languages to learn for oneself, is explored in the next research question.

8.3   Research question 2: How does the ESB partner view LOTEs?

The ESB partners valorised LOTEs in theory but often experienced them as problematic in practice. In particular they valued LOTEs as a symbol of respect for difference and as an asset for their children. ESB participants further expressed pride in their multilingual families. Concurrently, LOTEs were problematic when they led to the linguistic exclusion of ESB participants. This was particularly the case in Sydney, as a result of the territorial principle (see Section 1.3.1) where LOTEs were less acceptable in spaces understood as English-dominant.

The valorisation of LOTEs is most apparent in the domain of bilingual childrearing. Within this domain the type of bilingualism which is most highly valued is that which takes the form of "double monolingualism" (see Section 7.2.1). Moreover, adult LOTE learning was seen as having value merely as a symbol of respect and consideration for one's partner, such as

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LOTE recitations at one's wedding (see Section 4.2.2). However, at times this kind of symbolic language use was insufficient for communicative purposes. As the majority of ESB participants were themselves not fluent in a LOTE, they often employed other means to successfully communicate with LOTE speakers, in-laws in particular. ESB partners placed emphasis on accommodating a lack of a common language through gesture and mutual respect, as well as tolerance of ambiguity (see Section 6.2.1). There is thus a tension in the data, between the valorisation of high bilingual proficiencies and the need for a more pragmatic approach to communicating in LOTE interactions as a low-proficiency speaker.

Overall the study shows that ESB participants were invested in presenting language difference as normal, mostly as a result of their partner's bilingualism but also their own communicative flexibility and willingness to accommodate in L2 LOTE interactions. Other reasons given for this were: Sydney being a multicultural city meant participants were familiar with hearing LOTEs; their partner would often interpret for them in LOTE interactions; their partner's high proficiency in English meant no communication problems were ever present; and finally, their children could be language brokers (see Section 6.2.1). In general the ESB participants' engagement with LOTEs occurred in specific and familiar contexts, usually personal and familial, where their role and the expectations of others were clear and the language difference was thus unproblematic (see Section 7.3.2).

However, language difference was problematic for ESB participants in the early stages of their relationship or when visiting overseas in-laws for the first time (see Section 6.2.2). ESB participants reported feeling uncomfortable and upset that they were not able to communicate with their in-laws in a common language (see Section 6.2.2 and Section 7.3.1). For ESB participants with little or no LOTE proficiency and their non-English-speaking parents-in-law the language difference was often a problem for forging a trusting relationship in the early

stages of the couple's relationship (see Section 6.2.3 and Section 7.3.1). This was at times accompanied by mistrust due to parental objections to the marriage arising from a desire for a different type of partner for their child (see Section 6.2.3). Another significant site where language difference was also constructed as problematic was in Sydney (as opposed to overseas) in a prototypical example of the territorial principle. Participants often hedged their criticism in order to avoid seeming racist, focusing instead on language learning and language skills. Although not all ESB participants were critical of LOTE interactions in Sydney, this domain attracted the strongest criticism from those who were. These participants expected that LOTE speakers would accommodate English speakers in mixed groups and when this did not occur they felt irritated and linguistically excluded (see Section 6.2.3).

8.4   Research question 3: How does the ESB partner engage with their partner's language challenges arising from migration?

The ESB partners engaged with their partners' language challenges by acknowledging them and offering active support, particularly during early migration. However, many ESB partners did not always acknowledge the discrimination which came about as the result of linguistic and/or ethnic difference. Such discrimination manifested in the form of barriers to employment or other forms of participation.

Many ESB partners offered active support for their migrant partner in the early stages of their migration and in some cases on an ongoing basis. This support took the form of assisting with language-related administration tasks, dealing with institutions and companies on the telephone and helping with employment-related literacy (see Section 6.3.1). ESB participants praised their partners for their flexibility and ability to adjust to settling in a new country and lingua-culture. Their praise and support formed part of an identity as a good partner who is aware of their partner's challenges and supports them both through their actions and emotionally by acknowledging them (see Section 6.3.2). ESB participants further managed

being a good partner in different ways depending on their own linguistic repertoires. Those who were actively bilingual were able to position themselves as roughly equal to their partner and thus able to understand and support them from an "insider" position. Those who were passively bilingual or largely monolingual demonstrated themselves as good partners in other ways: using the LOTE in ritualistic ways, downplaying the importance of linguistic difference, accepting their linguistic exclusion or helping their partner with English in high-stakes contexts such as finding employment (see Section 6.3.1). Moreover, in expressing guilt about their own monolingualism in the form of language cringe (see Section 5.2.2) ESB partners were simultaneously aligning themselves with their partner against monolingual ideologies which devalue their partner's multilingualism and privilege their own repertoires. In this way, these participants sought to position themselves as "good partners" who were inclusive, tolerant and empathetic about the difficulties of migration and the linguistic difference between themselves and their migrant partners.

However, the acknowledgment of the difficulties of early migration did not account for the way in which language difference was often reconfigured as racial difference and thus led to discrimination. In some cases participants were unaware of the significance of language difference as a barrier to various forms of inclusion, particularly employment. Downward occupational mobility or underemployment could be considered as evidence of systematic racism. These were often the direct result of the NESB partner's migration and the devaluation of their language skills and their professional qualifications (see Section 6.3.2). Moreover, as a result of the largely uncontested gender expectations in the data, migrant mothers found that migration might mean that their childcare responsibilities conflicted with their employment and the absence of family members in close proximity meant that their experience as new mothers was often isolating and challenging (see Section 6.3.3).

8.5   Research question 4: How does the ESB partner represent their role in supporting bilingualism in the family?

The ESB partners supported bilingualism in the family by investing in bilingual childrearing and participating in frequent LOTE interactions with in-laws at home and overseas. However, there was a tension between the professed desire for bilingualism in the family and the actual engagement with the work of bilingual childrearing and managing relations with in-laws which was not always present in the data (see Section 7.2.2).

Twenty two ESB participants had children and were supportive of them being raising bilingually. The majority of ESB participants, who had themselves had limited opportunity for language learning as children, saw it as a positive. However, throughout the data there is a tension between the perceived advantages of childhood bilingualism and the dominance of the monolingual mindset and the related belief in the value of native speakerism. (see Section 7.2.1). Some ESB participants felt guilty, regretful or disappointed that bilingual childrearing was unsuccessful or difficult (see Section 7.2). Moreover, bilingual childrearing was often envisioned as "double monolingualism" and thus seen as impossible where there is so little institutional support for LOTEs as is the case in Australia (see Section 7.2.1).

A similar tension exists in regards to communication with LOTE-speaking extended family. Although the majority of ESB participants were accepting of LOTE interactions overseas, the most negative reactions to LOTE interactions were in response to the linguistic exclusion they felt in LOTE interactions with in-laws and friends (see Section 6.2 and 7.3). The reactions ranged from regret, to shame and sometimes anger. The small minority of participants who were fluent in the LOTE (Mary, Marnie and Abigail) or who were fairly fluent but needed some support from their partner (Jasmine, Michelle and David) were significantly more able to engage with their LOTE-speaking in-laws and thus facilitate LOTE communication in the family. And yet for these ESB participants their LOTE proficiency

meant that at times the expectations of their in-laws in terms of using the LOTE in the family were correspondingly higher and more demanding (see Section 7.3.1).

8.6   Research question 5: How is gender related to questions 1-4?

This research builds on existing research into the intersection of language learning and gender roles by showing how these roles affect language learning trajectories of ESB participants in linguistic intermarriage. For these participants gender was a key factor which affected their construction of language in their relationship and their lives. Negotiating the gendered expectations of themselves and others was central to language learning, managing LOTE interactions and supporting bilingualism in the family.

Research into linguistic intermarriage and gender has largely focused on women and particularly women who are minority language speakers or migrants (Heller & Lévy, 1992; Okita, 2002; Walters, 1996). The research findings reported here support these studies, which suggest that gendered inequality may be amplified during migration, where gendered parenting expectations intersect with migration to create disadvantages for migrant women married to ESB men, such as juggling childcare and employment (see Section 6.3.3). Moreover, they show that ESB women married to migrants face similar challenges to those faced by migrant women, challenges connected to gendered family roles and bilingualism (see Chapter 7). In addition, although the experience of LOTE interactions for ESB women and men with little or no proficiency was often similar, the outcomes were represented differently. For some ESB participants, LOTE interactions were upsetting and difficult while for others they were comfortable and familiar, even in the absence of LOTE proficiency. Across this spectrum gender was relevant as ESB men were more commonly comfortable with their lack of LOTE proficiency while ESB women were more commonly upset and distressed by it. Here gender intersected with other factors such as age, LOTE proficiency,

expectations of LOTE speakers and amount of contact with LOTE-speaking in-laws. ESB men were likely to see themselves and be seen by others as less compromised by being unable to speak the LOTE in overseas interactions, while some ESB women positioned themselves as powerless and dependent due to their linguistic exclusion.

Gendered expectations of in-laws and other LOTE speakers further affected opportunities to learn the LOTE. This intersected with a gendered lack of investment in formal LOTE study of long duration, where women were more represented in this kind of study while men were more likely to have undertaken informal study of short duration (see Section 5.2.). The contrasting cases described here who engaged in long-term successful second language learning are all women (Mary, Marnie and Abigail). Moreover, some male ESB participants received support and sometimes teaching from their partners while some female ESB participants engaged in language learning without their partner offering language support (see Section 5.2.2). This was then amplified by the gendered expectations of other family members in terms of the language support offered and the communicative expectations of speakers (see Section 7.3.2).

In addition, parenting expectations affected the way that fathers' roles were discursively constructed as support or ancillary rather than primary roles in bilingual childrearing (see Section 7.2.2). By contrast, ESB mothers represented themselves as actively engaging with their own and others' expectations that they manage the children's linguistic development through providing support for bilingualism. They provided examples of everyday bilingualism such as sourcing LOTE books and media or encouraging their partners to speak to the children in the LOTE (see Section 7.2.2). In contrast ESB husbands considered their tolerance of linguistic exclusion and LOTE speakers in their home and lives as a form of support. Moreover, gender was a key factor in shaping the expectations around

communicative work in the family, with ESB women more often describing themselves as being expected to manage relationships with in-laws than ESB men (see Section 6.2.2 and 7.2.2). Thus the domestic division of labour extends to the management of bilingualism in the family regardless of the actual language proficiency of the mother.

8.7   Implications for multilingualism and migration research

This research has a number of implications for multilingualism and migration research. Firstly, it confirms that despite changes in gender norms around parenting and families, gendered family roles continue to be a key factor in how speakers experience language in the family. Thus, for example, Spanish-speaking mothers will experience bilingualism in the family context very differently to Spanish-speaking fathers. The data suggests that this is because mothers hold themselves primarily responsible for their children's educational development (including language). This is amplified where the social and occupational organisation means that mothers spend more time with children. Despite this, research into FLP and bilingual childrearing continues to be largely framed as gender-neutral, that is, the focus is on parents rather than mothers and fathers with different social roles (e.g. Hua & Wei, 2016; King, 2013; Law, 2015; Schwartz & Verschik, 2013; Xiaomei, 2017). Moreover, much work on bilingual childrearing focuses on one minority language-speaking migrant group. This research shows that migrant LOTE parents from different minority language groups have much in common with regard to bilingual childrearing, such as the fact that in Sydney all LOTEs examined here were unable to be accessed by the children in their compulsory education.

In addition, parent gender may be as or more relevant than language background in understanding the dynamics of language in the family. This research complements research into minority language-speaking migrant mothers which shows that they have a double

disadvantage regarding bilingual childrearing (see Section 2.3.1 and 2.3.2). Similarly, a majority-language background mother in a mixed language couple also has a double disadvantage: she is held (and may hold herself) responsible for bilingual childrearing even when she does not have the language proficiency to provide it herself; and, as I have shown, an ESB mother in Australia is unlikely to. At the same time, majority-language fathers are able to support bilingual childrearing without high proficiency in the LOTE simply by "tolerating" it in the home, and thereby potentially gaining the cultural capital of "supporting" in bilingualism at a time when it is increasingly valorized.

Secondly, this research shows that as researchers we need to account for the tension between celebratory discourses of multilingualism and multiculturalism and dominant discourses which subordinate linguistic diversity in Australia. Moreover, we need to account for "the shame of the dominant about their dominance" (Hodge & O'Carroll, 2006 p. 66) in the context of a border between insiders and outsiders to an imagined national culture. This highlights the fact that linguistically-intermarried couples live on this imagined border between diversity and homogeneity, and that this border is central to understanding the beliefs, attitudes and approaches to multilingualism and migration held by ESB Australians. This research shows that the monolingual mindset is able to coexist with pride in multilingualism and LOTEs, with the underlying contradictions that implies. Research into multilingualism and migration needs to explore how this contradiction plays out in institutional, social and private language policies and practices, and how it may potentially undermine any attempts to challenge the dominance of monolingualism in multilingual Australia.

8.8 Implications for language-in-education

This research has demonstrated that, in general, ESB Australians have negative experiences with second language learning and this is undergirded by a series of beliefs about the low value of second languages and the low aptitude of school students for learning foreign languages. This is significant because these beliefs impact approaches towards language learning throughout life, including adult language learning and bilingual childrearing.

Despite this group of participants being self-selected for research into language and intermarriage, the majority of them had poor experiences in their compulsory education regarding language learning. In comparison with their partner who learnt English as a second language, the language learning trajectories of the ESB participants are striking in their similarity: they comprise of language learning which is too short, of poor quality and low stakes. The poor success in language learning of these participants is brought into relief by the contrast with two groups: the ESB Australians who were successful in learning the LOTE and the group of L2English-speaking partners. Both these groups have had language learning trajectories which involve many opportunities to learn and in the majority of cases led to successful language learning. Without a radical change in the approach to language-in-education, such as the introduction of compulsory second languages throughout schooling, the continued weakness of Australians in the area of LOTE is likely to become even more exacerbated by the global demand for English (Lanvers, 2017; Lo Bianco & Slaughter, 2009). Radical change is needed to break the cycle of poor learning experiences leading to low expectations and lack of personal investment in LOTE learning. Furthermore, this research has demonstrated that the lack of institutional support for LOTE learning in compulsory education is also a current problem for parents, as bilingualism in children continues to be of interest to Australian parents and they are seeking ways to support their children's LOTE learning.

8.9 Directions for future research

In light of the implications of my research just outlined, I now suggest directions for future research. Firstly and most broadly, there is a need to better understand the interconnected relationship in Anglophone countries between language learning beliefs, poor language learning in education and the global status of English. It would be valuable to examine how this intersection plays out for other groups of ESB language learners in other national and institutional contexts, with the aim of changing the approaches to language learning and teaching to accommodate the particular needs and challenges of ESB language learners.

Secondly and more specifically, there is a need to examine the attitudes of L1 English speakers to multilingualism with the aim of uncovering how these attitudes contribute to the continued devaluing of LOTEs. This research has shown the value in going beyond celebratory approaches to multilingualism and examining the tensions between homogeneity and diversity in the previously underexplored domain of the linguistically-intermarried couple. Understanding how the dominant group sees LOTEs in a range of contexts, such as schools, workplaces and private homes is needed to provide a complete picture of how and why language policies and practices exist as they do and understand how to make progress on supporting genuine linguistic diversity and ongoing language learning as part of compulsory education.

Finally, this research suggests that we must address the role of gender in raising children with more than one language. Where employment and domestic work remain gendered, the language work within bilingual families will continue to be carried out as part of a gendered division of domestic labour regardless of which LOTE and which couple member is the LOTE speaker. Thus research into fathers who play an active role in bilingual childrearing could explore how they resist or rework these gendered expectations, while research into

bilingual childrearing needs to become explicit in the information about who is doing the work and why. Furthermore, understanding this aspect of bilingual childrearing would go some way towards rendering the "invisible work" of bilingual childrearing more visible and more equitable and contribute towards a more reasonable promotion of language maintenance without adding to the guilt and regret mothers in particular seem to be subject to regarding bilingualism for their children.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Online recruitment advertisement

Appendix B: Participant list

PARTICIPANT NO.	ALIAS	GENDER	NO. OF CHILDREN	PLACE OF BIRTH
P01-ESB	Paul	M	1	Australia
P01-NESB	Sara	F	1	Spain
P02-ESB	Mary	F	0	Australia
P03-ESB	Scott	M	1	Australia
P03-NESB	Jessie	F	1	China
P04-ESB	David	M	2	Australia
P05-ESB	Marnie	F	1	Australia
P06-ESB	Elaine	F	2	Australia
P07-ESB	Robert	M	0	Australia
P07-NESB	Samantha	F	0	China
P08-ESB	Thalia	F	1	New Zealand
P09-ESB	Marc	M	3	Australia
P09-NESB	Lucia	F	3	Argentina
P10-ESB	Jasmine	F	2	England
P11-ESB	Elliot	M	0	Australia
P12-ESB	Jimmy	M	1	Australia
P12-NESB	Lisa	F	1	Germany
P13-ESB	Ralph	M	1	Scotland
P13-NESB	Alexandra	F	1	Brazil
P14-ESB	John	M	2	England
P14-NESB	Enid	F	2	Germany
P15-ESB	Gerald	M	0	Australia
P15-NESB	Milena	F	0	Russia

P16-ESB	Lindsay	M	1	Australia
P17-ESB	Michelle	F	2	Australia
P17-NESB	Henri	F	2	France
P18-ESB	George	M	0	England
P18-NESB	Klahan	M	0	Thailand
P19-ESB	Leon	M	1	Australia
P20-ESB	Peter	M	3	Australia
P21-ESB	Stephen	M	2	Australia
P22-ESB	Jonathan	M	0	Australia
P22-NESB	Eva	F	0	Bulgaria
P23-ESB	Abigail	F	2	Australia
P23-NESB	Fernando	F	2	Argentina
P24-ESB	James	M	2	Australia
P24-NESB	Laura	F	2	Estonia
P25-ESB	Matthew	M	1	Australia
P26-ESB	Amy	F	0	Australia
P26-NESB	Herman	F	0	Columbia
P27-ESB	Emma	F	3	Australia
P28-ESB	Louisa	F	1	Australia
P29-ESB	Genevieve	F	0	Australia
P30-ESB	Megan	F	4	Australia

Appendix C: Information and consent form

MACQUARIE
UNIVERSITY

Faculty of Human Sciences
MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY NSW 2109

Phone: 02 9850 9649
Fax: 02 9850 9199

Information and consent form:
Language and Identity in Australian bilingual couples

Chief Investigator: Professor Ingrid Piller
Researcher: Hanna Torsh (PhD candidate)

What this study is about
You are invited to participate in a study on how language is used and beliefs about language in couples or families with different language backgrounds. This study hopes to contribute to our understanding of language practices and issues in real life for couples and families.

The study is being conducted to meet the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) under the supervision of:

Professor Ingrid Piller
Department of Linguistics
02 9850 7674 / ingrid.piller@mq.edu.au

What you have to do in the study
If you agree to participate you will be interviewed by the researcher at a place of your choosing. These interviews will take about 1-1½ hours and they will be audio recorded. We will ask you if you agree every time we want to record you.

What we can give you as our token of appreciation.
If you agree to participate, we will give you $50 at the end of the interview. If you do not wish to receive such a token of appreciation, we can also donate the amount in your name to a charity of your choice.

What happens to all the information we collect.

The hard copy data for this project will be stored in a locked filing cabinet at the researcher's home office and electronic data will be stored on password-protected computers at Macquarie University. All data will be kept for a period of five years after the results have been published (in accordance with university policy).

Any information or personal details gathered during the study are treated as confidential. Only the researcher Hanna Torsh and her supervisor Professor Ingrid Piller will have access to the data you provide. You will not be identified in any publication of the results, but the things you say may be quoted in these publications without any identification. We can send you a summary of the results of the study if you email or call the chief investigator named in this form.

Participation in this study is **entirely voluntary**: you are not obliged to participate and if you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without having to give a reason and without consequence.

Language and Identity in Australian bilingual couples

Consent Form:

_____

I,   have read and understand the information above and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research, knowing that I can withdraw from further participation in the research at any time without consequence. I have been given a copy of this form to keep.

Participant's Name: _____
(Block letters)

Participant's Signature: _____Date:
_____

Investigator's Name: _____
(Block letters)

Investigator's Signature: _____Date:
_____

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee and by NREEC. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Director, Research Ethics (telephone (02) 9850 7854; email ethics@mq.edu.au). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.

(INVESTIGATOR'S [OR PARTICIPANT'S] COPY)

Faculty
of Human Sciences
MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY   NSW   2109

Phone: 02 9850 9649
Fax: 02 9850 9199

Language and Identity in Australian bilingual couples

Questionnaire: Background and Language Skills

First name		Surname	

Section 1:Background

Please answer each question by ticking the box or writing an answer in the space provided.

1. How old are you?	□ 21-30 □ 31-40 □ 41-50 □ 51-60 □ 61-70 □ 71+	
1. What is the level of your highest educational qualification?	□ Year ten (4 years secondary schooling) □ Year 12 (six years secondary schooling) □ Graduate Certificate □ Graduate Diploma □ Bachelor Degree □ Postgraduate Degree □ Other: _____ Name of Certificate/Diploma/Degree: _____	
2. What is your current postcode?		
3. What is your main occupation?		

4.	What is your partner's main occupation?	
5.	How many children do you have?	□ None □ 1 □ 2 □ 3 □ 4 □ Other: _____
6.	How old are each of your children? (if you have more than 5 children please write in the blank space next to the text).	Child 1_____ Child 2_____ Child 3_____ Child 4_____ Child 5_____
7.	What is your total household income?	□ $1-$299 per week ($1- 15 599 per year) □ $300-599 per week ($15 600 – 31 199 per year) □ $600-999 per week ($31 200 – 51 999 per year) □ $1000- $1499 per week ($51,200- $77,999 per year) □ $1500 - $1999 per week ($78,000 - $103,999 per year) □ more than $2000 per week ($104,000 or more per year) □ I would prefer not to answer
8.	How long have you been in a relationship with your current partner?	□ Less than 1 year □ 1-5 years □ 6-10 years □ 11-15 years □ 16-20 years □ 21 years +
9.	How long have you lived together as a couple?	□ Less than 1 year □ 1-5 years □ 6-10 years □ 11-15 years □ 16-20 years □ 21 years +
10.	What language/s do you speak?	□ English □ Other:_____ □ Other:_____ □ Other:_____
11.	Is your partner currently learning English?	□ Yes □ No
12.	Are you currently learning a language?	□ Yes □ No (go to question 15)
13.	If yes, which language?	□ My partner's language □ Another language Language:_____

14. What languages do you use as a couple?	□ English only □ A mix of languages Language 1:_____ Language 2:_____ Language 3:_____ □ Another language only Language:_____

Section 2: Self-assessment of language proficiency

1. For each of your languages (including English), rate yourself in the four skill areas by ticking the appropriate box (if you have more than three languages please write in the blank space at the bottom of the page).	**Language:** _____

Language: _____

	very poor	**poor**	**average**	**good**	**very good**
Speaking	□	□	□	□	□
Listening	□	□	□	□	□
Reading	□	□	□	□	□
Writing	□	□	□	□	□

Language: _____

	very poor	**poor**	**average**	**good**	**very good**
Speaking	□	□	□	□	□
Listening	□	□	□	□	□
Reading	□	□	□	□	□
Writing	□	□	□	□	□

Language: _____

	very poor	**poor**	**average**	**good**	**very good**
Speaking	□	□	□	□	□
Listening	□	□	□	□	□
Reading	□	□	□	□	□
Writing	□	□	□	□	□

Section 3: Please fill in this family tree.

Parent 1

a) Country of birth:

_____

b) Country of residence:

_____

c) Language/s spoken:
☐ English
☐ other/s: _____

d) Language/s spoken to you:
☐ see above
☐ English
☐ other: _____

You

a) Country of birth:

_____

b) Year arrived in Australia: _____

☐ N/A

c) Language/s spoken:
☐ English
☐ other/s: _____

_____

_____

Parent 2

a) Country of birth:

_____

b) Country of residence:

_____

c) Language/s spoken:
☐ English
☐ other/s: _____

d) Language/s spoken to you:
☐ see above
☐ English
☐ other: _____

Grandparent 1

a) Country of birth:

_____

b) Country of residence:

_____

c) Language/s spoken:
☐ English
☐ other: _____

d) Language/s spoken to you:
☐ see above
☐ English
☐ other: _____

Grandparent 2

a) Country of birth:

_____

b) Country of residence:

_____

c) Language/s spoken:
☐ English
☐ other: _____

d) Language/s spoken to you:
☐ see above
☐ English
☐ other: _____

Grandparent 1

a) Country of birth:

_____

b) Country of residence:

_____

c) Language/s spoken:
☐ English
☐ other: _____

d) Language/s spoken to you:
☐ see above
☐ English
☐ other: _____

Grandparent 2

a) Country of birth:

_____

b) Country of residence:

_____

c) Language/s spoken:
☐ English
☐ other: _____

d) Language/s spoken to you:
☐ see above
☐ English
☐ other: _____

Thank you for filing out this questionnaire and for your contribution to this project!

Appendix E: Interview Schedule

Introduction

- thanks
- self-introduction
- description of research
- confidentiality
- procedure
- consent form

Topic	Questions, prompts
Warm-up	Why did you agree to participate in this research/why is this topic interesting for you?
Language repertoires	Tell me about your partner's language skills when you first met and now. Any stories about that time?
	Tell me about your language skills in the past and now. Any stories about language learning? Has language learning been a significant investment for you? Future plans?
History of relationship	How did you meet your partner? How did/do your families feel about the marriage/partnership?
Language attitudes	Is it important for you to speak your partner's language/s? What situations do you use different languages in and why? Do you have many people in your life who share your views?
	How do other people in your life react to your partner's language when they hear it? How do you feel about their reactions?
Identity	How "Australian" do you think you are? Why? Has it changed since you met your partner?
Family	What about your children's language skills? How have you invested in their learning?

Debriefing

- any other questions I could ask?
- any questions for me?
- feedback
- what will happen next
- thanks

Appendix F: Nodes used in coding interview transcripts

Being in an intercultural couple	In interaction	Australian identity
Communicating with in-laws	Couple talk	Being Australian
Reactions from family & friends	Learning partner's language	Multilingualism in Oz
Language and gender	Motivation	Australian English
Experiencing linguistic exclusion	Self as language learner	Monolingualism
Children's language skills	Strategies for language learning	Language attitudes
Cultural difference	No PLL	Sydney
Language work	From kids	Insularity
Spending time overseas	Crying	Native English speaker privilege
Language and race	Using both languages	Typical monolingual Australian
Comparisons with other couples	Correcting partner's language	Shared understanding with HT
Weddings		
Language desire		
Names and naming		
Documentation & permission		
Language learning	ELL at home	Insights into language
Proficiency	Correcting partner's language	Humour
NESB partner	Language guilt and anxiety	Theory
ESB partner	Supporting language learning	Heritage Language Learners
Proficiency gap		
Native speaker ideology		
School language learning	Learning English	Language policy
Positive/ Negative	ELL in formal education	Biographies
Reasons to quit	ELL in the community	Met in Oz
Australian schools	ELL through work	Met overseas

Appendix G: L2LL of partners' L1 and participant self-ratings

ESB PARTICIPANT/S	LANGUAGE LEARNING OF LOTE	SELF-RATING OF LOTE -OVERALL/ORAL ONLY
MARY	Formal study (primary school, high school, university).	Very good (Japanese)
ABIGAIL	Formal study (an immersion year in high school, high school study, study at university in Mexico).	Very good (Spanish)
MARNIE	Formal study (language course in Sydney, two years studying at university language course in Japan).	Good (Japanese)
MICHELLE	Formal study (six months in high school), informal study (electronic dictionary, children's books, from mother-in-law), immersion (she lived in a small French village for one year).	Average/good (French)
JASMINE	Formal study (private lessons in Japan).	Very poor/good (Japanese)
ELAINE	Formal study (private tutor, classes). Informal study (audio system, books, computer programs).	Poor/average (Dutch)
LINDSAY	Formal study (one semester at university in Sydney), informal study (audio tapes).	Poor/average (Japanese)
PAUL	Formal study (language courses in SA and Sydney). Informal (travel in South America).	Poor/average (Spanish)
DAVID	Formal study (language courses in Australia), informal (travel in South America, self-study).	Poor/average (Spanish)
MARK	Formal study (two adult language courses in Sydney, one intensive course in Argentina).	Poor/average (Spanish)
JAMES	Formally (private tutor in Sydney, language course in Estonia), immersion (prolonged visits to Estonia), informally (self-study).	Poor (Estonian)
GENEVIEVE	Formally (language lessons in Japan).	Poor (Japanese)
MEGAN	Formally (language course at a university in Korea, informally (books).	Poor (Korean)
RALPH	Formal study (language courses in Sydney).	Poor (Portuguese)
AMY	Formally (language courses in Sydney).	Poor (Spanish)
LOUISE	Formally (language courses in Sydney), informally (Javier helps her at home).	Poor (Spanish)
MATTHEW	Formally (a language course at a college), Informally (books).	Very poor (Cantonese)
PETER	Formally (courses in Japan), informally (books, immersion).	Very poor (Japanese)

JIMMY	Formal study (a language course in Sydney), informal study (books).	no rating
STEPHEN	Formally (a language course in Sydney), informally (tapes).	no rating
JOHN	Formally (six months at university).	no rating

Appendix H: Language/s spoken as a couple (self-reported in questionnaires)

ESB PARTICIPANT	LANGUAGE SPOKEN AS A COUPLE	
	English only	Both LOTE and English
PAUL	✓	
MARY		✓
SCOTT		✓
DAVID		✓
MARNIE		✓
ELAINE	✓	
ROBERT	✓	
THALIA	✓	
MARK		✓
JASMINE		✓
ELLIOT	✓	
JIMMY	✓	
RALPH	✓	
JOHN	✓	
GERALD	✓	
LINDSAY		✓
MICHELLE		✓
GEORGE	✓	
LEON	✓	
PETER	✓	
STEPHEN	✓	
JONATHAN	✓	
ABIGAIL		✓
JAMES		✓
MATTHEW	✓	
AMY	✓	
EMMA	✓	
LOUISE		✓
GENEVIEVE		✓
MEGAN	✓	

Appendix I: Ethics approval

Dear Prof Piller,

Re: "Language and Identity in Australian bilingual couples"

Thank you for your recent correspondence. Your response has addressed the issues raised by the Faculty of Human Sciences Human Research Ethics Sub-Committee and you may now commence your research.

This research meets the requirements of the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007). The National Statement is available at the following web site:

http://www.nhmrc.gov.au/_files_nhmrc/publications/attachments/e72.pdf.

The following personnel are authorised to conduct this research:

Ms Hanna Irving Torsh

Prof Ingrid Piller

Please note the following standard requirements of approval:

1.   The approval of this project is conditional upon your continuing compliance with the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007).

2.   Approval will be for a period of five (5) years subject to the provision of annual reports.

Progress Report 1 Due: 8th August 2013

Progress Report 2 Due: 8th August 2014

Progress Report 3 Due: 8th August 2015

Progress Report 4 Due: 8th August 2016

Final Report Due: 8th August 2017

NB. If you complete the work earlier than you had planned you must submit a Final Report as soon as the work is completed. If the project has been discontinued or not commenced for any reason, you are also required to submit a Final Report for the project.

Progress reports and Final Reports are available at the following website:

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics/forms

3.   If the project has run for more than five (5) years you cannot renew approval for the project. You will need to complete and submit a Final Report and submit a new application for the project. (The five year limit on renewal of approvals allows the Sub-Committee to

fully re-review research in an environment where legislation, guidelines and requirements are continually changing, for example, new child protection and privacy laws).

4.   All amendments to the project must be reviewed and approved by the Sub-Committee before implementation. Please complete and submit a Request for Amendment Form available at the following website:

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics/forms

5.   Please notify the Sub-Committee immediately in the event of any adverse effects on participants or of any unforeseen events that affect the continued ethical acceptability of the project.

6.   At all times you are responsible for the ethical conduct of your research in accordance with the guidelines established by the University.

This information is available at the following websites: http://www.mq.edu.au/policy

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics/policy

If you will be applying for or have applied for internal or external funding for the above project it is your responsibility to provide the Macquarie University's Research Grants Management Assistant with a copy of this email as soon as possible. Internal and External funding agencies will not be informed that you have final approval for your project and funds will not be released until the Research Grants Management Assistant has received a copy of this email.

If you need to provide a hard copy letter of Final Approval to an external organisation as evidence that you have Final Approval, please do not hesitate to contact the Ethics Secretariat at the address below.

Please retain a copy of this email as this is your official notification of final ethics approval.

Yours sincerely,

Dr Peter Roger

Chair

Faculty of Human Sciences Ethics Review Sub-Committee

Human Research Ethics Committee

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