

07

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I said, no, you are not going to talk to our children neither your broken English nor your awful German, we are talking in our language to them. The Yoruba¹ language. It's the only language my husband is fluent in. (Maya, Ma1)

1.Introduction

This contribution questions which decisions multilingual speakers take according to the languages they speak within their families and how these decisions interact with their language ideologies. I am currently working with a heterogeneous group of multilingual

families which will be presented below. The families differ in their dynamic, structures, residential status and family language(s), but what they all have in common is that, at least one family member is fluent in more than two languages of different language groups (or sub-groups), mainly Nilo-Saharan and/or Niger-Congo and/or Afro-asiatic, and generally one

¹ Yoruba is a West Benue-Congo language of the Niger-Congo continuum spoken in the southern part of Nigeria with over 20 million speakers (Williamson & Blench 2000).

or two Indo-European languages. This language diversity obliges the family members, primarily the parents, to set up a concrete individual family language program for the needs of their family. This program (as I will show in the course of this paper) is planned by the parents. Following King et al. (2008), I refer to these programs as *family language policy*. The use of this term signals the transfer of a theory traditionally applied to public and institutional contexts to the private domains of home and family. The parents decide on language or the languages to be used in day-to-day interactions (who speaks when and which language?), built upon their beliefs and ideologies about language and language use. Moreover, their choices are determined by the intended learning outcomes of their children. Based on the interactive methods of qualitative interviews and participant observation in the family context, the family's language policy is the focus of my study. I compare the parents' reasons for their language choices and the measures taken to implement their individual language policy.

At the linguistic level, there is a wide range of interacting parameters when it comes to research in multilingual families or communication. There are language acquisition, language learning and language competence on the one hand (Tokuhama-Espinosa 2001; Ruiz Martin 2017; Paradis 2007 etc.) as well as contact induced interference like impacts of code switching, language shift, language loss or revitalization of minority languages on the other hand (Fishman 1991, 2001; Edwards & Dewaele 2007 etc.). Other authors deal with cognitive differences between monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual speakers and their competences (Cook 1992, 2013a). Further

studies concentrate on language socialization (Baquedano-López & Kattan 2007). The majority of works focus on the outcome of a multilingual situation: the children of multilingual families, i.e. their speech behavior, their language acquisition, and their advantages or disadvantages in participating within society (Cook 2013 a/b; Cenoz & Genezee 1998; Tokuhama-Espinosa 2001). To enrich, to complement and to change perspective on the existing studies mostly concentrating on the output of multilingualism (i.e. the language abilities of the children), I therefore decided to focus on the parents and their language behavior, the choices they make according to the communication within their family and the reasons for these choices.

2. Theoretical framework

As the interview sequences will show, the parents set up a personal language program for their family. This individual *family language policy* "can be defined as explicit (Shohamy 2006) and overt (Schiffman 1996) planning in relation to language use within the home among family members" (King et al. 2008:1). The authors transfer the expression from a macro level (state policies) to the micro level of families and households:

Indeed, with relatively few exceptions (e.g., Piller 2001, 2002; Okita 2001), nearly all work on language policy, both theoretical and empirical, has examined language policy in institutional contexts, such as the state, the school, or the work place (e.g., Wiley and Wright 2004; Ricento 2006; Robinson et al. 2006), with very little attention to the intimate context of the home (...) Such an approach takes into account

what families actually do with language in day-to-day interactions; their beliefs and ideologies about language and language use; and their goals and efforts to shape language use and learning outcomes. (King et al. 2008:2f.)

A state's language policy is generally divided in three subareas: status planning (addressing functions of language), corpus planning (development of the forms of language), and acquisition planning (related to language teaching and learning) (Cooper 1989; Gerhards 2011). Parents tend to implement the same three levels of setting their language policy. This can be performed as a directed process in the sense that the parents sit together at a given moment discussing their language policy, or as an undirected process. Parents follow the three stages of language planning. They chose who speaks which language at what moment in interaction with their children (status planning). They take decisions according to the variety and the types of literacy activities to be used (corpus planning) and the way the languages are formally or informally taught (acquisition planning) (King et al. 2008, King & Fogle 2006).

In addition to the approach of King et al. (2008), I will apply Romaine's (1995) model of language use patterns as modified by Lanza (2007:48) to examine the choices of the parents that can be summed up in six types:

1. One person-one language
2. Non-dominant home language/ one language-one environment

3. Non-dominant home language without community support
4. Double non-dominant home language without community support
5. Non-native parents
6. Mixed languages

In *type 1*, the *One Person-One Language* type, the parents speak different L1 whereby one parent speaks the language of the social environment. *Type 2 (Non-dominant Home Language/ One Language-One Environment)* represents parents with different L1; one of them speaks the language of the environment, but they chose not to speak the dominant language at home. *Type 3 (Non-dominant Home Language without Community Support)* represents parents who share the same L1, and which is the only language they speak to their children at home. The children acquire the language of the society in institutional context. In *type 4 (Double Non-dominant Home Language without Community Support)* the parents have different L1 differing from the environment language. Each of them uses their own language following the *type 1 One person-one language principle*. *Type 5 (Non-native parents)* refers to parents who chose to speak a language they learned, and which does not represent their L1 nor the environment language. Parents that use *type 6*, the mixed type, code-switch and mix different languages in interaction with their children (Romaine 1995). The *mixed type* represents a *mixed-language policy (MLP)*: "the parents use both languages with the children in the same conversations, even in the same sentences" (Ruiz Martin 2017:127). One type

may overlap with other types. “Moreover, the sixth type, concerning mixing languages, can actually overlap with the other types, for example when parents claim to adhere to the One Person/ Parent – One Language principle yet code-switch” (Lanza 2007:48).

Lanza (2007:48) points out that Romaine’s analysis lacks “the parents’ and the community’s ideology of language.” Language (or linguistic) ideologies are understood as conceptualizations or beliefs of languages, language behavior and linguistic practices. These conceptualizations are formed in a social environment and influenced by political and moral interests. The approach examines people’s beliefs about a (or their) language’s signification within society (e.g. Irvine 2012; Pennycook 2013; Rosa & Burdick 2017). As I will show in the following sections the parents have their own language ideology that is formed by their linguistic biographies and other factors (these factors are discussed in the following). If a family for example participates in an Igbo-speaking community (i.e. Igbo Church, *Igbo-Freundeskreis* ‘Igbo circle of friends’, Igbo sports club) that promotes speaking Igbo as an identifier language, the community has another ideology influencing the language practices of their members. A society also may have a specific language ideology. The parents considered here live in a German society that takes several languages over others. English and French for example are considered as language of higher education and preferred to African languages. These ideologies may interfere with an individual’s language ideology and language policy. As the family policy approach after King et al. (2008) takes the beliefs and ideologies of parents (, community and society)

into account, it adds valuable information to the type model. I criticize that Romaine’s approach only represents normative family models including two parents. Thus, I measured cases representing single parents according to their language policy basing on personal ideologies.

3. Geographic location and interlocutors

The interlocutors represent a heterogeneous group of people differing in social stratification (age, gender, education, income, ethnicity etc.) (Grusky 2011; Saunders 1990), their linguistic diversity and linguistic biographies. They show diversity concerning the number of languages they speak, the number of language families their languages belong to, and the differences in linguistic structure of their languages (Nettle 1999). They all have different linguistic biographies influencing their practices, ideologies, metalinguistic knowledge as well as the conceptualization of their own repertoires (Matras 2009; Blommaert 2010). They all live in the Rhine-Main area in the congested area around Frankfurt a. Main, Mainz, Wiesbaden and Offenbach a. Main. The Rhine-Main Metropolitan region or Rhine-Main area is the second largest metropolitan region in Germany. It stretches over parts of three federal states Hessen, Rhineland-Palatinate and Bavaria. With the international airport in Frankfurt and several global industries, it is a favored anthroposphere and offers many possibilities of employment. With three big universities (JGU-Mainz, GU-Frankfurt, TU-Darmstadt), the area attracts international students as well. Surely, the region deals with strategic political and economic issues typical for congested areas (Monstadt et al

2012). Highly mobile people like our research partners profit from the benefits (even climatic) of the area and chose to stay rather than move to other German cities.

The conceptual framework of this article is based on the opinions, beliefs and voices of the participants² of this case study. Their voices navigate through the different topics. Therefore, the interview sequences form an important part of the following sections. I then refer to their statements for my analysis. For the depiction of the Rhine-Main area, I chose Grace's voice. Grace is 38 and lives as a single mom with her son in Mainz but works in Frankfurt. She came from Kenya to study in the Rhine-Main region and speaks Kiswahili³, Luo⁴, German and English. In the following interview sequence⁵, she explains the reasons for her decision to live in the area and the benefits of the region.

Ich find Rhein-Main-Gebiet sind die Leute total offen, man kommt ganz leicht ins Gespräch(.) ehm (.) viel Wein; das finde ich toll↑ viele Feste (.) man ist zentral, also ich find Mainz, Frankfurt einfach geil, ja? Egal ob du nach Spanien, Italien, was weiß ich (.), wenn ich weiter wegreisen möchte, dann hab ich Frankfurter Flughafen, ich kann mit der S-Bahn problemlos nach Mainz fahren, also die Verbindung, ja? Infrastruktur (.) find ich toll (...) also die Menschen (.) die sind echt nett und ehm

locker; das ist mir wichtig. Ehm(.) was find ich noch(.) Das Wetter! Find ich auch toll (.) ja also ich mag ab und zu Schnee haben, aber wirklich auch nur ab und zu; wie es hier schneit: ein oder zwei Tage und alle sind verrückt und Malik [Sohn] kann rausgehen oder ich auch, aber ich hätte jetzt keine Lust auf Dauerschnee oder Dauerregen wie in Hamburg. Na. Also das Wetter ist auch echt prima(.) ja (.) und ehm (.) es gibt eine Mischung von alles ja? (...) Ich kann nach Wiesbaden, ich kann nach Darmstadt, nach Frankfurt(.) (...) Also ich mag eigentlich alles hier. Ich würde gerne auch hier wohnen bleiben (.) im Rhein-Main-Gebiet, find ich (.) toll ja.

(Grace, „Was magst du am Rhein-Main-Gebiet?“, Gr1: 25:22-28:01min)

'I find that the people of the Rhine-Main area are totally open (.) you get into a conversation [with somebody] easily (.) I appreciate that there are many festivities (as it is a wine producing region here) (.) One lives in a central area, so I think Mainz and Frankfurt are simply great cities.↑ Wherever I choose to travel to – whether it is Spain or Italy (or any other country) even if I want to travel far, then the Frankfurt airport is close. There I can take the train to Mainz without any problem. I appreciate [the] infrastructure (...) and the people (.) they are nice and easy that is important to me. (.) I also like the weather(.) I like that it

² In order to protect the participants' privacy, I chose pseudonyms instead of their real names. In general, I treat the data according to the ethical guidelines (Frankfurter Erklärung zur Ethik in der Ethnologie) as provided by the DGSKA on their website: <https://www.dgska.de/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/DGV-Ethikerklärung.pdf> (accessed 09.03.2020) I did not give any further information on the child that participated in one of the interviews besides his language repertoire, and the children of the participants, as children need even more privacy protection.

³ Kiswahili is a Bantu language of the Niger Kongo with estimated 80 million speakers. It is the language of communication in Eastern and Central Africa (Williamson & Blench 2000).

⁴ Luo (Dholuo), is a Nilotic language of the Nilo-Saharan family with ca. 4 million speaker (Bender 2000).

⁵ All interviews are first presented in the original recorded language (colloquial German), they were transliterated directly without any corrections in regard of transferring the spoken language to written language. The translation in English is given below. In needs of readability, I transferred the sense of the German examples into English.

snows sometimes. I only like if it snows one or two days, and everyone is happy about it and Malik [son] and I can go out. I would not like that it snows, or rains constantly like in Hamburg. The weather is great (.) There are many factors (...) I can go to Wiesbaden, I can go to Darmstadt, to Frankfurt (...) I just like everything here. I would like to stay here in the Rhine-Main-Area. I like it.'

(Grace, "What do you like about the Rhine-Main-Area?" Gr1: 25:22-28:01min)

Grace stresses five features of the Rhine-Main-area that convince her to stay. The people which she describes as warm, open and friendly, the infrastructure including the Frankfurt airport and the fully developed rail-system which facilitate mobility, the cultural offers like festivities and wine, the climate that is rather bland as well as the rural character of the region with all the smaller towns and villages surrounding the bigger cities. I chose to present her statement first, because it represents the attitudes of all other participants and sums up the benefits of the region in all points.

In our project,⁶ we use interactional methods, which combine qualitative interviews, participant observation, the analysis of narratives of linguistic biographies and language portraits. For this approach, the interaction of qualitative interviews and participant observation was beneficial in addition to the analysis of the linguistic biographies. The parents presented their individual language policy in the interviews. At the same time, I could observe their actual language practice

within the family personally. I participated in their family life, mostly with my own children. The presence of my children helped to relax the situation and lead to a more natural family interaction. There were different possible settings like meals, living rooms, children's rooms, birthday parties, parks or grocery shopping. An overview about the participants, their relation to each other (if there is any), their language repertoire as well as their social stratification is given in Table 1 (see page 164) below. Out of the main study I selected seven individuals involving two couples, three single parents, and the son of one of the couples, who was present during the interview⁷. I chose them as representatives of my survey based on different reasons. First, I already gathered enough data to describe their personal language policy in detail. Another feature was their residence permit; they all have permanent settlement permit or even the German nationality. Additionally, they all have children in about the same age. Most striking, all of the participants are *multilingual* in the sense of being able to speak several languages (Cenoz & Genesee 1998). I also use the term *multilingualism* according to Lanza (2007:45) "referring to specific cases involving more than two languages". Least, they are similar according to their social stratification (level of education, means of income, religion, etc.).

⁶ Afrikaner*innen im Rhein-Main-Gebiet: Ein afrikalinguistisches Forschungsprojekt zu sprachlicher Integration. <https://www.ifeas.uni-mainz.de/afrikanerinnen-im-rhein-main-gebiet-ein-afrikalinguistisches-forschungsprojekt-zu-sprachlicher-integration/> (09.03.20)

⁷ Maya whose quote introduces this contribution does not participate in the further analysis.

Person	Language repertoire	Relation	Social Stratification		Further remarks
Grace	Kiwahili, Dholuo, English, German	Friend of Nana and Sarah, Single parent	Age: Gender: Domicile: Education/Profession: Children:	38 f Mainz (rent) MA in journalism 1 son, Malik	Lives with her son, works full time in Frankfurt
Nana	Twi, English, French, German	Friend of Grace and Sarah, Partner of Modeste	Age: Gender: Domicile: Education/Profession: Children:	37 f Mainz (rent) MA in Anthropology 2 sons, Fritz and Kofi	Lives with Modeste and their children, works in two part-time jobs
Modeste	Baleng, German, English, French, Francamglais	Partner of Nana	Age: Gender: Domicile: Education/Profession: Children:	35 m Mainz Degree in E.Engineering 2 sons, Fritz and Kofi	Lives with Nana and their children, works in Ludwigshafen
Sarah	German, French, Ewondo, English, Yorùbá, Francamglais	Friend of Grace and Nana, Single parent	Age: Gender: Domicile: Education/Profession: Children:	36 f Mainz (rent) MA in Anthropology 1 son, Sami	Lives with her son, works in several part-time jobs
Belle	German, French, Ewondo, English	Sister of Sarah, Partner of Neo	Age: Gender: Domicile: Education/Profession: Children:	46 f Mainz, Berlin Medical degree 3 sons, Luca, Matteo, Ron	Lives and works in Berlin but often spends Time in Mainz to see Sarah
Neo	English, Setswana, German	Partner of Belle	Age: Gender: Domicile: Education/Profession: Children:	40 m Mainz, Berlin Artist 3 sons, Luca, Matteo, Ron	Lives and works in Berlin but often spends Time in Mainz to see Sarah
Luca	German, French, English, Setswana	Son of Belle and Neo, nephew of Sarah			Is in a bilingual (French/German) daycare
Gilbert	Mooré, Dioula, French, German, Gouro, English	Single parent	Age: Gender: Domicile: Education/Profession: Children:	51 m Langen Bus driver, entertainer 5 children, two younger daughters in Germany	Lives with his girlfriend, his children live with their mother and spend time with him at the weekends, 3 adult children still live in Côte d'Ivoire

Table 1. The participants of the survey

4. The interviews

During the interviews (for example while narrating, unguided, about one's language use, emotions or linguistic biography) the participants already revealed statements on language use within their families. Seldom did I have to ask them in detail. In the interview sequences presented here, I focus on two questions A: "Which language (s) do you speak in your family?" and B: "What are the reasons?" The answers are presented in the following sections. I will start with the answers to question A (4.1.). In 4.2 I present the answers to question B (the reason for one's choice) and sum up the results taking the individual ideologies that are observable into account (4.3).

4.1 Establishing language policies

Nana is a woman who lives with her partner Modeste and their two children Fritz, 7, and Kofi, 4 in Mainz. She is German but emigrated from Ghana at the age of five with her parents and siblings. She later lived in a German family to whom she refers as her German parents and German siblings (Na1, Na2). She speaks German, Twi⁸, English and French. She holds a master's degree in anthropology and works for different NGOs. To the question of their family language, she answers with the following quote:

Nana

Ja (.) jetzt reden wir halt (.) mein Mann und ich reden Deutsch miteinander (.) die Kinder reden mit meinem Mann schon Französisch, so wenn se es hin-

kriegen, vor allem so leichte Sachen „Papa wo bist du?“ wird alles auf Französisch kommuniziert (.)Ja (.) manchmal↓ manchmal red ich auch Französisch (...)

Wenn ich das französische Wort besser finde oder wenn die Französisch reden oder wenn Modeste Besuch hat. Manchmal red ich auch mit meinem Mann Französisch. Also wenn ich (.) ich weiß nicht. Ja passiert einfach manchmal, aber nicht so oft, aber immer mehr hmm (.) und mit den Kindern rede ich ↑ Twi meistens, manchmal wenn's ganz schnell gehen soll, muss ich Deutsch reden, weil Deutsch mir leichter fällt.

Ich kann natürlich am besten Deutsch so. Manchmal rede ich auch Englisch mit denen. Also Fritz [Sohn] der Große versteht schon ganz gut Englisch merk ich oft, der guckt auch manchmal englische Filme so. Der Kleine nich so viel aber der Große, der (.) der Große hat ein besseres Sprach- (.) Sprachgefühl, der kann Sprachen besser aufnehmen (...)

INT: Ah ja dann habt ihr ja echt viel. Nana: ja ja Sprachkuddelmuddel ja
(Nana, Na1: 9:12-9:24min)

'Yes (.) now my husband and I speak to each other in German.(.) The children speak to my husband in French, if they can, in general easier things i.e. "Daddy where are you" are communicated in French (.)↓ Sometimes I'm talking in French as well.(...) If I prefer the French word or if they speak in French or if Modeste has visitors. Sometimes it happens that I am speaking in French to my husband as well. It happens from time to time but more frequently lately. To the children I ↑ speak in Twi most of the time. Sometimes I need to express myself in German, since German is easier for me. Of course, I know German best. So. Sometimes I even speak

⁸ Twi (Akan) is a Kwa language of the Niger Congo family and spoken in Ghana (Williamson & Blench 2000).

English to them. So Fritz [son], the older one, understands English quite well, I often realize that he watches English movies. The little one does not understand that much, but the older one (.) He has a better language comprehension (.) He understands languages easier.' (Nana, LS100909 6:45-8:06min)

INT: 'Ah so you really speak many (languages). Nana: Yes. Language jumble, yes. ' (Nana, Na1: 9:12-9:24min)

Modeste, Nana's partner, is Cameroonian speaking Baleng⁹, Camfranglais¹⁰, French, German and English. He holds a degree in electrical engineering.

Modeste

Baleng (...) die Sprache will ich nicht vergessen. Das ist die Sprache, die ich liebe, das ist die Sprache, das ich gerne möchte, dass meine Kinder das auch lernen aber das ist schwierig jetzt von meiner Umgebung ich hab wenige Kapazität das zu sprechen, ich finde kaum Leute, mit denen ich das sprechen werde, ich hab dafür extra eine Gruppe aus meiner Muttersprache integriert [gegründet]. Und eh das ist bisschen so bei mir, deswegen meine Kinder zum Beispiel mit denen sprech' ich nur Französisch.

(Modeste, Mo1: 02:00-02:47min)

'Baleng (...) I don't want to forget this language. It is the language I love; it is the language I want my children to learn as well but it is difficult due to my environment. I do not have the possibility to speak it. I rarely find people to whom I will speak it. I especially founded a

group (consisting of people) out of my mother tongue. That is it. That is, why I only talk in French to my kids for example.'

(Modeste, Mo1: 02:00-3:43min)

I first talked to Nana in a Café without her family, interviewing her about her linguistic biography and family language use (Na1). Afterwards (Na2) she invited me and my sons to her house where the children played together while we were working on her language portrait. We were interrupted several times by the children, and I observed how she constantly switched between German and Twi while talking to me, my children and her children. At this occasion I met Modeste for the first time. I interviewed him in the family setting, in Nana's presence (Mo1). Nana points out that she and Modeste talk predominantly in German whilst she interacts in Twi with the children (Na1). Modeste communicates in French with them. She values German as the language in which she has the most competences and admits using it with the children wenn es ganz schnell gehen muss 'if it has to be really quick' (Na1). In summary, she refers to their family language as Sprachkuddelmuddel 'language jumble' (Na1). Modeste stresses the importance of his parental language for him and describes revitalization strategies. He established a group of people speaking Baleng who live in the diaspora. He wants his children to learn the language but chooses to speak French to them (Mo1).

When Nana came to Germany at the age of five, her mother chose to stop speaking Ga,

⁹ Baleng is a variety of Fété, a Bamilike language of the Grassfield Bantu branch of Niger Congo spoken in Western Cameroon (Nembot Tatío 2007).

¹⁰ Camfranglais/Francanglais is a Cameroonian youth language spoken in urban areas of Cameroon and the Diaspora (Kießling 2005).

which was her L1¹¹, at home (Na1). According to Nana's parents, at this age, she spoke Ga fluently and even better than Twi. Taking her personal language biography into account and the feeling of that loss of one of her languages might have influenced her language behavior towards her own children and her attitude towards Modeste's language choice. Modeste highly identifies with his parents' language; he does not deny teaching it one day to his children. Additionally, he tries to keep in touch with his parents' language even in Germany.

In the next section, I turn to Grace and her language practice at her home. As introduced above, Grace is a single mom living with her son, Malik (12). In the interview she describes the interaction of the languages she speaks and their impact on the communication with Malik as well as the relation to him. She points out that she wanted him to learn at least Kiswahili but speaks mainly English and German with him. Grace works as a consultant at the *Agentur für Arbeit*¹² in a project for unemployed academics. I spoke to Grace at her workplace where she tried to sum up her personal language policy.

Grace

Ich denk auch in den Sprachen durcheinander(.) Es gibt Vieles was mit Beruf zu tun hat (...) denke ich auf Deutsch ja. Also das deutsche System, wie es funktioniert, wenn jemand sagt er will studieren oder eine Ausbildung, ich denke da total auf Deutsch, weil ich einfach das System gut kenne(.) ehm(.) wobei Deutsch und Englisch(.) ja also offizielle Sachen denke ich auf Deutsch, Papierkram Deutsch und Englisch

muss ich sagen(.) ehm(.) ja und wenn es einen starken Bezug jetzt zu Kenia hat, dann Kiswahili; wenn es was mit meiner Familie zu tun hat, in Luo. In meiner Familie sprechen wir Luo miteinander, wir sprechen alle drei Sprachen [Englisch, Kiswahili, Luo] aber oft Luo, aber so ist mein Kopf. Ich denke quer durch [alle Sprachen] und ehm(.) das bemerke ich bei Malik [Sohn] also mit [ihm] spreche ich hauptsächlich Englisch und Deutsch, Kiswahili und Luo nur Wörter also er kann sehr viele Wörter verstehen, aber Sätze nicht verstehen oder nicht sprechen. Wenn ich aber richtig richtig sauer bin auf [ihn] dann sag ich ihm die strengen Wörter auf Luo, dann weiß er schon okay Zug ist abgefahren ja? Da ist die Mama ganz sauer und mit Kiswahili ist es immer Alltag bei uns, also alles was seitdem er Kind ist; schlafen, der hat immer so wenn er schlafen wollte, ist er gekommen und hat „lala“ gesagt oder anstatt Milch hat er immer „maziwa“ oder „maji“ [gesagt] also alles was mit Alltag zu tun hat. Alles was man benutzt oder macht im Alltag ist Kiswahili, also jetzt Englisch, aber als er kleiner war, wollte ich natürlich, dass er Kiswahili lernt, ich war da aber nicht konsequent und deshalb hab' ich das gemischt, also Sätze im Alltag kann er dann natürlich jetzt eher, aber trotzdem so Einzelwörter im Alltag sagt er immer noch auf Kiswahili und ja so sieht's aus in meinem Kopf auch mit meiner Beziehung zu meinem Kind. (Grace, Gr1: 08:20-10:44min)

'I think in different languages (.) Things concerning profession I reflect in German. The German system, how it functions, if someone says he/she wants to study or a qualification I think in German as I understand the system well. But German and English (.) Official things i.e. paperwork is German and English, I have to admit. If

¹¹ L1 refers to the very first language a person acquired. In the cases presented here the L2 and even L3 are considered too. Nana for example arrived in Germany at the age of five and her L1 was Ga and Twi as L2 but her parents decided to stop speaking Ga in the family and she acquired German as L3 but she rates her competences of German as first language.

¹² The *Agentur für Arbeit* is the employment office in Germany. The participants of the study refer to it as *die Agentur* 'the agency'.

something is related to Kenya then I think in Kiswahili; if it concerns my Kenyan family in Luo. In my family we talk to each other in Luo, we speak all three languages [English, Kiswahili, Luo] but often Luo. This represents my mind. I think across [all languages] (.) I realize to Malik I speak in English and in German predominantly. I only use single words in Kiswahili and Luo. So, he can understand a lot of words but does not understand or form sentences. If I am mad at him, I scold him in Luo, then he knows his limits? Now (the) mom is really upset. Kiswahili represents everyday life. Since he was a child, he used Kiswahili words. When he wanted to sleep he came and said “lala” or instead of milk he always said “maziwa” or “maji”. All things you use or make in everyday life were commented in Kiswahili but nowadays in English. When he was younger, I wanted him to learn Kiswahili but I wasn’t consistent and that’s why I mixed it. He understands sentences and single words in everyday life. He responds in Kiswahili. This is the conceptualization of my mind and how the relation to my child is as well.’ (Grace, Gr1: 08:20-10:44min)

Her language competences influence her daily life. She reflects her repertoires according to the domains of use. English and German represent her work and official interactions (filling out forms, talking to authorities, counseling). Everything associated with Kenya is expressed in Kiswahili (or Dholuo if it is family related). The communication with her Kenyan family is in Dholuo. The interaction with her son is somehow complex. In general, she talks to him in German. He uses several Kiswahili words that she taught him when he was a toddler. She

also admits that she uses Dholuo to scold him. Her use of Dholuo is a marker for her limits, as she points out changing to his perspective and talking about herself as ‘the mom’: *Da ist die Mama ganz sauer* ‘now mom is really mad’(Gr1). Grace mentions that she was not consistent teaching her son more Kiswahili or Dholuo (Gr1). I did not have the impression that she regrets her decision to concentrate on German as her main language of communication. The reasons for her choice and her language behavior in general will be discussed in detail in chapter 4.2 and 4.3. The next person who is going to speak is Sarah.

Sarah is a friend of Grace. They were close during their studies and now live on the same street. They see each other regularly but do not seem to be close anymore. Sarah is half-German and half-Cameroonian and grew up in a bilingual family. She emigrated from Cameroon with her sisters and her mother at the age of fifteen. She then attended a bilingual school. She speaks German, French and Camfranglais and currently learns Ewondo¹³ which was her father’s language (Sa1).

Sarah holds a master’s degree and works as a social worker in an NGO. She lives alone with her son Sami, 9, in Mainz.

Sarah

Voll viele Leute sagen immer so: „ja aber sprech doch Französisch mit ihm, damit er mit seinen Verwandten und so was sprechen kann. (.) Ich sprech am Tag genauso viel Deutsch wie Französisch und Camfranglais ja auch und er kriegt das ja mit, ich merk das ja.

(Sarah, Sa1: 9:50-10:00, 10:56-11:01min)

¹³ Ewondo is a Bantu A language spoken in Cameroon (Hammarström et al. 2017).

'Many people say: „yeah but speak French to him so that he can talk to his relatives (.) I ↑ speak as much German as French and Camfranglais during the day, and he notices it, I realize this.'
(Sarah, Sa1: 9:50-10:00, 10:56-11:01min)

She predominantly speaks German to her son but thinks that he indirectly learns French and Camfranglais too. She points out how people that are not part of her family interfere in her personal language choice and advise her to speak French to her son. When I visited Sarah for the first time, I met her sister Belle with her partner Neo and their three sons. They were curious about my work and agreed to participate in the case study.

First, I interviewed Neo in a rather chaotic situation with the children playing around us (NeLu1). It happened that their eldest son (6) interfered and took part in the interview while I was talking to his father. Neo is an artist with focus on photography. He did not seem comfortable with the interview situation and preferred to talk more about the topic while I was not recording.

Neo and Luca

INT: Und was sprichst du, oder was sprechen deine Eltern oder was habt ihr zu Hause gesprochen?

Neo: em Setswana

Luca: Englisch

Neo: uhm Setswana

INT: Und Englisch?

Neo: Zuhause, nee, ich ↑ spreche auch English (...)

INT: Und welche Sprachen sprecht ihr zu Hause in der Familie?

Neo: hier? [zeigt auf Kinder und Frau]

Neo: English und Deutsch

Luca: Englisch und Deutsch und Französisch mit Mama.

INT: sprichst du auch Französisch

Neo: Nee

INT: aber Setswana sprichst du mit deinen Kindern hast du gesagt

Luca: Er kann schon ein bisschen Französisch

Neo: hmm

(Neo and Luca, NeLu 12:12 min)

'INT: And which language do your parents speak or which language were you talking to each other at home?

Neo: em Setswana

Luca: English

Neo: uhm Setswana

INT: And English?

Neo: At home, no. I ↑ speak English (...)

INT: And which languages do you speak at home in your family

Neo: here? [Points at children and wife]

Neo: English and German.

Luca: English and German and French with mom.

INT: Do you speak French as well?

Neo: No

INT: But you said you speak Setswana to your children?

Luca: He knows a little French already.

Neo: hmm.'

(Neo and Luca, NeLu1: 2:12 min)

His son interfered because of curiosity and the sense of his father's feelings. It might be just natural behavior, as I observed that children function as translators in other families too and take responsibility for their parents. I found it striking that Neo did not mention Setswana as language of communication with his children. He mentioned speaking Setswana with his parents instead. I guess because I already noticed him speaking Setswana, therefore it was redundant to mention it again. Neo's partner Belle, who will be presented next, grew up in Cameroon but came to Germany to study in 1992.

After we finished, Neo took the children for a walk and I could talk to Belle without interference. She kept holding her sleeping baby in her arms while talking to me. She mentioned she felt rather distracted with the children around her in this intimate setting of her sister's living room and would have preferred to talk to me in my office in a sort of official setting. She said she could not concentrate on the task and was rather unsatisfied with her results (interview, and language portrait). Belle speaks French, English and German. She indicates that she sings in Ewondo (the songs she listened to as a child) but does not speak the language. Within the interview she stresses that she speaks the Cameroonian variety of French which is important to her (Be1). She works in a hospital as a doctor in pediatrics. She refers to German as the predominant language in her interaction with the children but speaks in English to Neo and (from time to time) French to her sisters. Their children attend a bilingual kindergarten.

Belle

Also Deutsch überwiegend Deutsch. Aber auch Englisch, da ich mit Neo Englisch spreche zwischendurch und eben zwischendurch auch Französisch, die [Kinder] gehen in eine deutsch-französische Kita und die (.) wir sprechen halt auch mal Französisch oder lesen Bücher oder hören auch mal irgendwelche keine Ahnung (.) Sachen. Aber am aktivsten ist Deutsch tatsächlich aber ja das andere ist auch da.

(Belle, Be1: 02:14-02:58min)

'Well, predominantly (the family language is) German. But English as well, as I speak in English to Neo. French also, the children attend a bilingual kindergarten and (.) we also speak French or read books or listen to some things (in French). But indeed the most active [language] is German but the other [languages] are present as well.'

(Belle, Be1: 02:14-02:58min)

Belle assumes that German is their family language. English is important for the communication with her partner as well as French. She sends her children to a bilingual kindergarten (acquisition planning) and provides material in French (corpus planning).

The last case I refer to is Gilbert. Gilbert is a male German fluent in German, Moore, Dyula, French and English as well as some other languages spoken in Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire. He has three adult children living in Côte d'Ivoire and two daughters, Sandra, 9 and Lola, 12, with an Eritrean woman living in the Rhine-Main-Region. He lives with his actual partner (a German woman) in a different household. He works as a bus driver and entertainer. He claims to speak *nur Deutsch* 'German only' to Sandra and Lola (Gilbert, Gi1: 31:26-31:28).

4.2 Reasons and ideologies influencing the parents' language policy

This section deals with the answers to question B "What are the reasons for your choice of family language?" A remarkable fact was that most of the persons interviewed pointed out the reasons for the choice of the language of interaction with their children without being asked, as if they had the feeling that they need to explain their choice. In the following pages, I concentrate on the parents' ideologies and their impact on their family language policy. Moreover, I present how one's linguistic biography interacts with their choice of family language, as seen in the interview sequences presented below. Almost all parents stressed the benefits of their language policy to their children, explaining why they chose either an African language of wider communication that is used as a Lingua Franca (i.e. Twi in Ghana, Yoruba in Nigeria) in their homes of origin or the colonial language (i.e. French, English).

Nana

Na weil ich denke, dass man ja wenn man klein ist, nie wieder so schnell lernt wie wenn man klein ist und wenn sich das so natürlich ergibt und wenn das für mich jetzt kein Stress ist hab ich gedacht probier ich's aus und ich denke es ist einfach ne Bereicherung und falls sie man ihnen auch den Weg nach Ghana erleichtert. Also das heißt ja nicht, dass sie nach Ghana ziehen heh aber falls sie es wollen würden irgendwann, wäre es natürlich viel viel leichter. In Ghana ist es einfach so, dass viele Leute Twi sprechen.

(Nana, Na2: 8.30-9min)

'Well, because I think, while you're young, you learn languages fast and if it happens (in a) natural (way), there are no worries for me now. I thought I would try it, and I think it is just an enrichment. It facilitates the way for them to go to Ghana. So, this does not mean they move to Ghana heh but if they wish to go someday, it would be much easier for them. In Ghana many people speak Twi'

(Nana, Na2: 8.30-9min)

Nana refers to an expert opinion that children learn languages more easily but also claims *das für mich jetzt kein Stress* 'this is no big deal for me now' (Na2). That means it is easy for her to talk in Twi. She also wants to open the way to Ghana for her children and reports how her son benefited already during holidays in Ghana (Na2). Modeste underlines her point of view by explaining his choice of French. He wants that his children find their way from the airport throughout the country without any difficulties as pointed out in the following sequence (Mo1).

Modeste

weil ich geh davon aus, die wachsen mit unterschiedlichen Kulturen [auf] eh (.) ich hätte gern, wenn die mal nach Kamerun kommen, ham sie keine Grundschwierigkeiten mit der Sprache, dass sie schon vom Flughafen her sich befinden aber mit Baleng der Prozentsatz, dass sie sich, die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass sie sich mit Baleng in Kamerun finden liegt vielleicht bei 0,2% und mit Französisch haben sie 99 Komma 9 Prozent (.) 98 Prozent. heh.

(Modeste, Mo1: 02:43-03:43min)

'Because I assume, they grow into different cultures and I wish if they will come to Cameroon, they will not face language difficulties. They shall find their way right from the airport. But the percentage of people who speak Baleng is low. The probability they will find their way with Baleng in Cameroon is only 0,2% and with French they will have 99-point 9 percent (.) 98 percent. heh.'

(Modeste, Mo1: 02:43-03:43min).

This presents the reasons for Modeste's language choice. Whereas Nana and Neo (see below) refer to an expert point of view, Modeste points to the advantage his children will have when they travel to Cameroon, namely, ease of communication and movement as a result of their ability to speak French. Choosing Standard French instead of the Cameroonian variety. Modeste also has in mind to improve their international mobility within Europe (France)(Mo1). Like Nana, Neo refers to an expert view, namely that children should learn as many languages as possible. Luca explains to me that his father's choice depends on his language competence (a feature the adults interviewed here do not mention in detail). For Luca it is logical that his father speaks the language he knows the best.

Neo and Luca

Luca: Weil er's [Setswana] am besten kann

Neo: Weil ich Setswana spreche heh.

INT: Ja, stimmt das was er sagt?

Neo: Was hat er gesagt?

INT: Weil er's am besten kann.

Neo: @ja@

INT: Und ist dir wichtig, dass sie es lernen?

Neo: Dass die Kinder die Sprache lernt? (.) Es ist wichtig, dass die Kinder viel mehr Sprachen wie die können lernen. [So viele Sprachen wie möglich lernen].

(Neo and Luca, NeLu1: 02.22-03.00min)

'Luca: Because he knows it [Setswana] the best.

Neo: Because I speak Setswana heh

INT: Yes, is it true what he said?

Neo: What did he say?

INT: Because he knows it the best.

Neo: @yes@

INT: And is it important for you that they learn it?

Neo: That the children learn the language? (.) It is important that children learn as many languages as possible.'

(Neo and Luca, NeLu1: 02.22-03.00min)

As mentioned above, Neo strikes a point that children learn languages easier and sees an advantage in teaching his children as many languages as possible, whereas his son points to his father's language skills. He thinks his father is more fluent in Setswana and this must be the reason he prefers speaking it with his children (NeLu1).

I will now present the sisters Sarah and Belle. Their personal linguistic biographies and their own experiences with multilingualism influence their family language choice but in a different manner. Sarah still remembers how her Cameroonian relatives pressured her and her sisters to speak Ewondo. She does not want to worry her son in a similar way and believes in a non-directed approach, (in the sense that one

learns voluntarily and not under compulsion (Spänkuch 2014)). During a stay in Cameroon, Sarah realized that she already understood Ewondo, although she was convinced, she did not. She assures herself that her son will have similar experiences with French. In general, she often finds examples for the non-directed approach during further discussions with me. It is an important topic to her that bothers her in a specific way (Sa1, Sa2).

Sarah

Em sehr oft is es so auch diese andere Geschichte das hatten wir mit Druck am Anfang (.) dieser Druck (.) wir hatten den zum Beispiel als wir klein waren hieß es immer wir sprechen kein Ewondo und unsre Verwandten immer hier so drauf [schlägt mit Fäusten aufeinander], „Warum sprecht ihr nicht, warum sprecht ihr nicht“ (...) ja man entwickelt halt so ja so ne kleine wie so ne Barriere irgendwie vor dem. (...) mir ist aufgefallen, dass ich 2009 da war und ich hatte noch kein sozusagen kein Crashkurs Ewondo gemacht oder sowas, nein (...) da kam meine Tante und meinte „Ja hol doch mal diese Blumen da.“ und ich so „ja okay“ bin dann halt gegangen und hab halt die Blumen geholt und dann guckt sie mich an „ja so wie hast du das jetzt verstanden was ich gesagt hab“ und ich so „Ja wieso du wolltest doch, dass ich die Blumen hole“ sie so „welche Sprache hab ich denn gesprochen“ ich so „uh weiß nicht was hä Französisch ↑“ sie „nee, Ewondo“ ich so „°wirklich°“ [Gestik und besondere Mimik des Überraschtseins] also mir ist das gar nicht aufgefallen das heißt diese passive (.) es gibt doch son Wort dafür (.) dieses andere Erlernen oder dieses [hustet, räuspert sich] inoffizielle Erlernen der Sprache.

(Sarah, Sa2: 10.43-12:57min)

‘It is that other story we already talked about: the pressure (.) this pressure (.) While we were young our relatives [hammers fists] always complained about us not speaking Ewondo “Why don’t you speak it, why don’t you speak it” (...) But then you develop a sort of barrier to it. (...) I realized, as I went there 2009 and I have not had an Ewondo course yet. (...) my aunt came and said: “Yes get those flowers over there” and I answered: “yes okay” and I took off to get the flowers, and she was staring at me:” how did you understand what I told you?” and I answered: “Yes. Why? You wanted me to get the flowers” and she asked: “Which language did I speak?” and I answered: Uh I do not know? Why em French↑?” and she: “No Ewondo”. I replied: “°what really°” [gesticulates and makes expression of surprise] so I was not aware of this [my ability to understand Ewondo]. [I learned it indirectly]. This is indirect or non-directed learning.’

(Sarah, Sa2: 10.43-12:57min)

Sarah did not like German when she was a child as it was used as a Code by her mother, and a language she must learn. She now wants to protect her son from the same feelings (Sa2). Most parents do not consider the language they use interacting with each other as well as peer or sibling’s language use as their family language. The parental language has indeed an impact on the family’s language and the children’s competences. As Sarah points out while discussing her personal experience growing up in a multilingual context, children understand what their parents are talking about.

Ich hatte als ich Kind war, war das bei mir so, dass ich wie gesagt kein Deutsch gesprochen hab. Ich hab’ mich vehement dagegen gewehrt. Ich hab n paar

Sachen verstanden, die meine Mutter sozusagen als (.) Code (.)oder oder als geheime Sprache heh je nachdem je nach Situation und so.

(Sarah, Sa2: 10:12-10:23min)

‘When I was a child I did not (as I mentioned already) speak German. I refused speaking it vehemently. I only understood a few things my mother used as (.) a code (.) or a secret language heh depending on the situation.’

(Sarah, Sa2: 10:12-10:23min)

Sarah does not want to force her son to learn a language other than the environmental language. She believes that he will learn French (or other languages of her repertoire) indirectly (Sa1). Whereas Sarah’s negative experiences influence her personal language ideology, Belle stresses the positive emotion attached to the Cameroonian variety of French (Be1). She points out that it makes her happy if she hears someone speaking it. She relates it with childhood and beauty; therefore, she wants to teach it to her children too. But she also scolds in French. She somehow reflects her own childhood experience in interaction with her own family (Be1).

Belle

Der Alltag ist Deutsch ganz klar. Der Alltag oder wenn man was erledigen muss, was machen muss und die Arbeit ist ganz klar auf Deutsch. Englisch ist die Kommunikation mit Neo aber auch sehr viel, ich mach nebenher auch Musik, ist auch sehr viel die Musik, weil die Musikwelt ist sehr stark sehr verenglischt auch die Leute mit denen man da zu tun hat, da wird oft Englisch gesprochen und Französisch is em die Sprache. Weiß auch nicht, im Augenblick muss ich zugeben, verbind ich die irgendwie mit Kindern.

Auch wenn wir schon überwiegend Deutsch sprechen aber die verbind ich irgendwie mit Kindern, mit Schule, weil ich eben selbst als Kind halt überwiegend Französisch gesprochen habe und ja aber auch mit Schönheit so irgendwie (XXX). Wobei wenn ich mit den Kindern schimpfe, mach ich’s auch auf Deutsch überwiegend aber auch auf Französisch, Deutsch und Französisch. Wenn ich mal was Ernstes, Strenges sage, da sag ich’s auch auf Französisch aber auch, aber das hat was mit Kindheit zu tun.

(Belle, Be1: 07.12-08.40min)

‘Everyday life is in German for sure. That means obligatoriness and work is represented by German. English represents the communication with Neo among other. I am a musician and the whole music business takes place in English. Even the people whom you deal with often speak in English. And French is the language. I am insecure for the moment. I connect French with childhood. Even if we speak German predominantly, I connect the language with childhood, children and school. Because I was speaking French predominantly when I was a child. I link French to beauty (XXX). But if I scold the children, I do so in German and in French as well. German and French. If I say something serious and strict then I repeat it in French. This has something to do with childhood (memories) as well.’

(Belle, Be1: 07.12-08.40min).

The sisters are close, they both reflect their language use in detail. As they grew up in a multilingual society and then changed into a rather monolingual German environment (Belle at university, Sarah at her grandmother’s house) they both share similar experiences. Though they do not follow the same language policy, which is due to several factors. I will come back to this in the concluding section.

In the following case, a different perspective is introduced, focusing on the personal benefits to the family's communication in the environmental language. Gilbert represents an egocentric perspective. He wants his children to correct him to improve his language skills. He also strikes their benefits due to their competences in German.

Gilbert

Weil ich red' Deutsch hier mit meinen Kindern, weil ich denke das ist besser für mich. INT Für dich oder für sie? Gilbert: „Nee ist besser für mich, weil die ham schon Deutsch in der Schule, die können schon Deutsch aber wenn ich meine Muttersprache, ich kann schon meine Muttersprache aber mit meiner Muttersprache die werden nie weiter kommen im Leben, die müssten Deutsch sprechen oder später English mit diesen beiden Sprache da kommst du weiter und für mich ist gut weil ich lern noch mit meinen Kindern besser. Weil, wenn ich einen Fehler mach meine Kinder sagen, „Nee Papa sagt man nicht so“, weil, die sind hier geboren. (Gilbert, Gi1: 31:28-32:11)

I speak German to my children because I think it is better for me. INT Better for you or for them? Gilbert: No, it is better for me, because they already learn German in school. It is right if I speak my mother tongue as I know my mother tongue already but they will not progress in life using my mother tongue. They must speak in German or in English. With these two languages you succeed. I benefit because they correct me: "No Dad, you do not say it like this", because they were born here.' (Gilbert, Gi1: 31:28-32:11)

Gilbert is the only person that admits preferring German over other languages. But his favorite language is French. He even uses his French accent on purpose when acting as an entertainer. He prefers to speak to me in French if he wants to talk about personal things or about Burkina Faso. Lately he even claimed that he will not speak German to me any longer. Additionally, the children are not living with him in his household constantly, therefore they are not exposed to French but while their half-siblings from Côte d'Ivoire visit, Gilbert only speaks French to their siblings. They also communicate with their grandmother who lives in Burkina Faso. Then Gilbert is translating their communication. Thus, French impacts the children's life but is not important for Gilbert's language policy. The mother of his daughters is Eritrean. I asked if they speak Tigrinya or Amharic and he told me they would speak both languages, which I doubt.

4.3 The parent's language policies within the theoretical framework

King et al. (2008) claim three different parental ideologies that influence one's language policy. The parents' concepts of language domains, their perspective on language variation such as mixed languages or slang, as well as the parents' beliefs about language learning and multilingualism. According to them expert literature plays a minor role whereas examples from friends and family members as well as their own linguistic biography, mainly their experience with multilingualism, play a crucial role. Public discourse according to parenting values ('good' or 'bad' parenting) has an impact too (King et al. 2008: 6). I will briefly sum up the ideologies I could examine in my case study. Almost all parents stressed

the benefits of their language policy to their children. They all prefer African Lingua Franca or the colonial language (i.e. French, English) to African languages with smaller number of speakers. Nana, Modeste and Neo (as representatives of the two-parent families) related to an “expert” point of view, namely, that children learn languages easier. The sisters Sarah and Belle took their choices in relation to their personal linguistic biographies and their own experiences with multilingualism. Grace and Gilbert chose the environmental language over their L1. A person’s reasons for their language policy are diverse but also comparable. They are based on the experiences and the retrieval of linguistic identity of the individual. The policy is not strict but open for reconsiderations. Mostly, the people use creative strategies of communication in the context of situations. As Nana points out, if it ‘has to be really quick’(Na1) she uses German but some expressions only exist in Twi i.e. the exclamation *eyy* that (according to Nana, Na2) has many meanings and functions i.e. ‘stop doing this’ or ‘don’t hit your brother’.

Nana is considered as a native speaker of German but chooses to speak Twi with her children. Modeste chooses to speak metropolitan French, the former colonial language of the Eastern and Northern part of Cameroon and one of the official languages of the country. He emphasizes that he wants his sons to learn his parents’ language Baleng as well. Nana and Modeste themselves claim to use *type 4*. Each parent speaks another language that is not similar to the environmental language, but they talk to each other in German. As far as I observed, they communicate in a mix of German, English and French with German as predominant language which confirms with

type 6, the mixed type (*Sprachkuddelmuddel* ‘language jumble’, Nana, Na1: 9:22min) as well. Modeste understands some expressions that Nana uses often in Twi as well and Nana admits speaking French whenever she prefers it, or when they have French speaking guests (Na1). While I was with them in the company of my children, I spoke French with Modeste, his sons and his friend who was present too. (I did not realize my own language behavior. I indeed discovered it first while I started working through the records of this day). Modeste spoke in French with his friend and his children but German with me and my children and Nana. Nana answered him in English. She kept speaking German with me and my children but Twi with her children. The children mainly spoke German but later in the evening the younger son started to speak in Twi with her. For Nana it is important that the children are able to distinguish the languages. Nana told me that they programmed their family language use before the birth of her first child. She also read books about multilingualism. *Es war eine bewusste Entscheidung, weil es sonst zu anstrengend ist, es ist ja auch so zu anstrengend* ‘It was a conscious decision because otherwise it would be too exhausting, it (raising children) is exhausting anyway’. (Nana, Na3). For her and her partner it was important to talk about and plan their decision with the help of expert information and guidelines. Their languages and cultural identity are important to them and they want their children to benefit from their multilingualism.

Belle and Neo confirm to the *mixed type* but have influences of *type 1* as Belle is a bilingual speaker of German and speaks German predominantly. They set up a clear language policy. Neo speaks Setswana to the children;

Belle speaks German and French (Cameroonian variety) to the children; they speak English to each other. The children also learn French in institutional context (bilingual kindergarten). Belle codeswitches when talking to her sisters. Sarah and she told me that this depends on the topic of the content and how they value it emotionally. If they are emotionally involved, they rather speak French. I observed the high impact of English in Belle's and Neo's family interactions as well. Neo used a mixed variety of Setswana and English, for example while he was explaining my recorder to his son. Belle rather code switched than mixed. Belle emphasizes that she chooses the Cameroonian variety of French over metropolitan French though their children attend a bilingual kindergarten and are exposed to standard French as well.

As shown in the example of Sarah who still is very insecure regarding how to interact with her son to be a good parent as she remembers the pressure when she was a child. She also refers to the interferences of outstanding people who advise her to speak in French (as the ability of speaking French is considered prestigious) rather than explaining her personal language policy (Sa1).

She dislikes the interferences of other people who try to convince her to teach him French. In comparison the sisters Sarah and Belle follow different language policies. As I mentioned above, this is due to various factors. First, they slightly differ in social stratification, Belle is ten years older than her sister, they live in different cities, their relationship status differs as well. Second, they have different linguistic biographies and repertoires. Ten years younger, Sarah grew up speaking Camfranglais which is not part of

Belle's repertoire at all. In her studies she learned Yoruba, she told me how she would prefer Yoruba music (and other African music) over European music¹⁴. Belle left Cameroon and moved to Germany voluntarily. She somehow romanticizes her childhood in Cameroon as well as the Cameroonian French that she connotes with positive memories. Sarah moved to Germany when she was fourteen, it was not her choice but her mother's, she did not like the country and the language, and she would have preferred to stay in Cameroon. She indicates how she struggled with the German language at her arrival and how she dislikes the language still. She stays in Germany, as her friends and family live here, she appreciates the educational system and the given opportunities for her son. Gilbert and Grace are single parents as well. I grouped them with Sarah, as they are not represented in the type model as single parents. All three prefer the environmental language over their L1. Grace associates German with proficiency and professionalism this is projected to her language policy. Like Belle she came to Germany for her studies voluntarily. She followed a prestigious integration program at the University of Mainz after working as an au pair. She is proud of her education and language skills; she wants her son to proceed in life and to achieve his personal goals. She claims herself to be a role model of successful integration (Gr1). Like Sarah she considers Mainz as her son's home and does not want to move. German was her key to success; this reflects her language ideology. Gilbert's ideology is based on the same approach. He came to Germany to improve his life, he decided to speak German only and to avoid other immigrants. This decision formed his personal linguistic ideology. He chose a German

¹⁴ (African) Music was not considered in one's family language policy which I regret. The influence of music in children's linguistic behaviour is an interesting task but needs further investigations.

community (partners, friends, workplace) over people of his home country. He considers German as the language in which his daughters will succeed in life and besides their benefits, he profits from their language proficiency as he expects them to correct his (linguistic) errors. He always wants to improve himself as well as his language skills.

As I could show the establishment of the parents' language policy is multi-layered and based on several factors. All families rather confirm to a combination of types of Romaine's model than one specific type. Their language policies are formed by social factors and their personal (linguistic) biography. A summary of the results is presented in Table 2.

Parent(s)	Family language(s)	Type	Language ideology
Grace	German (English, Kiswahili)	Single parent	Environmental language is seen as benefit
Nana and Modeste	Twi, French, German, (English)	Type 4, Type 6, each parent different L1, mixed type	Ability of speaking many languages is seen as benefit
Sarah	German, (French, Camfranglais)	Single Parent	Environmental language is seen as benefit (other languages are achieved indirectly)
Neo and Belle	English, Setswana, German, French	Type 6, Type 1 One parent-one language (environmental language included)	Ability of speaking many languages is seen as benefit
Gilbert	German, (French)	Single parent	Environmental language is seen as benefit

Table 2 Language use patterns within the families

5. Conclusions

For my analysis, I chose a classical sociolinguistic model because I concentrate on the interaction of social factors, like one's action in or contribution to society and their language use. The research deals with migrants from African countries coming from multilingual societies. The influence of the German society is striking as all of the people presented here have lived

in Germany for years or grew up in Germany. Whenever I asked my interview partners to describe Germans, they all said they like their accuracy. This is a feature they tend to adopt. The parents are aware of their language policy and the patterns they use in family communication. Most of them actively sat together at one point and really discussed and programmed the three states of language planning. Additionally, society and everyday interaction have a huge

impact as well and lead to deviations within one's family. The lack of structured planning, the parents' own experiences with multilingualism, and the impact of their own linguistic biographies are not covered neither in King et al. (2008) nor in Romaine's approach. Therefore, I would always include the parents' language of interaction with each other in the analysis. Multilingualism is a natural process and nothing new or unexpected in family units with parents from West, Central or South African countries. They all grew up in multilingual settings themselves which now influences their family interactions. I highly criticize Romaine's type model that does not include single parents. Considering my results, I suggest adding *type 7 single parent non- native speaker adopting environmental language* to the model. It is striking that single parents like Grace, Gilbert and Sarah (the same was reported from other single parents as well) tend to adopt the dominant language of the environment or at least to use it predominantly in communication with their children. Their family dynamic has an impact as they deal with other challenges than two- parent families. Therefore, they do not concentrate on their language policy and rather chose the language of the society. Other persons interfere in the parenting of a single parent more often than in the parenting of couples. Therefore, single parents face more critic considering their parental decisions in general their language choice. As I could show this influenced the single parents in this study to that effect to adopt the language of the environment. This also confirms to the statement of how exhausting parenting is and that parents need an established language policy. Single parents rise to more challenges in daily life, establishing a personal language policy is not a priority. My results contradict King et al (2008) observations

that expert opinions played a minor role. All parents presented here referred to literature or at least internet sources about multilingualism.

In summary, the parents' reasons for their individual language choice are multilayered. They base upon beliefs, ideologies, extrinsic and intrinsic factors, experiences with multilingualism and linguistic biographies. Even one's individual language competence must be considered, a person rather chooses the language he/she/they are fluent in. Another factor is the availability of a language. Couples speaking the same L1 would rather choose it over the environmental language. A last striking observation is that all parents choose majority languages (i.e. Twi as a lingua franca of Ghana) or colonial languages (i.e. French) over their own parents' (or grandparents') language. However, these choices might be subject of further investigations in this field.

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Abbreviations

Transcription Symbols

°word°	Aspirated, breathy
?	rising pitch; Intonation
INT	Interviewer
(.)	micropause
heh	Indicates Laughter
(XXX)	Indicates the transcriber's inability to hear what was said.
-	A hyphen indicates a cut off in speak
◎ or ◉	Indicates a sharp rise or fall in pitch or volume
[]	Extra information i.e. Mimics and Gestures, relations
(...)	Content that is not transcribed
@word@	laughter while talking

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List of interviews

Interview with	Interview-abbreviation	Date	Place
Grace	Gr1	01.16.2019	Frankfurt a. M.
Nana	Na1, Na2, Na3	01.23.2019, 01.25.2019, 04.02.2020	Mainz
Modeste	Mo1	01.25.2019	Mainz
Sarah	Sa1, Sa2	04.18.2019, 04.23.2019	Mainz
Belle	Be1	04.23.2019	Mainz
Neo and Luca	NeLu1	04.23.2019	Mainz
Gilbert	Gi1	03.11.2019	Rüsselsheim
Maya	Ma1	11.13.2019	Offenbach a. M.