Family Language Policies of Saudi Student Families in the UK: Parental Language Beliefs, Practices and Management

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Abstract

In the UK different types of bi/ multilingual families have created unprecedented cultural and linguistic diversity. One type of family that is as yet minimally researched is the sojourning student-family. In these families, parents and their children are exposed to a variety of experiences that inform their language choices, with children becoming active agents in shaping family language policy (FLP). This study investigates how sojourning student families navigate their children's language learning in the host country. It focuses on the parental language policies implemented, how parental language ideologies influence family members' language practices, when examining children's socialisation within the contexts of both the minority language (Arabic) and the majority language (English).

The study employs a multiple-case-studies approach using qualitative methods within a constructivist paradigm and FLP theoretical framework, to explore the FLP of six Saudi student families residing in the UK, and the influence of micro and macro forces on FLP construction, both inside the home and at societal level. Data was collected over a nine month period and comprised self-audio-recordings of family members' daily interactions, audit forms, background forms and semi-structured interviews with mothers. Thematic Analysis was employed to analyse the data.

The findings reveal the greater the agreement between parents' language practices and their FLP, the more they influence children's bilingual development. Some incongruities emerged between the mothers' declared language ideologies and the actual language used, and child agency and external forces were observed to contribute to this. FLP was also found to be negotiated and reconstructed to suit the language needs and familial circumstances of transnational sojourning families, providing implications for parents, schools, and policymakers.

Preface

This basis for this research originally stemmed from my personal experience with my family and how language is managed at home. As globalisation and transnationalism becomes a norm, there will be a great need to understand the language policies of versatile families. How were these policies formed and handled? It is my passion to not only understand FLP, but to develop guidance to help mothers in their children's language management while in transnational movement.

Acknowledgements

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

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1 Introduction

1.1   The rationale of the study

During the twenty-first century, globalisation, transnationalism and mobility have rapidly increased, causing a broad diversity of cultures, languages and nationalities in the United Kingdom (UK). This includes Arabs, who, according to the England and Wales 2011 census, represent approximately 0.4% of the population (i.e. 230,600 individuals), some being transnational families residing in the UK for educational or economic purposes. This minority groups in the UK may struggle in maintaining their home language (HL) for their children in the light of the lack of support from society. My study is in response to the need to understand how these families manage language use at home, including their efforts to protect their native tongue.

My interest in Family language policy (FLP) was prompted while I was undertaking my Master's degree in 2014. A sociolinguistic assignment triggered my interest in asking questions related to the roles played by families in their children's language development, as well as how parents' beliefs and explicit practices may not always be aligned. I therefore undertook a study of my own family, noticing that my husband (who was also undertaking postgraduate study in the UK) and my children influenced each other's language choices. My husband spoke only English with our daughter, while with our older son he changed from primarily using English to focusing on Arabic. On the other hand, my daughter changed from English to Arabic when speaking with her older brother. In this assignment, I audio-recorded my family members' conversations, excluding myself in order to reduce subjectivity. I was interested in the fact that my daughter's choice of language only changed from English to Arabic when her older sibling contributed to the conversation and used Arabic. This unexpected result led me to recognise the importance of daily language practices and interactions within the family in determining children's language development, alongside the way in which parents' language management forms a key factor in establishing their desired family language policy (FLP). Moreover, having three children of different ages led me to consider that each family has a unique structure and needs that deserve investigation.

Considering that the family is the first environment in dealing with children's language use and learning, FLP was the most convenient theoretical framework, selected for this study, to explore the language use and negotiations between Saudi student family members in the UK. This study therefore examines the language beliefs, practices and management of Arabic-English-speaking Saudi student families living in the UK over an extended period of time. This type of transnational family (known as the 'student family abroad' or the 'sojourning student family') refers to students travelling overseas with their children to pursue higher education, returning to their country of origin on completion of their parents' studies. In this study, I focused on student mothers pursuing their PhDs. The presence of such families in the UK has given rise to a new generation of children capable of speaking both Arabic and English. I consider that these families represent an under-explored group deserving further attention in the field of FLP and transnational context.

1.1 Family language policy and governmental policy

A decade ago, Saudi governmental policy started to encourage bilingualism implicitly in its public policy. Increasing number of students in overseas scholarship programmes is one result of this policy. The Saudi government have given generous grants to many Saudi students with their families to continue their studies in the most developed countries in the world, including the UK, the USA, New Zealand, Australia, Canada, Germany, France, Belgium and Japan. Most of these countries in which English is dominant, requires international students to achieve appropriate TOEFL and IELTS scores, which are conditions for university offers, and also a requirement of receiving a scholarship (Ministry of Education, 2022). This shows that at least one parent of Saudi student families abroad has a good knowledge of English.

Moreover, a considerable number of Saudi students prefer to study in English-speaking countries, potentially due to the importance of English as an international language, as well as being the medium of education and technology worldwide. The statistics show that the numbers of student families in English-speaking countries exceed those in non-English-speaking countries. In 2018, there were: 15,987 Saudi students in the USA; 13,418 in the UK; 7243 in Canada; 6751 in Australia; and 995 in Malaysia, compared with less than 3,000 in nineteen other countries, i.e. less than 600 students per country

(Ministry of Education, 2022). The aim of these scholarships, set by the Saudi government, is to achieve comprehensive development in all fields in Saudi Arabia, in particular education and the economy. This was clarified in the Third Stage of the 'Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques' Overseas Scholarship Programme', appearing under the title 'Your Job First, Then Your Scholarship'. Although the Third Stage of the programme contains no stated language policy, it implies that English is the preferred language (Alzahrani, 2017), as it is an international language and can make a significant contribution to Saudi Arabia (SA) economic development as well as to the career development of the returning students (Ministry of Education, 2022).

The Saudi government also realised the importance of learning English language in developing education in SA (Alzahrani, 2017). The goals of the Saudi government's education policy states that Saudi students should be provided with at least one living language besides their native language 'to enable them to acquire knowledge and sciences from other communities" (Al-Hajailan, 2003, p.23). Thus, it is expected that a large number of Saudi students abroad need to manage the use of two languages, English and Arabic, among their family members and to establish a strong FLP to maintain Arabic as a preparation for their return.

To understand Saudi student mothers' FLP, we need to shed light on FLP in literature. FLP combines language ideologies, practices and management (Spolsky, 2004), as well as explicit planning regarding language use and learning and implicit processes encouraging the use of certain languages and literacies at home and among family members (King, Fogle & Logan-Terry, 2008). A number of FLP studies have demonstrated that parental decisions concerning the use and practices of language within the family are based on their existing ideologies (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016; King et al., 2008; Lanza & Svendsen, 2007), i.e. when it comes to watching TV, reading stories and play time (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016). However, some studies have revealed 'implicit language planning' (Okita, 2002; Wei, 2012), which involves invisible processes taking place implicitly during parent-child interactions. There are many well-known language policies, for instance, a 'One Parent-One Language' (OPOL) strategy is both widespread and popular, being used by parents whose children are simultaneously learning two languages. Other parents used different language strategies, for instance using minority language at home and the majority outside. This

is often used in transnational families where the parents have the same language background. However, in all these strategies, and policies, some parents can claim to use them consistently when interacting with their children, but unconsciously have a tendency to move between languages (de Houwer & Bornstein, 2016; Lanza, 2004), influenced by many factors during everyday family negotiations.

Therefore, this study will attempt to understand FLP by exploring authentic interactional patterns of language use between family members, as derived from audio recordings (Lanza, 2004). Understanding FLP will also involve an investigation of children's socialisation and agency within the context of both home language (HL) (e.g. Arabic) and the host country language (e.g. English) (Schwartz & Verschik, 2013; Spolsky, 2007). Child Language Socialisation (LS) refers to the socialisation of children through language and into language (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984), so enabling them to use language appropriately and express the socio-cultural values of their community.

1.2   The statement of the problem and the rationale

The problem addressed in this study is to understand how sojourning Saudi student mothers manage the language learning of their children during their temporary time abroad. I am interested in investigating the potential existence of parental language policies (both explicit and implicit) and how these support (or hinder) language learning. During their stay, such student mothers may be subject to a variety of experiences influencing their approach to their children's acquisition and use of the languages of both the 'home' and 'host' countries (Hua & Wei, 2016; King & Lanza, 2019). However, their children may have different linguistic experiences and needs, a phenomenon that has recently increased interest in the role played by children in their parents' language learning and language use at home (Fogle & King, 2013a; F. Said & Zhu, 2017). Unlike migrant families settling in a host country on a permanent basis, sojourning student families return home after a number of years, resulting in a need to maintain the HL in an effective and active manner. Firstly, children returning to Saudi Arabia require the ability to employ Arabic at the spoken and formal level, particularly

as they return to Arabic medium schools. However, even if parents speak both languages at home, some children growing up in bilingual environments may speak only one language or achieve only partial/receptive bilingualism (de Houwer, 2007b). Secondly, it can be challenging for Saudi student mothers if their children do not speak the HL, as they may find it more difficult to convey the values of their culture (Fillmore, 2000; Schwartz & Verschik, 2013). Some scholars have suggested that one way of exploring these issues is to analyse parental language ideologies. A number of previous studies have been shown to influence language practices and decisions (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016; Lanza & Svendsen, 2007), primarily due to the HL being often associated with the speakers' values and attitudes (He, 2006). Thus, a parent's particular language ideologies generally contribute to shaping FLP, influencing both the degree to which they use a particular language and the language decision about children's language learning. This highlights a need to explore such language ideologies, practices and management among sojourning student families, and how they are intertwined to shape their FLPs

1.3   The contribution and significance of the study

This study will contribute to the understanding of the ways transnational families in general, and sojourning student families in particular, manage their children's language learning and use whilst living abroad, and in particular the role played by parental language ideologies and the children themselves. One method of understanding how this happens is to explore the families' linguistic practices during parent-child interactions. In this study, parental language practices relate to how parents use languages (Spolsky, 2004), or the habitual pattern of selecting a language among the varieties that make up their linguistic repertoire (Schwartz, 2010), i.e. enrolling children in language lessons, inviting or visiting friends, and providing TV channels in a specific language.

The study is also significant due to its additional focus on children, particularly in relation to FLP, as well as their agency and LS (Fogle, 2012; Lanza & Svendsen, 2007; Said & Zhu, 2017). Child agency forms an important dimension of child LS, referring to their 'socio-culturally mediated capacity to act' and exercise control over their own actions (Ahearn, 2001, p.11). Thus, children, as well as parents are considered 'active

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socialisers' when it comes to learning culture and language (Said & Zhu, 2019, p.2).

My study targets families with children of primary school age (i.e. between five and nine), in order to ensure that the children's abilities are fairly similar across families. There are a number of reasons for this selection. Children over the age of five or school-age children possess highly-developed language competence (de Houwer & Bornstein, 2016), and can negotiate their meanings and assert their social identity (Luykx, 2005; Paugh, 2005), with their language choices, which reveal their sensitivity to the contextual dimensions of interaction, and the language choice of interlocutors (Comeau et al., 2003). They show an ability for a complete separation between the minority and majority languages (Paradis & Nicoladis, 2007). They can use their language knowledge and competence to influence their parents' language choices. They are far more proficient than younger children in using their greater language repertoires and ability to express that knowledge (Lanza, 2004, p.66), with this ability to use language that could be manifested in children's monitoring of their language. Monitoring speech takes various different forms, from spontaneously repairing one's own speech to adjusting it to the age, status and language of the listener (Comeau et al., 2003). A further important psychological dimension of children who have reached school age is often in the process of forming ideological stances, self-feeling and social identity. These are displayed in their language preferences and choices according to their interlocutor's preference (Lanvers, 2001; Morren López, 2012) as well as having a good understanding of the sociolinguistic norms of language use in their environment. Thus, children in transnational families are active agents in forming FLP, as they may become more dominant in the majority language. Children's age is a very important factor in the power of their agency, as they are expected to gradually expand their social environment beyond family and acquire different language ideologies and practices. Therefore, this project endeavours to understand how the learning of English and/or Arabic, or both, is influenced by the context of the sojourning child, together with parental language ideologies and policies and the child's own choice. Thus, most of the participating families had at least one child attending primary school.

Children are expected to have strong agency in transnational families as LS is proved to be bidirectional, i.e. children can socialise their parents (Luykx, 2003, 2005; Tuominen, 1999), as a result of their greater access to the community and its linguistic sources

(Fogle & King, 2013). In addition, older children are known to introduce the acquired language into the home (Canagarajah, 2008; Fillmore, 2000), i.e. language learned at school and in peer interactions. Furthermore, they bring cultural and linguistic norms, including discourse and ideologies about race, place and identity (Fogle & King, 2013), which may contradict their parents' language ideologies and cause tensions in child-parent language negotiations.

At an educational level, starting school marks a significant stage of development, as this is when children commence learning abstract concepts and acquire literacy, frequently in the majority language (Okita, 2002), while at the same time continuing to use the minority language at home. This might put pressure on parents, making them more sensitive to their children's language development needs, particularly given the greater input of the majority language. Moreover, researchers have found that parents' attitudes towards the home language, as well as language management and activities at home, are influenced by their children's academic performance (Curdt-Christiansen & Morgia, 2018).

In particular, my study contributes to the newly emerging data on Arabic-English bilingual families' language policy, and to the newly emerging research field of FLP (King et al., 2008). The study makes a contribution to knowledge by introducing the notion of the student family abroad as representative of the sojourning student family, an underrepresented type of family. They form part of the underrepresented larger group of Arabic transnational families. Saudi student families possess a highly specific feature distinguishing them from other Arabic transnational families, in that they often have a predefined date for their return to Saudi Arabia (Alzahrani, 2020). It also explores the micro-level processes among sojourning Saudi student family members, and how these can help or hinder the transmission of the home language. The study will also assist in understanding how the beliefs of Saudi PhD mothers influence their language practices and management, as well as how their children co-construct their FLP while abroad.

Moreover, it explores how external and broader societal factors tend to influence Saudi student language practices and management, and establishes what role they play in the FLPs of sojourning families. Furthermore, the study provides potential implications for

sojourning student mothers, including Saudis in SA and abroad (i.e. the UK) as well as Saudi policy makers within the education sector.

The methodological contributions are represented by emphasising the importance of using the family members' daily conversations, as actual data, to reveal accurately the families' real life language practices during different activities within the home.

1.4   Research questions

This study sets out to answer the following questions:

1. What language ideologies do Saudi student mothers hold with regard to their children's language learning?

2. What are the language practices (Arabic-English or code-switching) in families, and to what extent are they in line with mothers' ideologies?

3. What management strategies do mothers use to align family practices with their ideologies and how do their children respond?

1.5   Thesis structure

This thesis is divided into seven chapters, as follows:

Chapter 1: This is an introductory chapter: firstly, explaining the rationale for conducting the current study; secondly, covering the research problem and identifying the gap in knowledge and the need for the research; thirdly, examining the significance of the study; and finally, setting out the research questions.

Chapter 2: This provides a brief overview of the sociolinguistic background of sojourning Saudi student families in the UK, along with the role of Saudi government scholarship programmes in their mobility. It examines firstly, the attitude of Saudis towards the English language and secondly, the role of the Saudi government in changing such attitudes through both education (primarily scholarships) and the Saudi economy.

Chapter 3: This undertakes a literature review of FLP, outlining its main concepts and components. It covers recent studies in the research field and introduces the theoretical

framework used in the research study.

Chapter 4: This firstly**,** describes the methodological design of this research, as well as its rationale, along with the research tools and methodological approaches, which fit within the constructivist paradigm. Secondly, it elaborates the researcher's philosophical positioning, in particular focusing on their reflexivity. Thirdly, it outlines the profile of the participants and the recruitment process, as well as the ethical considerations. Finally, it discusses the methods utilised for collecting and analysing data to answer the research questions and formulates the most appropriate analytical framework.

Chapter 5: This presents the results for each case study from the data, which consisted of: (1) semi-structured interviews; (2) audio recordings of family conversation; (3) audit forms; and (4) a background questionnaire. The findings are discussed in relation to various aspects, including language beliefs, practices and management. Each of these aspects contains three themes generated during the data analysis, which are related to similar findings in other relevant studies.

Chapter 6: This offers a summary of the findings. In addition, it discusses the contributions of this research to existing knowledge.

Chapter 7: This provides the limitations of the outcomes and the research methodology. Finally, it outlines the methodological implications of the research as well as recommendations for future studies, as a conclusion.

2 Overview

2.1 Overview of Saudi student families' sociolinguistic background and the Saudi national scholarship project

Saudi Arabia (SA) has recently adopted a policy of globalisation and modernisation in order to achieve a prestigious international position among other developing countries. This has required a social, educational and economic revolution, including the demand for proficiency in English (Mahboob & Elyas, 2014). Therefore, its first step towards becoming part of international society has been to communicate with the world through scholarships, particularly in English-speaking countries (Alrashidi & Phan, 2015). Saudi students in receipt of such scholarships therefore tend to live abroad for a period of time, giving them the ability to contribute to the expansion of knowledge in higher education and enable Saudi universities to achieve international recognition (Abouammoh, 2018).

Since the establishment of the King Abdullah Scholarship Programme (KASP) in 2005, there has been a dramatic increase in participation in overseas tertiary studies, with Saudi government sponsorships becoming available to all students who are in possession of firstly, an academic offer in an English-speaking country and secondly, the required level of English, i.e. a minimum of 4 in IELTS in all the four skills of writing, reading, listening and speaking. It has been reported that over 150,000 Saudi students have been given the opportunity to study in more than twenty-five countries around the world (Mansory, 2019), revealing that SA sends more students abroad on scholarships per capita than any other country (Ministry of Higher of Education, 2018). In April 2019, the Saudi Ministry of Education reported that over 86,000 students were currently pursuing their higher education overseas, primarily in the USA, UK and Australia.

This initiative to increase the number of scholarships has been further enhanced by Saudi Vision 2030, a programme established by crown prince Mohammed bin Salman. Its main goal is to reduce dependence on the oil market and diversify government investments in differing sectors, with a priority given to education. This includes the

provision of equal opportunities for men and women, as part of enabling the academic sector in the SA to compete on a global scale (Alharbi, 2015). The Saudi government has therefore awarded higher education its largest budget (Unified Natural Platform, 2021), consisting of 193 milliards in 2020, which is expected to increase by 1.4%, i.e. higher than other sectors including Military and Health and Social Development (Ministry of Finance, 2021).

In line with the 2030 Vision, one recent change to overseas scholarship conditions consists of the removal of *mahram* (a male member of PhD student's close family), for female students in 2016, so that they no longer need to be accompanied by a male member of their family when studying overseas. In addition, an emphasis on the importance of both men and women participating in higher education has significantly increased the number of Saudi students studying abroad, which includes many Saudi families, frequently consisting of mothers, whose husbands remain in SA due to their work commitments. As women tend to marry at a younger age than men in Saudi culture, and consequently establish their families earlier, a substantial number of children are now experiencing partially growing up overseas. No figures are available on the precise numbers, though anecdotal evidence suggests that, due to cultural and traditional values emphasising the importance of family unit, tens of thousands now fall into this category. In addition, the Saudi government generally supports students to be accompanied by their spouse and children, resulting in large communities of Saudi student families centred around UK universities. This includes a substantial number of unaccompanied mothers with their children, whose spouses, as noted above, have stayed behind in SA to pursue their careers. The participants of the current study were drawn from this group of sojourning student families, in which either the mother or both parents were living abroad with their children on a temporary basis.

2.2 Saudi student families' mobility for educational purposes

The growing need for highly qualified academic staff, alongside the increasing number of scholarships, has led to an unprecedented increase in the mobility of Saudi students and their families. According to the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) (2020), there were 77,406 Saudi students overseas in 2018, representing 4.78% of the total tertiary student population of SA. Of these, the vast majority went to the USA (61.1%), with the

second most popular destination being the UK (10.1%).

Table 2-1   Statistics on sojourning Saudi students in 2018

Students abroad (2018)	Destination country UK	Destination country US
77,406	7,802	47,321
	10.1% of total students abroad	61.1 % of total students abroad

The majority of these are postgraduate students, whose academic programmes typically last between two and five years, and sometimes longer. While the main purpose of studying abroad is to develop their academic careers and acquire academic knowledge, Saudi students and their children inevitably come into contact with different societies, traditions and cultures, which can exert a considerable impact on their language use and practices at home during the period abroad. This has prompted me to wish to understand how these sojourning families both maintain their home language and manage their children's bilingualism.

According to the Ministry of Education (2021), the most recent statistics show that the UK currently has 11,725 Saudi students enrolled on undergraduate and postgraduate courses, of which approximately 55% are female (i.e. 6461). The UK is a popular destination for female Saudi students for two main reasons. Firstly, the relative geographical and time proximity to SA results in travel being easier and more affordable, thus allowing students greater contact with their families, particularly during holidays. This is also particularly convenient for mothers, as it enables their spouses to visit them on a regular basis. Secondly, the diverse multiculturalism of the UK facilitates assimilation into British society. In addition, over 5% of the UK population are Muslims (Office for National Statistics, 2018), compared to 1.1% in the US (Pew Research Centre, 2017), implying a greater number of mosques and greater community support for Saudi students.

The figures suggest that, even during the current Covid-19 pandemic, the UK remains a

popular destination for Saudi students in general, and female students in particular, demonstrating the highest percentage of new arrivals (6.6%), of other popular destinations, i.e. the US (4.1%) and Australia (3.8%) (Ministry of Education, 2021).

However, despite these advantages, Saudi students can still face a number of linguistic, cultural and social barriers. In addition, their family members may have a very low level of English on arrival, particularly older relatives, such as grandparents, who, as noted by Morales, Yakushko and Castro (2012) tend not to become involved in the local community and thus need the help of their grandchildren to understand the language.

Ruby et al. (2012) found that this results in difficulties in acculturation, as well as families being more likely to speak Arabic at home. On the other hand, children tend to experience a more rapid acclimatisation, as they attend state schools and so absorb the English language and culture. The following section discusses the language attitudes and use demonstrated by Saudi families.

2.3 Saudi students' language ideologies

Alrahaili (2019, p. 87) identified a conflict in the Saudi attitude towards English. Some Saudis view English as an essential prerequisite for work, education, business and academic research and science, as supported the Saudi government's socio-economic policy, while others stress the importance of Arabic and its importance in maintain the embedded cultural and religious traditions in SA. Thus, Alrahaili (2019, p. 86) noted that some Saudis consider the growing influence of English in the Saudi community as being at the expense of the Arabic language and Saudi identity.

Golam Faruk's (2014) review of existing studies from the 1990s to the 2000s traced the change in Saudi attitudes towards English, as well as establishing the main contributing factors. Thus, Golam Faruk (2014A) found that, during the early 1990s, a majority of Saudi students considered that, as Arabic is the dominant and official language of SA, English was not necessary for the purposes of everyday life, along with communication and the development of their careers.

However, Golam Faruk, (2014) also found that this began to change in the 2000s, with Saudis subsequently demonstrating a more positive attitude towards the learning of English, in response to two main factors: firstly, the aspiration of the Saudi Economy

(SE) sector to be recognised internationally, particularly among developed countries, which demanded the promotion of the importance of English in schools and colleges. Secondly, the Saudi English Education Policies (SELEP) which promote the teaching and learning English through ideologies aligned with Saudi culture.

This indicates that the political and economic changes in SA may lead to a change of attitude towards English. It should be noted that, although most of the studies reviewed by Golam Faruk did not represent all sectors of Saudi society, they represent the new generation and thus indicate the future direction of Saudis' attitudes towards English.

Faruk (2014) highlighted the introduction of two main governmental efforts in order to improve this negative attitude: firstly, internationalised Saudi English (SE) to help SA secure a position among developed countries, and secondly, the development of Saudi English Language Education Policies (SELEP). This focuses on three components aimed at popularising English among Saudis: firstly, English as a medium to spread Islam, which contends that English should be in line with Islamic teaching; secondly, stressing the importance of English as an international means of communication; and thirdly, that its acquisition is essential to further a career (Abdulrahman & Alamri, 2008). In addition, some negative attitudes towards English could be countered by increasing the number of sojourning students returning to their home country with high level of proficiency in English, and a higher education degree. A number of studies, including those by Dewaele and Wei (2014) and Yim and Clément (2021) have revealed a strong correlation between a positive attitude towards English and educational level. Moreover, the high level of acculturation required, as well as the cultural adjustment and an openness to cultural norms of the host country, generally results in a positive attitude towards translanguaging (Dewaele & Wei, 2014). Translanguaging takes place when a speaker alternates between two or more languages in the context of a single conversation and according to grammatical and interactional rules (Wei, 2018). A further determinacy of positive attitudes includes para-social contact, in the form of exposure to aspects of English language culture, including social media, TV and films (Alrahaili, 2014).

On the other hand, Saudi students also value Arabic as the language of their Arabic and Islamic identity, serving as a medium of maintaining the homogeneity of the Saudi

community, Arabic traditions and tribal allegiances, as well as strengthening family ties (Alrahaili, 2013). Thus, as Arabic needs to be promoted in the fields of education and all aspects of life in SA (Alharbi, 2015, p.87), this can prove a source of tension for sojourning Saudi student parents wishing to balance their children's use of English with their duty to maintain their children's Arabic to maintain the family ties, Arabic traditions, tribal allegiances and Islamic values.

In the context of the above description of cultural, national and religious tensions as well as overlaps, it is unsurprising that Saudi families sojourning in the UK experience challenges and tensions between teaching their children Arabic language to keep them associated to their cultural values, traditions and Saudi social practices and the influence of socio-economic, socio-political and sociolinguistic forces of the UK.

3 Literature Review

3.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the recent research in the field of Family Language Policy (FLP) (King et al., 2008), focusing on the role played by parents, particularly mothers, in children's language learning. The review discusses the emergence of FLP as a concept, according to Spolsky's (2004) language policy model, and introduces the matters of child agency in FLP, language socialisation, and language practices. It then explores the key concepts of FLP, considering its three main components, namely ideology, practices, and management. The salient empirical studies are discussed under each section, highlighting the tensions that arise through child-parent negotiations, the interplay between the external and internal forces in a transnational context, and the developments in the methodological approach to FLP studies, specifically from depending on interviews and reported language practices to employing more ethnographic and naturally-occurring data (De Houwer & Bornstein, 2016). Thirdly, this chapter discusses the external and internal factors that influence FLP (Schwartz, 2010), and the role of parents, in particular mothers, in supporting their children's language learning and shaping the FLP in transnational family contexts. Finally, the chapter introduces certain previous empirical studies that explored Arabic transnational and immigrant families, and their efforts to maintain Arabic while abroad. It should be noted that the term 'first language' (L1) is used interchangeably with a number of other terms, including minority, native, or home language (HL), while the term 'second language' (L2) is designated as the majority and/or community language.

3.2 The emergence of FLP

The term 'FLP' can be defined as explicit (Shohamy, 2006) and overt (Schiffman, 2012) planning regarding the language use and language learning of family members within the home (King et al., 2008, p.907), as well as the implicit processes capable of legitimising certain languages and literacies for family members (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). While FLP as a concept is a relatively recent introduction, the elements involved

have been previously studied from different angles in different research fields, with a focus on language planning and practices. These research fields include childhood language bilingualism, child language acquisition (de Houwer, 1999), language maintenance and shift (Fishman, 2006), and language policy (Spolsky, 2004). The importance of the emergence of FLP as a concept is that it links the separate research fields of language policy and child language acquisition (King et al., 2008). This has instilled FLP as a specific interdisciplinary research field under one theoretical framework and provided a clear methodological approach (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; King et al., 2008) that has made it easier to understand and analyse language use and practices at home.

Before undertaking a discussion of FLP, it is first important to outline the ways language policy both formed the basis of this emerging research field and informed its model (Spolsky, 2004). The aim is to establish how an understanding of language policy and its model facilitates comprehension of FLP. According to Schiffman and Ricento (2006), language policy can be defined as "decision-making about language". They also related this to linguistic culture, which they defined as "the sum totality of ideas, values, beliefs, attitudes, prejudices, myths, religious structures, and all other cultural values that speakers bring to their dealings with language from their culture" (Schiffman & Ricento, 2006, p. 112). Although this definition considered language policy as primarily consisting of decision-making in relation to a specific language and its cultural values, it failed to clarify whether such decisions can be made on a national or an individual level. Moreover, the issue of language policy has long been associated with the solving of language problems on the national level (King et al., 2008), without much attention being paid to the small-scale processes of language decision-making within the environment of the home.

Spolsky (2019) focused on the importance of the individual when it came to managing their own language repertoire, with his study marking the start of a recognition of the role played by families in shaping language policy. In addition, Spolsky (2019) discussed the importance of individuals and private domains (i.e. the home) in relation to language policy decision-making, particularly when dealing with more than one language within a community. He believed that individuals are capable of modifying and developing language through self-modification (or self-language management),

describing self-modification as "speakers modifying and developing their linguistic repertoire and proficiency according to their sociolinguistic environment" (Spolsky, 2019, p. 379). This indicates the influence exerted by the environment on the ways individuals modify their linguistic competence. Moreover, self-modification occurs "when individuals move to a new environment where the pressure to modify and learn languages increase[s]" (Spolsky, 2019, p. 327), as in the case of transnational families.

The process of moving to new environment can therefore be viewed as influencing individuals' modification, development, and learning, particularly when confronted with unfamiliar languages and cultures. This indicates the power of individuals in forming a language policy, defined not only through the authority of a specific community, but also by its individuals. Moreover, Spolsky (2004) highlighted the importance of family in creating its own language policy, viewing it as a community of practice and a social unit capable of establishing its own norms for language use. Furthermore, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1999) and Lanza (2007, p. 45) considered a community of practice as "an aggregate of people who, united by common enterprises, develop and share ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs and values". Thus, the concept of a community of practice can be applied to bilingual families (and members of minority groups) sharing language beliefs, practices, and cultural values, as well as developing their own FLP to suit their language needs through constant negotiation concerning language use and social identity.

This demonstrates that an understanding of how language policy is formed in a transnational context requires firstly, comprehension of individuals' ideologies and practices, as well as management strategies in use within a private domain (i.e. the home) and secondly, consideration of how they deal with multiple languages. This concept of language policy formed the starting point for the emergence of the specific field of FLP. In his work, Spolsky (2004) proposed a language policy model of a community, consisting of three main components: (1) language practices, (2) language ideologies, and (3) language management (see Figure 3-1, below).
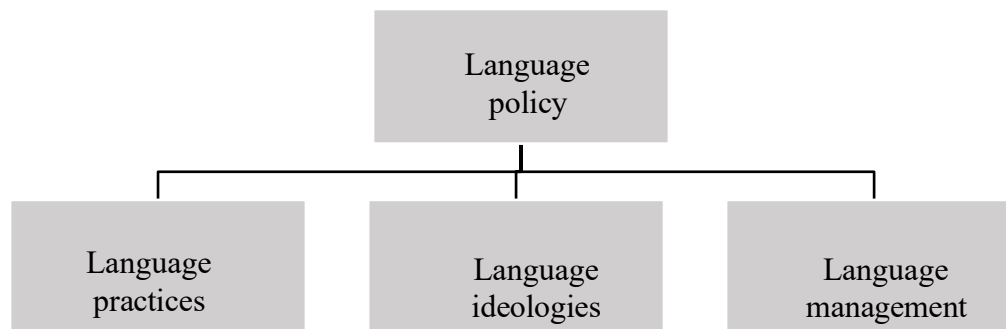
Figure 3-1   Spolsky's (2004) language policy model

Spolsky (2004, p. 9) defined language practices as "the sum of the sound, word and grammatical choices that an individual speaker makes, sometimes consciously and sometimes less consciously, that makes up the conventional unmarked pattern of a variety of language". This indicates that individuals employ both the spoken word and language choices according to the appropriate speech rules within a specific community, either as set down by an authority, or acquired during the process of learning (Spolsky, 2004, p. 8). This also states how, under the pressure of a new environment, individuals can produce unconscious language practices that, over time, become accepted as a norm, and part of an individual's daily interactions.

By contrast, language ideologies refer to general beliefs concerning the appropriate language practices and their use in a specific community, in which there may be many languages containing differing language ideologies (Spolsky, 2004). Language management concerns the 'direct efforts' employed by individuals to "manipulate the language situation", on both the individual and national level (Spolsky, 2004, p. 8). It should be noted that the individual level includes minority groups or families, in particular when one family member attempts to encourage others to use HL. The model proposed by Spolsky (2004) therefore clarified the top-down process of language policy, while the concept of FLP assists in understanding the bottom-up process of bilingual and transnational family practices, along with language maintenance within the home.

Like Splosky's (2004) model, FLP consists of three main aspects (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009): (1) language ideologies (i.e. agreement concerning what is appropriate in specific situations); (2) language practices (i.e. patterns of language use contributing to

the linguistic repertoire of the community); and (3) language management (i.e. the control of language use within a society) (Spolsky, 2004). The importance of FLP lies in its interconnection between macro level forces (i.e. governments, institutions, and schools), and the micro level (i.e. familial influences within the home and between family members (King et al., 2008) (see Figure 3-2, below).
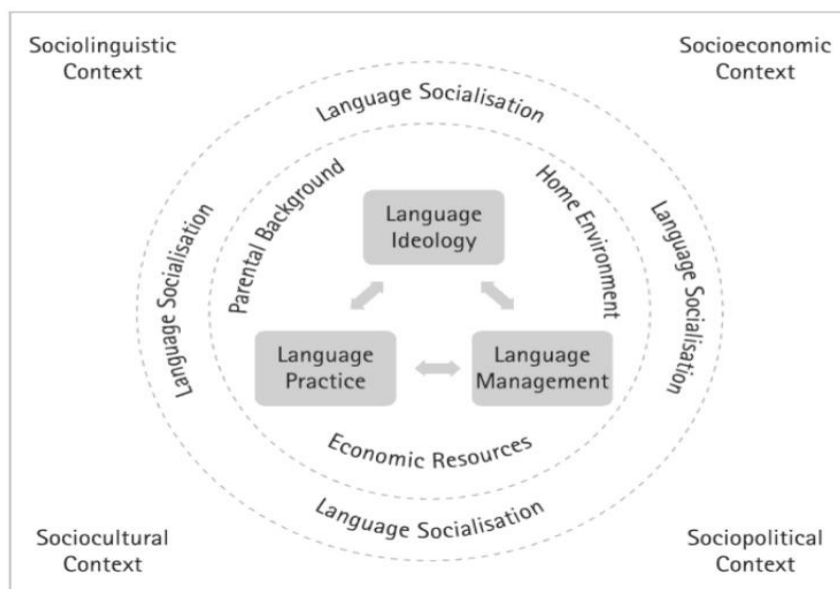
Figure 3-2   *Curdt-Christiansen's (2018) FLP framework*

The framework proposed by Curdt-Christiansen (2018) depicted the external and internal forces contributing to the shaping of FLP. The internal forces included: (1) parental language expectations and experiences; (2) parental language bilingualism; (3) the HL environment; and (4) the economic language resources. The external forces included: sociolinguistic, socioeconomic, sociocultural and socio-political forces, e.g., the state language policy.According to the model, these forces are continuously connected through the process of language socialisation, which can function from both the home to the public domain, and vice versa.

3.2.1   Child agency and language practice

In the context of FLP, agency is defined as the "socioculturally mediated capacity to act" and to have control over action (Ahearn, 2001, p.112) and language use. Agency can also be described as "considering individuals as actors with the ability to make

sense of environment, initiate change, and make choices" (Kuczynski, 2003, p. 9). It is a key aspect of language socialisation, namely socialisation through and into language (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984). As language socialisation can be viewed as a "dynamic network of mutual family influences" (Luykx, 2003, p. 40), language socialisation is a bidirectional and co-constructive process, in which both children and parents socialise each other during their daily interactions (Duranti et al., 2011; Ochs, 1996), in different situations, such as homes and schools.

In transnational families, children are also considered to be active agents with the capacity to influence and reproduce cultural and linguistic practices (Fogle & King, 2013a; Smith-Christmas, 2016). Thus, not only do parents have the ability to socialise their children, the children can also socialise their parents into, or through, languages. For example, children's active agency occurs through their negotiations of their preferred language choices and practices, which might influence their parents' language behaviour (Gafaranga, 2010; Luykx, 2003; 2005). Their agency can take the form of acceptance or resistance (Ahearn, 2001). While Ahearn (2001, p. 113) questioned the extent to which agency must be "conscious, intentional, or effective", Bourdieu (1991) noted that agents can work, or interact, to reach their goals in an unintentional manner. This suggested that children can form their own views and preferences concerning languages, independently from their parents, under the unintentional influence of external forces. Therefore, children form their own language ideologies, national ideologies, and individual views concerning language and parenting through their parent-child interactions (King et al., 2008).

Moreover, through their agency, children can influence their parents' language practices and use at home. Many extant studies (Fogle & King, 2013b; Gafaranga, 2010; Luykx, 2005; Palviainen & Boyd, 2013a; Revis, 2019) highlighted the role of children in immigrant and transnational families in forming FLP, and influencing their parents' language use, either through resistance to, or acceptance of their parents' language practices and choices, and by influencing their parents' language use. In immigrant and transnational contexts, parents can be less competent in the new language than their children, thereby reversing the traditional role of parents and children, as it means that children can have a stronger influence on deciding the HL (Luykx, 2005).

Some previous studies highlighted how children's agency socialises their parents into a majority language. For example, Gafaranga (2010) explored the micro-interactional processes of the language shift to French in the Kinyarwanda community from Rwanda, who were living in Belgium, including how their children succeeded in changing use of HL to French using 'medium request'. The data in this study was collected through multiple resources, i.e. observations, recordings of parent-children conversations, and interviews with the target families. The study found that, during their interactions with parents, the children used medium request primarily to turn the interactions towards the use of French, and so transfer their parents' language choice towards the majority language. This therefore engendered a language shift from Kinyarwanda to French. In particular, the study found that children over the age of five insisted on using French until their parents switched to its use, thereby creating either a monolingual situation, or parallel conversations in both French and Kinyarwanda. This therefore demonstrated the strong influence of immigrant children on the language use of their parents.

Moreover, previous studies found that parents often accommodate their children's needs. For example, Fogle (2013a) conducted a study that investigated 11 transnational adoptive parents, whose adoptee was a native Russian-speaking child. The study concluded that although the adoptive parents were influenced by the national language policy of the society, and preferred to speak English with the adoptee, they reconsidered their FLP, according to their child's educational needs, in order to instil a strong family connection, and to adapt to their cognitive and emotional capacities. Meanwhile, other studies focused on children's discourse strategies and child agency in shaping FLP. For instance, Fogle (2013b) observed different adoptive Russian-English parents and Spanish-English bilingual homes to investigate how their children's agency and language use patterns shaped both the parental language choices and the FLP. The study assessed the child-parent discourses in terms of four aspects: (1) the children's metalinguistic comments, (2) the children's use of resistance, (3) the enactments of family regarding the external ideologies of race and language, and (4) the age of the children and the family background.

Language practices are formed and established through child-parent daily interactions. In their research, Fogle and King (2013) studied families that consisted of English-speaking parents and at least one adopted child over the age of five. The first strand of

the study concerned a Russian adoptive family, while the second was a longitudinal case study of two families attempting to promote English-Spanish bilingualism for their young children. All of the families were transnational, with the parents, carers, and children rooted in two national contexts. The study investigated how the children's active agency played a key role in shaping their parents' ideologies and practices. By analysing the parent-child discourse, the findings of the three contexts demonstrated the importance of children's role in transnational families for constructing the FLP, as the members of these families had different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. It was through the daily re-negotiation of these differences that new family roles and relationships were shaped.

The study by Hua (2008) explored the ability of children to challenge (and resist) their parents' cultural values, as well as to exploit their active agency. Specifically, the study investigated the social and cultural negotiations of diasporic Chinese family members living in the UK, in particular child-parent interactions, and the negotiation of their identities and values through the sequential organisation of Code-Switching (CS), i.e. Chinese/English. The analysis of the families' audio-recorded conversations revealed a number of intergenerational conflicts regarding the identities and values concerned, particularly as the children used the English pronouns 'you', 'I', and 'me' to negotiate their cultural values and emphasise their personal independence. The study also found that, despite the stereotype of the obedient Chinese child, the children frequently challenged their parents and displayed very different behaviours from Chinese cultural norms.

Meanwhile, Palvianen and Boyd (2013) investigated how Swedish-Finnish parents used the One Parent, One Language (OPOL) strategy at home, in which each parent speaks a separate native language, and how their children played a key role in negotiating the FLP. The analysis of the interviews with the parents, and the audio-recordings of the families' conversations showed that their FLP was shaped by explicit and implicit planning, and the study concluded that the children played an agentive role in co-constructing the FLP and in shaping their own language ideologies.

The more recent ethnographic longitudinal study by Revis (2019) observed the language use and interactions of parent-child participants in Ethiopian and Colombian

refugee families in New Zealand. The data was collected through interviews with the mothers and recording of the daily interactions of the three families concerned. The study found that the children influenced their parents' socialisation practices through their metalinguistic comments, medium request, language brokering, sociocultural socialisation, and majority language teaching. The children thereby mediated between their HL culture and host society and affected how their parents implemented language management. The study recommended that the targeting of children, along with their parents, may be beneficial for promoting language maintenance efforts.

Community language ideologies can be reflected by the language preferences and attitudes of children in transnational families (Schwartz, 2018), who play a more active role than their parents in selecting the language used within the family, due to the fact that they bring home the language of their school. Thus, the age of children is critical for determining their role in shaping FLP. The study by Luykx (2005) indicated the important role played by school-aged children in shaping the FLP in transnational families, arguing that in transnational families the direction of parent-child socialisation reverses, because in the host country the children have greater access to certain linguistic resources, such as schools, while their parents have less access to such resources.

Tuominen (1999) interviewed eighteen multilingual families in order to investigate how parents maintained and transmitted HL to their children. The research covered a wide range of multilingual families, with a variety of backgrounds, to determine any similarities between parental efforts to maintain HL. The study found that policies frequently impacted the views and practices of the school age children, with those from multilingual families "socialising their parents instead of being socialised by them" (Tuominen, 1999, p. 73). Moreover, Spolsky (2004) highlighted that children can resist using a minority language, preferring to employ the majority language both at home and in public, in response to their high degree of sensitivity (Caldas & Caron-Caldas, 2002). Caldas and Caron-Caldas (2002) found that parents with positive attitudes towards bilingualism, and in possession of sufficient educational and financial resources, are more able to enforce their role, along with strategies supporting their efforts in HL maintenance. These findings, although based solely on interviews, were nevertheless significant.

School-aged children in transnational families and communities are often in the process of forming their ideologies regarding language and language users (Morren López, 2012); their ideologies are therefore not stable, instead they continue to change and develop, forming sets of beliefs around language and language users that might differ from those of their parents. The study by Morren López (2012) investigated the language ideologies expressed by children in their first grade at school in a dual education programme (Spanish/English) in the US. The analysis of the data collected from observations, audio recordings of student interactions, and a sample of the students' writings, found that some of the participants had developed an understanding of the official classroom language while building their identities and relationships during their first grade, as well as recognising their ability to use Spanish. Moreover, some of the students expressed more positive ideologies about using Spanish than others, although the process of the formation of their language ideologies as bilinguals could be expected to evolve, and to be influenced by many factors in their school, home, and the wider society.

The differences between children's perceptions of their identity and language preferences formed when living in a both a new environment and that of their parents can engender conflict or possible incongruence between parental language ideologies and community expectations, due to the family's desire to protect the HL and values, and their children's language preferences that are influenced by the societal language of their school. The interplay of external factors, such as school, and the internal influences of the family have the potential to create contradictory language ideologies between parents and children (Morren López, 2012). This can cause incongruence in language practices and choices within the home, particularly in the context of majority and minority languages. Consequently, parents might employ specific language practices to maintain their language identity, such as only speaking the minority language, or using CS or translanguaging, namely changing between two or more varieties of language within a single conversation (Wei, 2018). However, because children's views concerning their identity can differ from that of their parents once they enter school and start building their own identity and language preferences, they can use a number of other linguistic practices to build their own identity, such as speaking the majority language. In addition, parental mixing of languages, including following

their children's choices, can sometimes occur unconsciously, as it is normal for interlocutors to participate in speech interactions without knowing whether, when, and what they are mixing (Lanza, 2004). Moreover, in the case of bilingual families, parents often attempt to accommodate their young children's language needs to encourage their individual agency by lowering their own speech to the child's level, and concurrently expanding the children's speech (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984; Zentella, 2005), a practice that can be understood by older children as approval to use the majority language.

3.3 The three main components of FLP

3.3.1 Language ideologies in FLP

Languages represent the identity and cultural values of individuals and groups (Schieffelin et al., 1998), therefore in order to understand FLP, it necessary to first understand language ideologies.

Language ideologies are defined as the social and cultural concepts possessed by language users regarding the forms and use of languages (Blommaert, 2006). Furthermore, linguistic ideologies consist of shared social and cultural beliefs, as well as attitudes, capable of influencing and controlling the social interpretations and practices of communities and their members (van Dijk, 1998). The importance of language ideology relates to its role as the driving force of language policy, practice, and planning (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). In FLP, the term 'language ideologies' refers to explicit social concepts reflecting the following. Firstly, historical and economic values related to a specific language, as well as its political power and social function (Curdt-Christiansen, 2014, 2016). Secondly, the evaluative perceptions of a particular language by its speakers, along with its use, based on the beliefs and assumptions of a specific society in relation to its social utility, power, and value (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). These explicit concepts, and implicit evaluations, impact the language practices of a society's members at both the national and family levels (De Houwer, 1999; Spolsky, 2007). In addition, they are formed consciously and subconsciously through the interplay of a number of factors: firstly, micro forces, related to the home, school, and wider community; and secondly, macro forces (i.e. political or socioeconomic) at the national level.

Parents' ideas, beliefs, and attitudes regarding how their children acquire languages,

and their role in this process shapes, to a large degree, their children's linguistic environments appears to have a substantial impact on the parents' linguistic behaviour, namely their language practices and management, of their children's language use, which in turn are strong determinants of their children's language development (de Houwer, 1999, p177; Lanza, 2007.

As family is "porous, open to influence and interests from other broader social forces and institutions" (Canagarajah, 2008, p. 171), FLP in transnational families and transnational parents' ideologies can be influenced by macro and micro forces, and it is through the interplay between these forces that FLP is co-constructed and reconstructed (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; 2014; 2018; Palviainen & Boyd, 2013a; 2013b). The micro and macro factors will be discussed later in sections 3.4 and 3.5. These macro or external forces, which are often at a national level, can be classified as firstly, the sociolinguistic force, for instance parents' beliefs concerning the acceptable use of language in a certain country; secondly, sociocultural forces, namely cultural values; thirdly, socioeconomic forces, namely the economic values assigned to each language; and fourthly, sociopolitical forces, such as language policies at governmental and school levels (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018) (see Figure 3.2). Micro and implicit forces, such as the home environment, the family background, the home literacy environment, parents' expectations, parents' education and language experience, and parental knowledge of bilingualism (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009), also influence parents' language use regarding their children's language learning. These implicit factors tend to be "embedded in the unconscious linguistic culture", which "can influence the outcomes of policy making" (Schiffman & Ricento, 2006, p. 112).

Curdt-Christiansen (2009) undertook an ethnographic examination of ten Chinese families living in Canada, whose language ideologies were influenced by: (1) their language experience; (2) their views about being a minority; and (3) the socio-political power assigned to the English language. This study demonstrated that the English language was viewed as linguistic capital, and thus associated with economic value and advantages (Bourdieu, 1991). Furthermore, several previous studies also reported parents' desire for their children to be bi-multilingual, in response to the socio-economic linguistic capital of the majority language (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; Kang, 2013; Leung & Uchikoshi, 2012). According to Bourdieu (1977a), languages have

value, and individuals who are willing to learn those languages are seen to possess a higher value, with this linguistic capital offering opportunities and advantages, both locally and globally. This reflects the fact that English possesses an international cultural, linguistic, and economic value (Bourdieu, 1977a; 1977b) that generally helps its speakers to secure good positions globally, resulting in the language tending to be seen as more competitive than the HL.

Micro forces also contribute to shaping parents' language ideologies by either promoting the use of the native language, or by shifting to the majority language. The high expectations held by many parents of transnational families, namely a familial factor, can maintain a strong connection between their cultural values and their experience as immigrants (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009) that can be a driving force for maintaining the HL. Furthermore, Riches and Curdt-Christiansen (2010) also found in their comparative studies of Chinese immigrant families and English families whose their children attended French schools in Montréal, that aspirational parents tended to be more closely involved in the education of their children (Swain & Lapkin, 1982), as well as more likely to participate in home literacy activities, i.e. self-created homework and tutored learning sessions. Moreover, by analysing fieldnotes of families' observations and semi-structured interviews the authors found that parental expectations were found to encourage L2 use at home, particularly if linked to economic value and academic achievement. In addition, Li (2006) demonstrated the presence of a relationship between the high expectations of Asian immigrant students in the United States (US) and Canada, and their children's academic achievement.

A further significant micro factor that shapes parents' ideologies concerns their previous language experience. The study by Nakamura (2016) found that multilingual parents' previous language experience informed micro factors influencing the language ideologies of mothers in bilingual Thai families living in Japan, prompting them to speak Japanese with their children. This was due to the early exposure of their older children to their mother tongue, resulting in slow second language development, which resulted in the family speaking the majority language (i.e. Japanese) with the younger children. Moreover, the findings showed that other external forces, e.g., political, economic and sociocultural forces emphasised the parents' use of Japanese with their children in these multilingual families.

This characteristic was also reported by Hua and Wei (2016) in their sociolinguistic and ethnographic study of three multilingual and transnational families from China living in the UK. The study illustrated how experiences impacted family dynamics in their everyday lives, including their construction of identity and the creation of relationships. In addition, the study focused on the various ways differing generations addressed multilingualism (including the influence of previous experience on their perception of social relationships and structures), thus identifying the need to focus on the strategies employed to deal with the related challenges. The study attempted to detect any changes in the course of the participants' self-reflection, in particular by focusing on: firstly, how they both articulated and positioned themselves in their metalanguage, and secondly, on the commentaries of language practices as lived experience. This revealed that residence in a multilingual community can exert an influence over parents' language ideologies. In addition, it demonstrated that the multilingual experience and language strategies of transnational families have the potential to assist in dealing with the challenges they face when living in the diaspora. This finding was supported by the study of Gogonas and Kirsch (2018), who explored the language ideologies and management strategies of two Greek families living in Luxembourg. By analysing field notes based on observations of parents and informal interviews with the children and their parents, the findings identified contrasting language ideologies and strategies, which were in turn influenced by transnational experiences, thereby demonstrating that such families employed their resources abroad to enhance their FLP. The findings also showed parents' perceptions of multilingualism, and how they considered it as educational and economic assets.

In transnational families, the macro and micro factors and language ideologies involved can prove to be a source of educational and social tensions and conflict (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016) This can result in these families facing considerable challenges in dealing with the tensions between the external forces, namely the realities of the country they have moved to, for example when the explicit language policy at the national level differs from that of individual communities and institutions (Spolsky, 2004). Such families use the opportunity to learn the dominant language, in part due to their desire to fit into mainstream society on arrival. Meanwhile, internal forces are also

at play, namely what the families want, such as to maintain their HL, and to retain their cultural values and family and religious ties. Furthermore, the influence of broader societal language ideologies apply pressure on parents, including the inability to continue using a minority language in the monolingual society of the host country (Canagarajah, 2008; Seloni & Sarfati, 2013), in order to meet the education and social demands of the host country. Families in this context can ascribe less importance to using their HL, in order to attain social acceptance and academic and economic advantages.

The home domain is often the centre of the interplay between these forces, and it is through this interplay that family members' language ideologies are formed and developed, contributing to shaping and reshaping their FLP. For instance, the home environment can be influenced by schools and the wider community (Leung & Uchikoshi, 2012), such as political decisions regarding the language of education, which can impact families' language ideologies and language use. Furthermore, Curdt-Christiansen (2016) explored this conflict between internal and external forces. This study examined the overt language policy of education in Singapore, which emphasises the importance of the heritage languages (i.e. Chinese, Malay, and Indian), in conjunction with children's educational achievements and the economic value associated with English, alongside the FLP of three multilingual families representing the three main ethnic groups in Singapore. The findings revealed a considerable degree of conflict between the parents' stated beliefs concerning language, including its reported use (i.e. during the interviews conducted for the study), and their actual practices, as evidenced by video recordings of family conversations. This demonstrated that parents were frequently obliged, both intentionally and unintentionally, to use English in their everyday interactions in response to the perceived importance of their children's educational achievements, as well as the economic value associated with English. By contrast, they associated official HLs (i.e. Chinese, Malay, and Indian) with cultural value.

The study by Curdt-Christiansen and Wang (2018) explored how middle-class Chinese parents in China perceived English and their Chinese languages (i.e. Putonghua and Fangyans), alongside their role in facilitating (or limiting) their children's language development in all three languages. Data collection was undertaken through interviews,

recordings of family conversations and activities, observations, and material artefacts, and demonstrated that the parents exerted a strong influence over the linguistic changes within the home environment in an urban Chinese context. In addition, the parents' agency was impacted by their concept of the three languages, demonstrating that they were less emotionally and culturally connected to the minority language (i.e. Fangyan), in the face of more competitive languages (i.e. Putonghua and English), which were considered to have greater practical and educational value. Moreover, the parents were influenced by Chinese cultural beliefs, which place a high a value on the importance of education and academic achievement, and therefore translated into their proactive agency in managing their children's language learning.

The study conducted by Little (2020) explored the attitudes of 212 HL families regarding how their heritage language was maintained and supported at home in the UK. The study employed questionnaires and interviews with ten of the families, with its main contribution being to provide a framework for conceptualising HL identities and understanding the motivation behind maintaining a HL. The findings also confirmed the importance of the following: firstly, the role of siblings in promoting HL; secondly, the role of schools in promoting majority language use at home; thirdly, tensions between parents and children regarding learning HL; and finally, how technology can help parents to enforce the use of the HL within the home.

Furthermore, Sevinç (2016) explored how the Turkish language was either maintained or shifted among three generations of a Turkish minority group in the Netherlands. The data was collected using interviews and questionnaires, with the findings revealing a number of differences between the language practices of the three generations, as well as the impact of proficiency and age resulting in intergenerational conflict, both within families, and between the families and other public social domains, i.e. schools.

Therefore, as these studies demonstrated, the explicit ideology of a particular language within a community might not concur with the ideology of a family's FLP. The resulting conflicts are often reflected in the incongruence between family language practices and their language ideologies, with different family members adopting different ideologies. Despite the claim of some parents to be consistent in following specific strategies to address language use within the home, the results of many studies,

including those by Curdt-Christiansen (2016) and Palviainen and Boyd (2013), revealed that, in reality, they generally failed to maintain a consistent choice of language in their interactions with their children, or to make a clear separation between languages (de Houwer & Bornstein, 2016; Spolsky, 2004). Some parents claimed to follow a strict FLP, using only the minority language at home, while simultaneously adopting their children's use of CS (Lanza, 2004), indicating that the active agency of children has the potential to influence their parents' choice of language. Moreover, Wei (2012) observed that this unintentional use of language and planning was revealed by the parents' language practices. This suggests that it is not feasible to investigate FLP without referring to the broader social and cultural context(s), as well as gaining an understanding of the ideologies of the individuals concerned, in order to understand the implicit language practices within the home context.

3.3.2   Language practices

According to Schwartz (2010), linguistic practices are the habitual patterns of language choice and preferences within a family, in relation to different contexts. The conceptions of linguistics practices are influenced by parental language attitudes and ideologies, which can vary between negative and positive (Lanza, 2007). The importance of linguistic practices is that it reveals the implicit language ideologies and attitudes of the family members concerned, which is vital in understanding the formation of language policy within the home domain, or within any given community (Lanza, 2007; Spolsky, 2004).

A number of previous studies examined the role of parental language practices, in order to understand the language ideologies that contributed to shaping FLP and to making language decisions (Curdt- Christiansen, 2009; 2013; Curdt-Christiansen & Morgia, 2018; de Houwer & Bornstein, 2016). Parents are considered to possess the primary responsibility for their children's language development and for maintaining the HL and its cultural values, and it is through their negotiation of these values with their children that their FLP is shaped. One of the most important language practices in bilingual families is parental discourse strategies (PDS). The matter was explored by Lanza (2004) in the context of parent-child interactions, and the study found that PDS were critical for determining the language use at home. In the study, the various forms

of PDS were classified as minimal grasp, in which the parents showed no understanding of their children's language choices; expressed guess, in which the parents used yes-no questions to confirm their understanding; repetition, in which the parents repeated their child's statement in the parents' native language; move-on, in which the parents continued the conversation; and CS. Specifically, Lanza (2004) investigated the language mixing of two infants from two bilingual families, namely Norwegian and English, living in Norway. The analysis of the parent-child interactions and conversations indicated that the young children were able to differentiate between languages, and to CS, according to the interlocutors and context. Another interesting finding was that despite the parents' declared FLP of using the OPOL approach, in reality they used CS with their children. This supported the finding of other studies that the declared parental language policy does not always match the actual language practices. Moreover, this study, along with those previously discussed, reflects the typical methodological approaches taken by current FLP research. Many of these studies employ diverse methodologies, including taped (or video recorded) examples of routine family interactions, as well as triangulating methods to provide more authentic data, following a qualitative research approach (Schwartz, 2010).

Previous studies found that language strategies other than those already discussed are also employed frequently by bi/multilingual families. These include the following:

- Minority Language-at-Home (mL@H). This is when both parents speak the minority language within the home;

- Translanguaging or mixed. This is when two or three languages are used interchangeably;

- Time and place: This is when children learn a second or third language in specific environment (Barron-Hauwaert, 2011, p.39).

One issue that can arise is the potential to overlap these strategies. For example, parents employing OPOL might interchange their designated language with that of their partner. Furthermore, these typologies do not cover all the patterns of language use among bilingual family members, which can also include those used by parents when

speaking to each other, and those used between siblings (Lanza & Svendsen, 2007), or even with extended family members. Furthermore, all these language practices can vary, according to the type of bi/multilingual family, highlighting the need to investigate various types of transnational families during interactions with family members, in order to gain further understanding of their language-use patterns, reflecting the socio-cultural changes they face (Schwartz, 2010), with the potential to add to the language strategies documented to date.

A recent study by Yousef (2022) focussed on Arabic transnational families living in Australia, including the language strategies they employed to promote bilingualism (i.e. English and Arabic) while living abroad. The study analysed interviews with four mothers, alongside focused group discussions and language background questionnaires, to determine that the families used five strategies to enhance their children's bilingualism: (1) the minority language at home; (2) mixed language strategies; (3) watching TV shows; (4) reading stories; and (5) traveling back to their home countries. Although these families found the strategy of using the minority language at home proved beneficial, they experienced a number of challenges when it came to maintaining consistency, in response to various factors, i.e. children's agency.

Various factors influence parental language strategies and practices, including parents' language attitude, family ethnicity, and the status of certain languages in the community, affecting the parental language policy (Tang & Calafato, 2022) of different types of families in different contexts, causing variations in children's language outcomes (Gafaranga, 2010). These variations are due to the influence of different factors, and an inconsistency in families' language polices, along with parents' language practices and approaches to their children's bilingualism (King et al., 2008).

The study by Dumanig et al. (2013) investigated how the parents in 30 bilingual families in Malaysia influenced the language choices at home. The families concerned differed in terms of many variables, including age, socio-economic status, ethnicity, length of residence in Malaysia, and education level. The study found that, despite the efforts of the Malaysian government to encourage the use of Malay in schools, the families preferred to use English as the common language of communication among family members, because of its prestigious status, and association with greater

economic opportunities; moreover, English was the common medium of communication for the mothers, who were Filipino, and could not speak the heritage language.

Additionally, peers or siblings strongly influence each other's language choice, as well as the parents' language practices. Paugh (2005) used video and audio recordings to investigate children's interactions during roleplay at both home and school with their peers or siblings. The study found that, despite adults placing sanctions on using Patwa (i.e. the HL of Dominica) in favour of English, the children employed their HL during roleplay when it involved specific places, thus imitating actual adult interactions. This finding provided a number of insights into the linguistic agency of the children and their siblings.

The case study by King and Logan-Terry (2008) addressed the language patterns and strategies adopted by carers in American-English families who were attempting to speak their second language (Spanish). Two of the families had full-time nannies, and explored the language patterns employed to help the children achieve additive bilingualism in Spanish. The mothers in these middle-class families used their L2, Spanish, with their children, and their nannies also spoke in Spanish, while the father used English. Analysing the data obtained from the interviews, monthly written reflections by care takers, audio recordings, parents' report about their children's communication skills and monthly logs of the families' language use, the findings showed that, while the caretakers increased the quantity of language spoken, they did not enhance its complexity. Moreover, while both the mothers and the nannies were committed to speaking Spanish with the children, they used a 'move on' strategy to reply to the children's English responses, and the mothers incorporated their children's English utterances in their own speech, while the nannies undertook a teaching role, correcting and prompting the children. Therefore, the misalignment between explicit language policies and implicit language practices can cause inconsistent language use at home, as well as an ineffective language policy.

Recent FLP research highlighted the fact that family members tend to construct their FLP in a collaborative manner with other family members (Curdt-Christiansen & Lanza, 2018; King, 2013; King & Lanza, 2019; Wilson, 2020), with more focus on the

importance of the children's views and role in shaping FLPs and influencing parental practices. This has shifted the FLP research focus and methodological approach (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016; Schwartz & Verschik, 2013) to the role of children and child agency, as it is through child-parent interactions that families negotiate their language practices, in terms of their sociocultural values, and they consequently co-construct their FLP (King et al., 2008).

3.3.3 Language management

The third component of FLP concerns *language management*, which Spolsky (2009, p. 4) defined as "the explicit and observable efforts by a person or a group that either has or can claim authority over participants in a domain to modify their language practices or beliefs". In addition, Curdt-Christiansen (2012, p. 57) defined the term in relation to the family domain as "the implicit/explicit and subconscious/deliberate parental involvement and investment in providing linguistic conditions and context for language learning and literacy development". The importance of language management at home includes the maintenance of the HL (King et. al., 2008) in transnational and immigrant families. Language maintenance can be defined as "the continuing use of a language in the face of competition from a regionally and socially powerful or numerically stronger language" (Mesthrie 1999, p. 42). In this study language management denoted the deliberate parental strategies used to maintain the HL, Arabic, in the context of transnational Saudi student families, who are required to manage the use of more than one language (Arabic and English).

A number of previous studies demonstrated how parents use deliberate language planning when managing their children's language learning (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; 2016; Fogle & King, 2013; Okita, 2002). The degree of parents' involvement in managing their children's language literacy and use is influenced greatly by their language ideologies. The study by Curdt-Christiansen (2013) of three bilingual English-Chinese families living in Singapore analysed the daily homework practices, and how the mothers employed different strategies, either deliberately or unintentionally, in their daily interactions with their children, in order to negotiate their language choices and to promote bilingualism in a multilingual community, in which English held a significant political and social position. The study found that English dominated the private domain

of the family during mother-child conversations related to homework, and that the parents had different degrees of language control and involvement in their homework sessions with their children, according to their language ideologies. This indicated the power of the national education policy, and showed that parental language ideologies can be contradictory, with cultural values often negotiated in the child-parent interactions.

Said (2021) explored the role of Arabic language ideologies, as well as the home literacy, of two multilingual families living in the UK, including in relation to their children's Arabic literacy. The study used a survey, audio recordings, and interviews with the parents, demonstrating: firstly, that Arabic language ideologies were the driving force behind the parents' language practices and management, and secondly, the challenges faced by the mothers when teaching Arabic, in particular due to its diglossic nature, and the shortage of Arabic materials.

Language attitudes, and socio-cultural background were often reported by previous studies to be a determining factor influencing families' literacy activities. For example, Curdt-Christiansen and Morgia (2018) explored how FLP can be managed through literacy resources and literacy-related activities in transnational families living in the UK with a variety of ethnic and linguistic backgrounds, i.e. Chinese, Italian, and Urdu. The study examined the literacy resources and activities available to these families in both their HL and English. The analysis of the language background questionnaires, along with the interviews with parents, revealed divergent language practices, both within the family, and also when it came to attitudes towards mother-tongue literacy. Although such language management tended to be motivated by parental aspirations to enrich their children's language repertoire, the degrees of variation in family language input indicated that socio-cultural and socio-political realities prevented the families from developing their children's HL literacy.

This proved a significant observation as, despite parents' use of their HL generally enhancing their children's chances of acquiring the language, it is language literacy itself that was found to enhance this learning. In addition, all three groups of families reported reading more frequently in English than their HL on a daily basis, with the Italian families owning the highest number of books in both languages, and the Pakistani

families the lowest.

Due to their inexperience in managing two languages at home, some parents may lack an explicit initial decision regarding their FLP, and this is often the case in transnational families, where there is an absence of awareness or knowledge of FLP (Shohamy & Spolsky, 2000a), engendering the eventual decision for its management emerging in a spontaneous manner (Schwartz, 2010). This unplanned behaviour can be due to a shortage of specialised information, and a lack of awareness of the availability of bilingual education. Another difficulty faced by bilingual parents is the commitment to using or maintaining the HL. Nevertheless, there are a number of factors that can serve to enhance transnational families' commitment to using the HL: first, an influx of new immigrants speaking the same language; second, the number of speakers present who were born in the home country; third, the existence of positive attitudes towards the HL; and finally, pride in the family's cultural heritage (Garcia, 2003; Urzúa & Gómez. 2008).

While many transnational families face challenges caused by a shortage of appropriate literacy materials and resources (Hashimoto & Lee, 2011; Yousef, 2022), parental efforts to maintain HL and provide sufficient supporting materials can be supported by establishing strong family traditions and cultural values related to the minority language, or by seeking external support (Schwartz, 2010), such as providing reading materials and literacy resources in the HL (Tse, 2001). Moreover, parents can engage in various beneficial activities, including enrolling their children in lessons, hosting or visiting relatives, or providing HL television channels, along with a literacy rich environment. Curdt-Christiansen and Silver (2012) addressed the enactment of educational policy in primary school English classes in Singapore. The study employed observation, audio-video recordings, and artefacts collected from students during their English lessons. The findings demonstrated that literacy resources, (i.e. storybooks, non-fiction texts, and assessment workbooks) can provide children with both structured and non-structured methods of engaging with bilingual development. Furthermore, the researchers revealed that adults were able to shape the children's multilingual development by establishing an implicit and imperceptible FLP, in which literacy activities formed an aspect of their everyday lived experience.

Furthermore, language practices and management strategies can be mediated digitally. The patterns and structure of transnational families, along with their methods of communication, has been transformed by the increasing use of technology and social media. In particular, this has helped transnational families to remain connected with their country of origin, and to share their language ideologies (Lanza, 2019). The study by Piller and Gerber (2018) explored bilingual parents' use of an online parenting forum to exchange experiences and challenges. This highlights how bi-multilingual parents employ social media and online blogs to create an online public space, in which to negotiate their language ideologies. Meanwhile, the study by Said (2021b) explored the role of technology in transmitting and managing the HL at home. The analysis of the data gained from a background survey, audio recordings, and parental interviews showed that technology was used as a language management tool to enrich linguistic practices at home. The study also found that the support technology provided for mothers reduced their anxiety about their children's HL language development.

Additionally, a qualitative case study conducted by Al-Salmi and Smith (2015) examined how mothers used their experience of transnational literacy, influenced by digital technologies, to support both their own, and their children's, biliteracy. The study assessed mothers' use of digital technologies for supporting their children's language and literacy development in a new country, namely the US, and for communicating with their family members and friends in their home country and other international contexts. The findings revealed that, alongside learning the digital skills necessary to support their children in learning English and Arabic, the mothers also acquired new words in both languages, namely English and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA).

3.4 The impact of implicit and explicit FLP on child language outcomes

The term 'explicit FLP' denotes the overt planning involved with such policies (King et al., 2008; Lanza & Lexander, 2019), while 'implicit FLP' refers to covert planning within the home domain (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013b; Wei, 2012). The actual language practices of multilingual and transnational families reveal both latent language ideologies and implicit FLP (Lanza & Gomes, 2020). A number of recent studies have explored both the implicit and covert aspects of language planning (i.e. the underlying

language ideologies), through studying family language practices in multilingual transcultural families (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013; Palviainen & Boyd, 2013; Schwartz, 2010). A number of these studies (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016; de Houwer, 1999; King, 2000; Kopeliovich, 2010; Palviainen & Boyd, 2013; Schwartz, 2010a; Spolsky, 2004) have reported that implicit policies are more likely to diverge from explicit FLP, as well as the declared language ideologies of one (or both) parents, or from family statements concerning actions. This can also vary from their actual practice, with the strategies followed consciously or unconsciously as part of the parents' language use with their children having the ability to influence both language and child outcomes. This incongruence is often due to the influence of the children's agency, as they are socialised in the host country's schools and bring home the host country's languages, practices and cultures. In addition to the influence of other external or internal forces, transnational families are often subjected to negotiating their language practices with their children on a daily basis.

In addition, Wei's (2012) study of the impact of FLP on language practices noted that linguistic choices in FLP revealed implicit language planning, so enabling FLP to be either overt in nature, or managed implicitly within the home domain (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). This implied the need to remain cautious when attempting to understand the nature of FLP within the home, as well as the asserted relationship between the language ideologies, and both actual practices and language management. These qualitative studies triangulated their methodological approaches and methodologies, including taping or video recording families' daily interactions (Schwartz, 2010). Since interviews alone are insufficient for exploring the transnational language ideologies, practices, and management of families, this approach enhanced the authenticity of the data, and provided an accurate picture of those practices capable of eliciting the explicit and implicit language policies concerned. This formed an issue of concern for the current researcher, and thus led to me to include naturally-occurring data in this study relating to the daily conversations of family members.

The rapid increase in transnational migration has engendered diverse methodological approaches to the field of FLP research. This is in order to encompass the range of types of such families and their cultural backgrounds, along with the languages and contexts they encounter in their host countries, and subsequently in their FLP (Palvianen,

2020; Lanza & Vold Lexander, 2020). This led King (2016) and Lanza and Wei (2016) to call for investigations into diverse types of families, in terms of their languages and social and cultural contexts, in order to facilitate understanding of how families, including transnational families, form their identity through language. Since wider family loyalties and heritage lie in tensions with schools and community languages, and child/sibling agency lies in tension with parental agency, the explicit FLP is likely to be subject to much fluctuation in practice. There is currently some understanding of the implicit and explicit differences in these matters, but little regarding the factors and agencies that dominate in transnational contexts and families, and influence their language socialisation

This study found that parents need to be committed to employing and teaching HL when using explicit FLP to promote its use within the home to maintain their children's native language and bilingual development (Romero et al., 2004). Moreover, this use of HL is crucial in ensuring it is maintained, as well as its transmission to subsequent generations (Mu & Dooley, 2015). Studies by De Houwer (1999) and Lanza (2004) concluded that HL transmission can be facilitated by parental attitudes and beliefs, alongside interactions with their children, as well as harmonious family relationships (Fogle & King, 2013; Tannenbaum & Howie, 2002). However, the use of implicit FLP translated into language practices, can, for a number of reasons, prove inconsistent with explicit FLP. As discussed above, child agency forms one of the main factors influencing parents' consistency in maintaining and developing their HL. Children's active agency can create contradictory language practices at home, as well as incongruence between their parents' language ideologies, and actual use (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; de Houwer, 1999; King, 2000; Kopeliovich, 2010). This leads to difficulties for bilingual parents to socialise their children into their HL, resulting in the need for parents to exert considerable effort and draw up strategies to enhance their language ideologies.

Some parents vary in their efforts and investment in maintaining their children's education and biliteracy language, due to their language beliefs. This is called "impact beliefs" (de Houwer, 1999, p.83), namely, their ability to "exercise some sort of control over their children's linguistic functioning", and to control their children's language learning (King et al., 2008). Impact belief determines parents' efforts, and the degree of

their involvement in their children's language literacy. Parents sometimes have a strong impact belief; for example, when parents are confident in their ability to influence their children's language learning, and follow a strategy of reward and punishment, in order to promote certain linguistic practices in their children (Lanza, 2007); while others can lack, or have a weak impact belief, believing they can exert little influence over their children's language practices. This demonstrates a reduced ability to engage in language intervention to support a specific language, revealing a consequent lack of control, frequently resulting in an ineffective FLP (Curdt-Christiansen, 2020; de Houwer, 1999; Nakamura, 2019).

In their study, Park and Sakar (2007) found that Korean immigrant parents' pride in their heritage culture and identity while living in Canada helped to foster heritage language maintenance (HLM) among their minority language children. The analysis of the data obtained from questionnaires and interviews found that the Korean language was associated with economic, cultural, and social values. Attitudes towards bilingualism exert a considerable influence on language use at home, while parents' attitudes impact their children's learning of the heritage language. The study by Gibbons and Ramirez (2004) reported that Spanish teenagers in Australia were influenced by their parents' positive attitudes towards Spanish, which encouraged them to have positive attitudes to familiarising themselves with the HL and home culture, as well as to resist using the dominant language.

Meanwhile, the study of immigrant Russian families by Kopeliovich (2010) noted discrepancies between ideology and practice within the family home when the parents attempted to maintain their Russian language and culture. This included being unable, due to their children's linguistic and social practices, to practice their preferred language ideology. The analysis of the data obtained from both observations and tape-recorded interviews revealed that it was vital the parents revisited and modified their language management strategies to suit their children's needs. In addition, they needed to adopt more flexible strategies to avoid confrontation with their children, including any consequent resistance to learning the heritage language, in particular by allowing them to use their preferred language at home. Moreover, the discrepancy between the mothers' language ideologies and practices at the linguistic structural level was found to weaken their efforts at language management.

Furthermore, the analysis of mother-child interaction revealed many instances of combining Hebrew and Russian elements within the mothers' discourse (Schawrtz, 2010). Moreover, the indirect strategies employed by fathers to use Russian were found to be more effective than the mothers' practice of imposing strategies, accompanied by pressure to speak Russian. The study concluded that broader and familial factors led to the mothers struggling with feelings of dissatisfaction concerning their inability to maintain HL and follow a consistent language management strategy, i.e. their children's resistance, time pressures, and the socioeconomic problems encountered when settling into a new country. This demonstrates that inconsistency on the part of parents can increase children's resistance to learning HL (Okita, 2002).

Furthermore, Pavlenko (2004) examined the issue of language choice in relation to parents' emotions. Using qualitative and quantitative analyses of online multilingual and emotions questionnaires, the study found that one of the key factors influencing the use of language in bilingual families was the perceived language emotionality and cross-linguistic differences in affective repertoires, and that the dominant language of the parents is the one generally used in communicating their affections; the L1 was often used for praise and discipline, if the parents' dominant language was their L1. Moreover, how the parents perceived the emotionality of a certain language played a role in choosing the L2, particularly if they were able to use it confidently for praise and discipline. However, the study was conducted with families that spoke European languages, such as French, Spanish, and German, which are different from Arabic language, for which the findings may be different. Moreover, the study was based on what the multilingual families reported in questionnaires, and thus the assessment of how the parents used their L1 or L2 to expresses their emotions in real every day interaction was absent.

Many previous studies of HLM focused on the role of parents in teaching and maintaining the HL, neglecting the role of other family members, such as siblings and extended family members (Melo-Pfiefer, 2015; Braun, 2012). Although parents constitute the main factor in their children's HL learning, an important role is also played by grandparents and other family members. The presence of older siblings also has an important role in determining language choice at home (Baker, 2011), as older children can facilitate the use of the appropriate language (Spolsky, 2007), whether it is

the minority or majority language. Research concerning the impact of older siblings revealed that first-born children are generally expected to speak the HL with their parents (Stevens & Ishizawa, 2007). Kibler et al. (2014) found that older siblings influenced their younger siblings to use the majority language at home and with their mothers, in place of the HL. Moreover, the presence of grandparents in transnational and immigrant families can help to promote children's use of the HL (Ishizawa, 2004); indeed, transnational bilingual parents often wish to maintain family unity and communication with grandparents and other extended family members by teaching their children the HL (Fillmore, 2000; Zhang, 2004). This indicated that children's acquisition and use of the HL is enhanced when they interact actively with their extended family members (Smith-Christmas, 2018).

The FLP of transnational families is therefore formed and readjusted to suit the diverse experiences of the transnationalism, and the socio-economic changes caused by the continual interaction between the external forces present, namely the competition between the political, economic, linguistic, and cultural forces that support the socio-linguistic environment and internal familial factors, to enforce the HL environment by establishing family cultural traditions strongly associated with the L1, or a regime of penalties and rewards for using a particular language at home (Schwartz, 2010).

3.4.1   External control over FLP

There are several external factors that influence FLP and parents' language management, including children's socio-linguistic environment, namely adhering to the minority community language, or shifting to the majority language. The study by Barkhuizen (2006) examined South African parents in New Zealand, who chose to live in an area inhabited by many similar families, in order to enable their children to retain their African language and culture. However, the findings of the interviews with the parents demonstrated that their practices were influenced by the language policy of the host country, and their concern for their children's ability to acquire both the majority and minority languages, to guarantee a smooth transition to the host country. This led the parents to CS at home, and to send their children to English-medium schools or crèches. Meanwhile, Caldas and Caron-Caldas (2002) found that enrolling French/English bilingual children in a French biking camp ensured they gained

additional fluency in French and employed a greater range of vocabulary in their interactions.

According to the study by Moore (2016), religion can be a significant external factor in parental decisions concerning language use in transnational families. The study explored changes in language use in the Muslim Fulbe community in Cameroon using observations, video-recordings, interviews, and a sample of the children's writing. The participants consisted of seven children from four bilingual African families, who used Arabic as a religious language, English as a Fulfulde heritage language, and French as a public language. The study identified changes in the religious, educational, and linguistic aspects of language use in these families, reflecting the changes in the broader society. The families were found to prefer teaching their children Arabic, sending them to various types of Arabic religious schools. Some of the parents considered Arabic to be a sacred language, with no need for their children to understand it, provided they were able to memorise the Quran, while others believed that their children did need to understand the language. Meanwhile, some of the families sent their children to schools that taught Arabic religious text, translated into Fulfulde.

Religion can also be an internal factor in determining FLP, as illustrated by Alzahrani's (2020), whose study explored the influence of religion on the parental beliefs of two Arab families (Libyan and Saudi) on their FLP when living in the US. The study investigated how the parents negotiated their language policy with both their children and with the mainstream culture. The data obtained from observations, parental interviews, journals and children's artifacts demonstrated that both families were motivated to preserve Arabic, in order to maintain their Arabic and Islamic culture and identity, as well as to ensure continued communication with their extended family. While both the families complained about the shortage of Arabic resources, the Saudi family was flexible regarding the use of both languages at home, represented by their rich bilingual environment, and willingness to read stories in English. In contrast, the Libyan family demonstrated clear purpose when applying their FLP. It was significant that the language beliefs of both families were influenced by their previous experiences and future expectations.

3.5 Intra-family factors related to FLP

A number of intra-family factors can influence parents' choice of language use at home, including: (1) family structure; (2) parents' education; (3) parents' acculturation; (4) family cohesiveness and emotional relationship to bilingualism (Schwartz, 2010), and (5) parental attitudes towards bilingualism and time and place. The following sections discuss each factor in further detail.

3.5.1 Family structure

The structure of the family has been found to play an important role in determining language use and language socialisation. This is particularly prevalent when there are older children to help transmit the L1 to their younger siblings (Baker, 2001; Spolsky 2007; Kyratzis, 2004; Zhu and Li 2005; Said & Zhu 2017), or to increase the use of the majority language at home, thus hindering acquisition of the L1 (Spolsky, 2007). This indicates the significant role played by siblings in influencing the family's choice of language. In addition, the presence of older children can also influence the language input of their younger siblings, particularly when they reach school age. In their work, Bridges and Hoff (2014) employed two separate studies to examine the influence of bilingual children on younger siblings, namely toddlers, in families in the US that spoke English and various other languages. The data obtained from parental interviews and diary records in the first study demonstrated that the older siblings exerted a significant influence and increased the toddlers' exposure to, and development of, English. Meanwhile, the second study compared the influence of school-aged older siblings and non-school-aged siblings on younger children. It found firstly that English was used more frequently in families with older school-aged siblings than in those with non-school-aged children, and the English of the toddlers in these families was more advanced. Secondly, the mothers were found to speak more English with their toddlers when they had older school-aged children.

Meanwhile, Kheirkhah and Cekaite (2018) focused on the subject of sibling interactions in five immigrant Iranian families living in Sweden. The study used data from interviews, observations, and video-recordings, and concluded that the siblings used different languages, depending on their circumstances, namely Farsi (their heritage language), Swedish, and English. However, Swedish proved to be their dominant

language, potentially indicating a language shift. The results of this study demonstrated that the siblings were active agents in family language socialisation, in particular by demonstrating their language preferences, correcting each other's language use, and giving language instruction, thereby aiding the use of multiple languages. However, under the influence of school, the siblings' main medium of communication was Swedish, which subsequently influenced the use of the language in the home. The study highlighted the role of siblings in shaping family language practices, reporting that the firstborn child became immersed in the community language through their schooling, and that it was then passed on to the second born child, thereby demonstrating how the presence of older siblings can ensure a child is exposed to both the community language, and the language of the host country.

3.5.2 Parents' education

A number of previous studies found that parents in possession of higher education, as well as those of higher- or middle-class status, tended to show greater interest in promoting additive bilingualism for their children. In their study, King and Fogle (2006) interviewed highly educated parents in the US to explore how they shaped and made decisions about their FLP, and how that was perceived to be linked to being good parents. The parents concerned were eager to achieve additive Spanish-English bilingualism for their children, despite Spanish being neither the majority language of the community in which they were living, nor the parents' native language. The study concluded that parenting views can encourage or deter children's additive bilingualism and demonstrated that the decision-making process of parents concerning their FLP, using personal experience alongside expert advice, was perceived to be an aspect of good parenting. In general, parents' personal language experience, including their education background, together with elements such as their socioeconomic status, play a vital role in their decisions regarding their children's language learning, and in the shaping of the language policies of bilingual families (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009).

3.5.3 Parents' acculturation

A further factor that can influence FLP is acculturation, which is the process in which groups or individuals adapt to an unfamiliar culture, both culturally and psychologically. Cultural identity is significant for shaping FLP, as it is related in

minority transnational families to both the culture of the country-of-origin, and that of the host. The study by Pease-Alvarez (2003) employed in-depth interviews with 63 first- and second-generation Mexican immigrant parents living in the US and found that the parents adopted the English language and its related values to improve their social status and the perceived advantages of being American. Meanwhile, the study by Schwartz (2008) examined the efforts of Russian-Jewish immigrant parents to teach their L1 in informal educational settings to maintain their HL. The data obtained from questionnaires completed by the children and parents showed that the parents' education efforts promoted their children's positive attitudes towards the HL, but that their L1 teaching efforts were inconsistent, because their children's resistance meant that they were open to using both the L1 and L2 at home.

However, some families can decide to distance themselves from their country of origin, in order to assimilate in the new dominant environment. The study by Chatzidaki and Maligkoudi (2012) of 37 Albanian immigrant families settled in Greece investigated their FLP, and the interviews conducted with the parents revealed that the families differed in their degree of attachment to their ethnic language and culture. While one group accepted the dominant language and ideology of the host country, believing that expecting their children to learn two languages might hinder their development in the majority language, the other two groups demonstrated positive attitudes towards the Albanian language, but differed in their efforts to maintain its use within the home. Thus, the experience of families in both their home country and the host country can inspire either the maintenance or rejection of a certain language. These emotional-related factors are discussed in the next section.

3.5.4   Family cohesiveness and emotion-related factors

Emotional relationships constitute a crucial factor in preserving language, with the L1 important for the survival of a minority group's cultural values, and for the cohesion of intergenerational relationships. The parents of minority groups often transmit their cultural values to their children through their HL, concurrently strengthening family bonds (Schwartz, 2010). However, parents of immigrant families that maintain the heritage language may find that their children resist its use, causing both a language shift and potential conflict between the different generations (Spolsky, 2007;

Kopeliovich, 2006; Canagarajah, 2008; Hua, 2008).

The case study conducted by Tannenbaum (2005) of seven immigrant families living in Australia employed semi-structured interviews that focused on their emotional connections to their HL. The parents had suffered adverse experiences in their homeland, which had caused them to adopt permanent residence in the host country. The findings showed that this negative previous experience, along with the poor relationships with extended family members in their country of origin, led the parents to abandon their HL, despite acknowledging that the loss of their HL alienated them from their children.

Furthermore, some bilingual families might abandon their heritage language in order to resolve intergenerational tensions. The study by Canagarajah (2008) investigated the loss of Tamil, the heritage language of Sri Lankan families living in diaspora in the US, the UK, and Canada. The findings reported that the factors that caused the families to abandon their HL, as well as the value placed on acquiring English, arose from a need to firstly distance themselves from previous experiences of deprivation related to religious and gender inequality; secondly, to integrate into the mainstream; and thirdly, to maintain cohesive relationships with their children, who used the majority language.

However, the inability of children to use the HL with their parents can often prove detrimental to parent-child relationships, including the potential to create emotional distance (de Houwer, 2007; Portes & Hao, 1998). This can be one of the critical motivations for parents to maintain their HL. However, the use of the minority language at home can also be influenced by the unconscious use of CS by parents to accommodate their children's language needs, or to discuss a topic in which their children are able to demonstrate expertise. This can engender a higher frequency of mixing, which is likely to promote the language of the majority community at the expense of that of the minority, thus hindering its acquisition and maintenance.

3.5.5   Parental attitudes towards bilingualism and the role of time and place

The above discussion highlighted the importance of parental beliefs about language for shaping their FLP. Parents can demonstrate positive attitudes towards bilingualism for a number of socio-political or economic reasons, such as the prospect of improved job

opportunities for their children (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). The positive attitude of parents is key to children's language acquisition and development (Tannenbaum & Howie, 2002b), however parents' beliefs must be realised in a consistent manner (Chatzidaki & Maligkoudi, 2013), as their language choices can be influenced by the preferences displayed by their children (de Houwer, 1999). Parents' attitudes may not always be clear in nature, and, as discussed previously, can simultaneously demonstrate an implicitly positive attitude towards the majority language, while explicitly devaluing the minority language, influenced by the concept of being a good parent (Okita, 2002). This can cause parents to declare certain beliefs about the minority or majority language that do not necessarily concur with the practices they use within the family, resulting in misalignment between the stated attitudes and the actual practices at home.

Previous research revealed that families can take advantage of moving to, or visiting, a new place with a different language to raise their children in a bilingual manner. The study by Jisa (2000) explored the mixing patterns of two young French/English bilingual sisters of an American mother and a French father. The children resided in France and attended a monolingual French language pre-school. During a two-month stay to visit their extended family in California, the family experienced an 'initial linguistic shock' at finding themselves in a monolingual English-speaking society, and the girls used mixed languages. The older child employed fairly sophisticated mixing, inserting one or more French words into English sentences that were lengthy for her age, but quickly began to use the appropriate language for the occasion, using situational CS with her monolingual American family in California. However, her younger sister continued to use French or French mixing primarily with all those she met, regardless of their language, and her sentence structure was far shorter and generally sought to obtain what she wanted. The root of using CS for social purposes was evident when the younger sister realised that mixing was neither appropriate nor tolerated by monolingual English speakers. Meanwhile, the girls spoke French with their mother and with each other, because they were aware that it meant she would understand what they were saying. However, CS was seen as a negative trait by other family members, a negative attitude that inspired the girls to use more English, and to switch languages with their monolingual family members when necessary. This study demonstrated the importance of parental attitudes regarding language use, and the role

of different contexts in families' language use.

There can be a considerable gap between families who are tolerant and bilingually-oriented, and those who are stricter and prefer to employ monolingual standards. Parents' reactions to mixing influences their children's language output. Moreover, despite the fact that, as noted above, most parents claim they rarely mix languages with their children, detailed recordings of actual interactions often reveal the opposite to be true (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004).

3.6 Parents' roles in FLP

Parents' role in deciding FLP is determined by their beliefs concerning language, and how best to support their children in fulfilling particular linguistic and sociocultural goals (Spolsky, 2004). Although parents' beliefs shape their language choices and practices at home, the views they express overtly in interviews can diverge from the covert beliefs identified when exploring parents' actual practices (de Houwer, 1999). This was confirmed by Lanza's (2004) ground-breaking study that employed the language socialisation and discourse analytical approach to understand the linguistic outcomes of bilingual parents and their children. The study provided a detailed analysis of parental interactional strategies, particularly in response to their children's translanguaging, including minimal grasp, expressed guess, adult repetition, move on, and CS or translanguaging. The findings demonstrated that the context of particular aspects of the parent-child discourse shaped the children's bilingualism, and that the parents' reactions to their children's mixing in some situations contradicted the explicit language strategies they claimed to use, resulting in the children having differing bilingual outcomes.

3.6.1 Mothers' role in FLP

This section explores the critical role played by mothers in children's language development, and the responsibilities assigned to them. According to Bezcioglu-Göktolga (2019), parents can demonstrate differing attitudes to language practices at home, but that the mother generally plays the main role in nurturing the HL (Tuominen, 1999). In Arabic cultures, mothers generally have more responsible for their children's education than fathers (Said et al., 2021; Samuelson et al., 2017). In their study, Said, Jaafarawi and Dillon (2021) explored the roles and duties of parents in the United Arab

Emirates when it came to managing their children's language learning at home during the Covid-19 pandemic. The analysis of the parents' views revealed gender differences between the distribution of duties at home, with mothers assigned the responsibility for housework and their children's educational needs. This led the working mothers to express anxiety concerning their ability to simultaneously manage their work and fulfil their domestic obligations. Meanwhile, Kouritzin (2000) described her own challenges as a native English speaker teaching her children Japanese in Japan, comparing her situation with that of a non-native English speaker living in the US. The importance of the study lay in its highlighting of the emotional challenges accompanying bilingual child-rearing. Based on this study, Okita (2002) highlighted the emotional aspects facing mothers raising children bilingually, and how their efforts to maintain the HL are emotionally demanding. Her study of intermarried families (Japanese mother/English father) in the UK, explored the mothers' efforts in their children language development and HL maintenance. She discussed the mothers' overwhelming feeling of duty and responsibility, anxiety, and the pressure to transmit the HL alongside other competing demands, such as the school language requirement, and how this caused them to alter their education priorities and drop or slow their effort to maintain the heritage language. Moreover, the consistency in their approach was influenced by external forces, and they experienced conflicts between nurturing their children's HL use and supporting their children's English language use, to prepare them for school. The demands on the mothers were often invisible to wider society and other family members, as they were largely mental, and distributed over time. Meanwhile the inner conflicts they experienced, regarding their responsibility for their children's perceived limitations in English, and the emotions they exhibited when their children subsequently failed to learn Japanese, particularly when they started school, made them inconsistent in their efforts to maintain the HL, a response that can increase children's resistance to learning the HL. The study also highlighted the ways that language use was interwoven with everyday life experiences and added additional burdens on the mothers when raising their children. However, Okita (2002) also noted the positives of bilingual childrearing and called for future studies to investigate the joyfulness of bilingual childrearing in children language outcomes.

Sevinç and Backus (2019) examined the issue of language anxiety among immigrants

in relation to the minority and majority language. The study focused on the experiences of the Turkish community residing in the Netherlands during their visits to their home country. The researchers collected data by means of questionnaires distributed to three generations. The findings revealed a number of conflicts between the participants' language preferences and usage, resulting in language anxiety concerning both the majority and minority language. In addition, their sociographical and language background variables dictated the degree, level, and number of languages causing this anxiety.

The study by Bernier-Grand (2009) addressed the pressure placed on minority group parents, particularly mothers, to decide the most appropriate language to use at home, focusing on how the advice of professionals influenced Latino mothers' choice of language use when living in the US. This advice included encouraging the mothers to stop speaking Spanish with their children, thus confirming some accounts of minority group parents facing subtractive bilingualism and pressure to cease using their native tongue. In addition, Cruz-Ferreira (2006) explored the management of the use of three languages at home, describing how her children became competent in English, Swedish, and Portuguese by apportioning adequate time and space for each language and culture. She also discussed the strategies she developed to assist their process of acquisition. This constituted one of the first studies to examine the ways that child agency can shape multilingual FLP.

These studies highlighted the role of mothers, and the emotional and intellectual investment of parents more generally, when raising their children bilingually, matters that constitute one of the intra-family factors that influence parents' language choice, and consequently their children's bilingualism.

3.7 Scarcity of Arabic language studies in FLP

One of the motivations behind the current study was the wish to address the existing gap in the research field relating to FLP and the Arabic language and Arabic culture by investigating the everyday language practices of Saudi sojourning families, based on the naturally occurring data obtained by recent FLP research concerning Arabic language and culture (Alzahrani, 2020; Said, 2021a; 2021b; 2021c), particularly in response to subtle differences in Arabic culture, according to country.

The study by Jamai (2008) identified both linguistic and non-linguistic factors when examining how Moroccan families, residing in various parts of the UK, attempted to maintain their language and culture, namely through language choice, CS, attitudes, and use of language-specific media. The findings of a questionnaire distributed to 413 Moroccan families in both the UK and Morocco, revealed a shift in both generational languages, and the use of Moroccan sociolinguistic patterns, namely culture. Meanwhile, the study conducted by Othman (2006) observed the language choices made by the first and second generations of 16 Arabic families from different countries, with various lengths of residence in the UK, most of whom lived in Manchester. The research focused on language choice within different domains, such as home, friendships, university/work, and media, alongside the availability of Arabic schools in Manchester. The findings revealed that Arabic was used consistently between family members within the home, as well as in relation to friendships and the mosque, while English was only used in the presence of non-Arabs and constituted the language of university/work. The study predicted the maintenance of Arabic in the second generation, as a result of the many sources providing Arabic input, including the home, media, schools, mosque, and travel to the Arab world/home country. Due to the four-hour-long observations of each family, and the aspects reported by the parents during the interviews, these findings can be seen to have overlooked the subtle differences between families in their language use, including by the members of the same family, such as the siblings.

Additionally, Gomaa (2011) examined the methods employed by Egyptian parents living in Durham to support their children's learning and speaking of Egyptian Arabic using qualitative research that employed semi-structured interviews and observation of the family members. The study found that the parents were highly motivated to preserve Egyptian Arabic, and transmitted the language to their children in a number of ways: (1) preserving their Egyptian culture and identity; (2) connecting to the Islamic religion; (3) providing easy access to classical Arabic, in order to read the Quran; (4) the ability to communicate with friends, relatives, and peers when returning home; (5) the availability of Arabic resources in the dominant language, such as Arabic schools, Arabic TV channels, mosque, and UK Egyptian Society and Egyptian gatherings; and (6) their permanence in Durham. However, one weakness of the study was its neglect of

the issue of the children's agency.

A more recent study conducted by Bahhari (2020), focused on how sojourning Saudi families preserved their HL while living in Australia, including the role played by the Islamic religion. The analysis of the data obtained from parental interviews and questionnaires, revealed the critical role of religion in maintaining their children's Arabic, alongside factors including returning home for visits. Interestingly, the length of residence was found to lack any significant impact on family language practices. However, Bahhari (2020) emphasised the importance of immediate and extended family for maintaining oral Arabic, as opposed to encouraging literacy skills.

A few previous studies recorded live data to examine immigrant and transnational Arabic families. However, Said and Zhu (2017) used video recordings of a Yemeni family to emphasise a number of significant factors, namely sibling interactions and child language agency, to offer an authentic picture of the language use and patterns of Arab minority groups in general, and sojourning student families in particular. In addition, it identified three factors vital for successful language learning, particularly in terms of maintaining Arabic: firstly, a positive attitude towards multilingualism; secondly, close family relationships; and thirdly, an ability to understand children's language preferences. For example, the cultural value of 'being clever' (referred to as 'shaatir') was generally associated with the Arabic form, despite constant mixing with the English language.

Meanwhile, Moustaoui Srhir (2020) conducted a qualitative ethnographic and sociolinguistic study, using in-depth group discussion interviews with parents to explore the role of FLP in the context of the Moroccan diaspora in Spain. The research examined firstly, the role played by parents' language ideologies in shaping their management strategies, and how these added to the capitalisation of the minority language/HL; and secondly, the benefits of the parents' proactive agency in developing their children's multilingualism. The study reported that the families viewed the preservation of Arabic as important for maintaining their socio-linguistic cohesion, while also considering both Moroccan Arabic and standard Arabic to be vital for enabling their children to communicate successfully with their relatives and friends in their home country.

3.8   Conclusion

This chapter discussed the emergence of FLP as an independent field, including the relevant theoretical concepts and their main components, according to Spolsky's (2004) language model (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009a; Spolsky, 2004). It then introduced the matter of child agency and highlighted the need for further research regarding the issue of child agency related to FLP, discussing various tensions. In the context of the present study, these might include the following: (1) those between the different cultural values of Western and Saudi Arabian societies; (2) those between a desire to socialise children in the host country, whilst also preserving Saudi traditions and language; (3) those between the differing language preferences of parents and children; and (4) those of the desire to use the opportunity to learn English to meet children's educational needs while abroad, and so improve their future career prospects. The chapter also explored the three main components of FLP, namely language ideologies, language practices, and the language management strategies used in bilingual/transnational families, alongside the relationship between FLP theory and practice. This was followed by a discussion of the influence of both external and internal factors on the formation of FLP, including the role of parents, particularly mothers, highlighting the need for further research regarding the role played by the father. Finally, it noted the current gap in the FLP research field, namely that of the Arabic language and culture, and sojourning families.

4 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter firstly, outlines the researcher's paradigm and methodological approach, namely the qualitative interpretative sociolinguistics design of the current study. Secondly, it discusses the selected research design, including the position of the researcher and the steps taken to recruit the participants, as well as the related ethical issues.

Thirdly, it examines the key methods employed to address the study's purpose and research aims, including the audio recordings, audit forms, semi-structured interviews, and background questionnaires. Fourthly, it discusses the research process, data collection, analysis, and management and trustworthiness. Finally, the chapter concludes with a summary.

4.2 The research paradigm and qualitative approach of the study

The paradigm followed for this research was that of social constructivism, as I believe in the importance of understanding the world in which I live and work. Constructivists are interested in how individuals (i.e. Saudi student family members) develop subjective meanings of their experience through social interaction (Cohen et al., 2007). As these are diverse and multiple, social constructivist researchers highlight the complexity of participants' opinions, along with their cultural context, rather than limiting meanings to predefined categories. Thus, as a constructivist, I focused on the participants' views of the situation being studied. In addition, the questions in constructive qualitative research are often broad, allowing the participants to construct and negotiate subjective meanings, both socially and historically, through interactions with other family members (Bryman, 2016; Cohen et al., 2007). I therefore used broad, open-ended research questions to obtain multiple and deep meanings and construct various meanings through listening carefully to the speech and actions of family members within their life settings.

I consider that the inductive analysis approach in my research offers emergent themes and generates new meanings from the data collected in the field, as the constructivism

paradigm enables new knowledge to emerge during the research process (Willis, 1980; Starfield, 2010; Strauss & Corbin, 1988). In addition, social actors are continually constructing their meanings, inferring social phenomena are not only produced through social interaction, but are in a constant state of revision (Bryman, 2016). Thomas, (2006, p.238) stated that 'inductive analysis refers to approaches that primarily use detailed readings to drive concepts, themes, or a model through interpretations made from raw data by an evaluator or researcher.' For example, in my own study, I found that the Saudi student mothers, while managing their language policy at home and interacting with their children to shape their FLP, created meanings and new emergent themes, language strategies and beliefs.

I selected a qualitative inductive approach for a number of reasons. Firstly, qualitative research allows the researcher to draw a complex picture of the issues under investigation, using many factors, including the participants' multiple perspectives, to create a holistic account emerges or a model of multiple factors. Secondly, my study examined the language use and practice of the families in their homes, as well as when interacting with different family members, in order to understand the meanings individuals bring to certain phenomena (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Ritchie et al., 2013; Silverman, 2006). This is a feature of qualitative research often conducted in the natural settings of the participants (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). Thirdly, I employed another major characteristic of qualitative research i.e. multiple sources of data, including audio recordings, audit forms, semi-structured interviews, and descriptive background forms. These sources were primarily open-ended, allowing the participants to express their opinions and ideas openly without any influence, while simultaneously enabling emerging themes to appear. Finally, my study did not, as in some quantitative approaches, aim to prove a predefined hypothesis, but rather to generate ideas beneficial for further quantitative research (Holliday, 2015).

However, I recognise the challenges in determining whether a study is purely qualitative or quantitative, particularly as it may fall between the two ends of the continuum (Edley & Litosseliti, 2010; Miles & Huberman, 2014). Nevertheless, I considered my study closer to qualitative research because the only calculations presented in the findings consisted of the distribution of the languages used (i.e. Arabic, English or codeswitching) between family members. In addition, I understood that I

could not be completely objective as a researcher, particularly as the constructivist paradigm emphasises that 'research is a product of the values of researchers and cannot be independent of them' (Mertens, 2014, p.17).

4.3   Research Design

I selected the research design based on the purpose of my study and the research questions (Bitchener, 2009). As the study focused on the language ideologies, language use and management of family members of Saudi student families, I used an exploratory interpretative qualitative sociolinguistic approach, with the research questions being open and broad. Firstly, exploratory research aims at maximising the exploration of general concepts leading to an understanding of a particular aspect of social life through comprehensive and systematic observation (Stebbins, 2012).

Secondly, interpretative research refers to the approach to analysis used in my study, which focused on the experiences of Saudi student families in their everyday life and how close examination of these experiences can give a valuable understanding of specific aspects of human life (Willig & Stainton Rogers, 2008). These broad questions concerning the language choices of Saudi student parents with their children at home, as well as their strategies to enforce their FLP, allowed me to undertake an in-depth investigation and provided the rich information that forms one of the basic functions of qualitative research (Holliday, 2010).

In addition, the qualitative and exploratory nature of the study allowed me to focus on the opinions, beliefs and ideas of both individuals and groups, as well as amassing more than one source of data to facilitate an adequate understanding of the reality of the issues. Furthermore, as I personally collected the data, and was therefore aware of the preconceptions I might potentially bring to the study, I allowed the analysis and final results to be dictated by the data itself.

My research thus has a multiple qualitative case-study design, focusing on several instrumental and bounded cases, using multiple data collection methods (Mills et al., 2010). Yin (2014) defined the case study method as: 'an empirical inquiry about a contemporary phenomenon (e.g., a "case"), set within its real-world context- especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident.' (p.18)

A case study emphasises the study of a phenomenon within its real-world context, and favours data collection within natural settings, including original fieldwork, in order to assist the researcher best understand the situation (Yin, 2012). This indicates that case studies are most effective for studying relevant real-world situations (Yin, 2012, p.5). Similarly, the use of multiple case studies allows the researcher to obtain an in-depth understanding of a small number of cases in their real-world contexts, particularly when the boundaries between the case and the context are unclear (Yin, 2012, 2018). This is often achieved, as in my own study, through employing multiple sources of evidence (Ashley, 2012; Yin, 2018), thus indicating the multiple case-studies design as the most appropriate choice for this research.

Additionally, multiple case studies allow for an extensive description of the phenomena, and greater confidence in the findings, with multiple research sources providing rich descriptions or insightful explanations. Furthermore, I selected multiple case studies due to my approach and research questions being exploratory, so commencing with queries focusing on 'what' and 'how'. These questions are in line with multiple case studies (Yin, 2012) and qualitative research in general. Moreover, my study focused on Saudi student families sojourning in the UK, while the context (i.e. living in the UK or the host country and families' home language practices and choices) formed a significant aspect of understanding the cases studies, including their FLPs and decisions concerning their language choice and management in their real-world situations. This led me to consider context an inseparable aspect of studying the language policy of Saudi student families.

However, qualitative case studies also have a number of limitations. One of the most notable concerns an inability to generalise the findings to a broader level, potentially resulting in a lack of trust in the credibility of the case studies' procedures and findings, i.e. the specific behaviour of a group within a particular context does not necessarily represent that of the wider population. Therefore, the results of qualitative studies can only be reported as pertinent to specific locations at particular times (Holliday, 2015). On the other hand, this weakness can be mitigated by increasing the sources of data collection, exploiting the ability of case studies to handle various sources of evidence, including documents, interviews, recorded conversations. This demonstrates that, despite being incapable of generalisation, the results of qualitative case studies can help

generate ideas to be used as a starting point for further research.

4.4 Participants

My participants consisted of six sojourning Saudi student families living in the UK for a period of between three and seven years, studying for PhDs in different majors, and with children of varying ages (ranging from between five and fourteen), with the majority having been born in SA. The families lived in a variety of university cities in the UK, with four in Reading, one in York and one in Southampton (see Appendix D-2).

There remains some controversy over the most advantageous number of cases for qualitative research (Creswell, 2013). However, I considered a small sample size appropriate, as it provided a sufficiently large data set for a qualitative study, capable of obtaining rich data from multiple sources in an economical manner (Dörnyei, 2007).

To ensure their suitability, the families were sampled using purposive techniques, i.e. when researchers use their personal judgement to select a sample that is most useful for research or the deliberate choice of a participant due to the qualities of the participants (Etikan, 2016).

As this approach does not aim at generalising the results to the entire population, I considered this accorded with the nature of my qualitative research and avoided bias (Etikan et al., 2016). It should be noted that purposive sampling has both advantages (i.e. being time-and cost-effective) and disadvantages (i.e. potential volunteer bias and errors of judgement by the researcher).

Reflecting on my own situation as a Saudi student mother in the UK, as well as my observations when working as a volunteer in the Saudi Community, I concluded that the families approached for my study represented the most common patterns of Saudi student families. I also employed the following criteria:

- Being higher educated Saudi students.
- Living temporarily in the UK.
- Having a minimum of two children, one of them of school age.
- Having a similar length of residence (preferably between three and seven years)

and speaking both Arabic and English.

- Being willing to take part in the research.

I selected the criteria related to parents based on a number of reasons. Firstly, student families were the focus of my research, with those studying for PhDs often having children of school age, and, as they frequently settled in the UK for over two years, being involved with both the host and Saudi communities. Secondly, they represented the 'sojourning student family', which added to the body of research on language use within transnational families.

The criteria regarding the children were as follows:

- At least two children (in order to examine how language use was negotiated between parents and siblings).
- At least one of the children to be of primary school age (i.e. between five and nine), so bringing home English as the language of the wider community, as well as influencing the home language (i.e. Arabic) and FLP.

4.4.1 Recruitment of the participants

I recruited families for this study through the local community, along with Saudi student WhatsApp groups, emails, and children's Arabic lessons, using both formal and informal communication. I initially employed emails as a formal channel to contact the heads of Saudi communities in several cities in the UK, although this only identified a small number of potential participants, with the majority having only one child or children under primary school age. I then used WhatsApp groups as a less formal channel of communication, which proved my main recruitment platform. WhatsApp messages showing my initial contact with the participants do not appear within the data set included in my study. In addition, I was already a member of a WhatsApp group of female PhD students in Reading (approximately 171 members), which allowed me to also join other groups in London (107 members) and York (seventy-three members). This gave me access to as many families as possible with the required criteria, as well as being able to familiarise myself with their situation before making any approach to join the study. Furthermore, two of the prospective families came from my circle of

friends. It was significant that my insider status provided me with access to a network of Saudi families and encouraged them to participate in my study by building a relationship of trust.

A further recruitment channel arose from my children's weekly Arabic lessons, including two mothers who were also PhD students. Once again, being an insider facilitated my access and helped me to understand the challenges involved in recruiting participants. For example, some mothers were worried that I would judge their children's language learning, with some approaching me after the first audio recordings with concerns that their children had used inaccurate words, while another withdrew, considering herself in adequate to teach her children. This was an important barrier to overcome, particularly as, in response to cultural considerations, I recruited mainly student mothers.

4.5 My role as a researcher

Reflexivity acknowledges the researcher's position as simultaneously an insider and outsider, as well as his/her impact on the process of data collection and the analysis of the participants' views (Bourdieu, 1990; Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). Reflexivity ensures the rigour and trustworthiness of qualitative research, including reducing any bias arising from: firstly, the researcher's social origins (i.e. class, gender and ethnicity); secondly his/her position in the academic field; and thirdly, his/her intellectual bias (Wacquant, 1992; Savikj, 2018). Moreover, such potential bias can be reduced by adopting a reflexive perspective throughout the process of conducting research.

An additional issue for qualitative studies is determining the researcher's relationship with the participants, including revealing their own position as either an insider or outsider (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009) or being somewhere in the middle. Being an insider infers sharing similar characteristics, roles and experiences with the participants (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009), but also raises difficulties in creating a separation (Fleming, 2018).

Thus, as a researcher, I embrace subjectivity 'as an integral part of interpretive work' (Glesne, 2016, p.146).

Furthermore, the influence of a researcher is often bidirectional. In qualitative studies, there is considerable potential for both influencing, and being influenced by, the study

process, termed by Edge (2011) and Attia and Edge (2017) as prospective and retrospective reflexivity. Firstly, retrospective reflexivity concerns the impact of the whole-person-researcher on the research, while retrospective reflexivity focuses on that of the research on the researcher. This highlights the need to be aware of this influence and acknowledge it as inevitable. As I followed the constructivist paradigm, I was aware of the potential for constructing my own meanings throughout the research process, and so influencing my interpretations (Williams, 2013). I therefore needed to acknowledge my own subjective realities and the ways interactions can impact the meaning-making process. Similarly, Bourdieu (2004) considered the researcher as one aspect of a set of dispositions, necessitating the need for research reflexivity (Bourdieu, 2004). This led me to consider my previous experiences, assumptions and beliefs about language learning, along with the family language policies of migrant and minority groups (Mertens, 2014).

Reflecting on my position, I am aware of the similarity between my own background and that of my participants. I am an Arab, a Saudi and a member (i.e. an insider) of the Saudi student community living in the UK, for which I have also worked as a volunteer. Furthermore, I have experience of being a mother of three children, two of whom were of primary school age at the time and speaking both English and Arabic. In addition, my youngest child was only one year and four months on arrival in the UK and learnt to speak both languages simultaneously. I am also a PhD student who has lived in the UK since April 2013, accompanied by my husband. I feel that spending this extended period abroad has placed me in a good position to understand the experiences and challenges of both newly arrived Saudi families and those who have been in the UK for a long period of time

In addition, I shared Islamic and Arabic background and values with my participants, all of which emphasise family bonds and a respectful relationship with parents. I recognise the importance of family in Saudi culture, with surnames providing information concerning culture, dialects, habits and areas of origin in Saudi Arabia. The Quran encourages sons and daughters to be kind and humble to their parents, as an important part of being a good Muslim. The Quran also is the reference for many familial concepts and issues, such as marriage, the role of the father and mother, the duty of children towards their parents and vice versa, as well as parental rights and responsibilities for

their children. In this respect, I can be considered as an insider.

However, I also recognise that my position as an insider does not give me full knowledge of the participants' backgrounds, as well as their relationships with their children. I therefore focus on each family as an individual case study, having common characteristics but at the same time differing when it comes to sub characteristics and details. Furthermore, I recognise that our experiences differed, making me partially an insider and partially an outsider (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). For example, as an insider as I shared the Saudi dialect with the participants, while the subtle differences between Saudi regional dialects simultaneously made me an outsider.

I also was careful in my assumptions, attempting to be open to any emergent themes, as reflected in my data collection and analysis of data. I commenced by exploring the language policy of the Saudi student families through audio-recordings of conversations, followed by a preliminary analysis of the first set of audio recordings. A number of themes emerged in response to this process, and based on previous FLP studies, some of which were new, and others complied with those already existing in the literature.

In order to reduce researcher's bias, I chose to centre on the participants' construction of their own beliefs and experiences, employing the audio recordings of family conversations alongside semi-structured interviews, to enable them to tell their stories. I was aware that it was important not to enforce my own opinions or beliefs about language learning and home language management and to build strong relationships in order to establish trustworthiness and authenticity (Mertens, 2014) as well as reflexivity and reciprocity (Lincoln, 2009; Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Therefore, throughout the interviews and conversations, I was cognisant of researchers and participants being in 'partnership and dialogue as they construct memory, meaning and experience together' (Madison, 2012, p.28).

Thus, I attempted to the best of my ability to be neutral when interviewing the mothers. For example, I consider it vital to enrol children in Arabic state schools to enhance their Arabic and provide rich input on the return to SA. However, I set aside my own views and beliefs concerning bilingual families' language strategies and planning and listened

to my participants from the perspective of a researcher. On the other hand, I found it difficult, as an insider, to be totally objective and not be influenced by the mothers' bilingual beliefs. This subsequently resulted in a greater acceptance of the idea of enrolling my children in international schools following their return to SA, as a transitional stage prior to moving them to Arabic state schools. One outcome of this study has therefore been that my own beliefs have been modified by reading the empirical data, and listening to my participants' experiences and opinions of bilingualism. I found being totally objective and completely setting aside my personal experience to be problematic. I initially devised background forms items based on my experience as a PhD student. Thus, I practiced reflexivity from the outset of the research phases, as follows: firstly, jotting down notes about the participants' comments and my own thoughts as the researcher; and secondly, memoing as soon as possible after each interview. These two helpful self-reflection data collection methods helped the researcher when writing up the results.

I also took steps to lessen the impact of my presence, asking mothers to record family members' conversations while involved in different activities of their own choice. However, I acknowledge that recording events in the home may feel unnatural and so may have influenced the families' behaviour to some degree. On the other hand, the presence of children during this data collection contributed to making the conversations more natural and spontaneous and added to the richness and credibility of the data collected.

Being in the position of insider provided me with a number of advantages, including being accepted and enjoying easy access to the target community, as well as encouraging participants to be open and clear about their views, so furthering my understanding of challenges and opportunities in terms of language learning and use (Kanuha, 2000) and their FLP. Furthermore, my insider status allowed me to obtain rich data (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009) from different sources, i.e. audio-recordings, audit forms, semi-structured interviews and background questionnaires.

Another advantage of being an insider was my ability to develop a trusting relationship with parents, as I had opportunities to meet some of the student mothers in Saudi community gatherings on formal occasions, such as Eid and Ramadan. I also had

regular contact with Saudi families in my position as a volunteer member of the Saudi community administration staff, while for three years my husband was the head of the team. This gave me a clear picture of the most common patterns of Saudi student families living in the UK, which helped me to draw up a set of criteria for this research.

However, I also experienced some disadvantages due to my position as an insider, including that my participants may not have wished to reveal the complete truth (Naaeke et al., 2010), due to embarrassment or to avoid being judged. In addition, my familiarity with some participants led to difficulties in probing or questioning assumptions. In response to these issues, I changed the form of the questions, while also respecting the participants' wishes when it was clear they did not wish to discuss certain topics (Brannick & Coghlan, 2007; Dwyer & Buckle, 2009).

4.6   Research Methods

The data was collected in the following order: a) monthly audio recordings of family activities (e.g., mealtimes, homework sessions and playtime, with the activity chosen by the mothers), accompanied by an audit form; b) parental semi-structured interviews (mothers only) (Kvale & Brinkman, 2009) and c) a family background descriptive forms (i.e. parents' date and place of birth, information about their children's and relatives' language usage and preferences).

March to July 2019 — Audio recordings / Audit forms

August 2019 — Parental semi-structured interviews

September 2019 — Family background descriptive forms
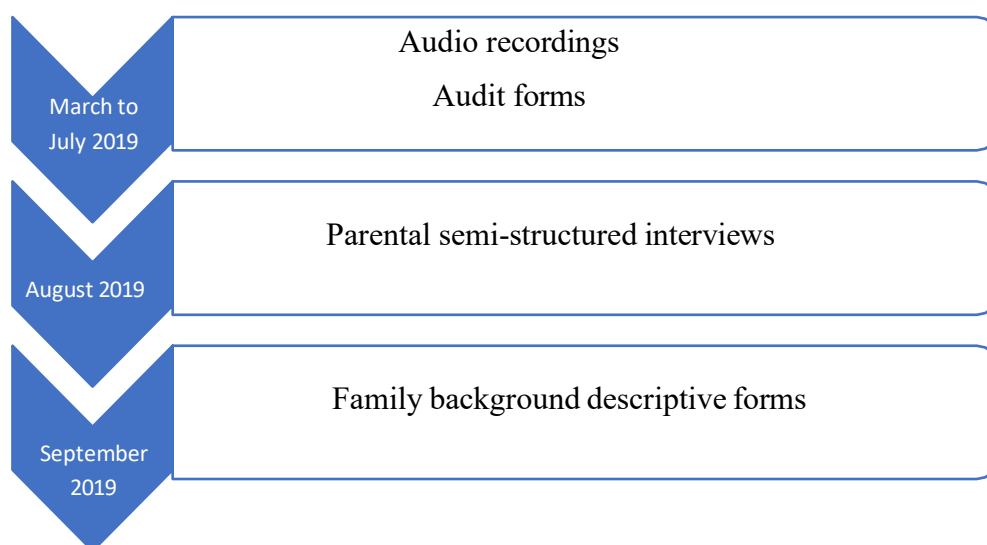
Figure 4-1   Data collection methods

4.6.1 Audio-recordings

Audio-recordings (appendix-E-1) are significant research tools used in qualitative research to elicit and analyse natural speech (Holliday, 2010). They have many advantages, including the ability for the researcher to listen repeatedly and as often as needed. In my own research, it also proved an effective substitution for observations, as it reduced the impact of the observer paradox, i.e. the influence of the researcher's presence (Cukor-Avila, 2000).

My choice of audio recordings contributes to previous FLP studies (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016; Said & Zhu, 2017), using natural data to substantiate their analysis of FLP and language practices. In addition, previous FLP research has tended to focus on the distribution of sociolinguistic questionnaires, or the carrying out of qualitative interviews, with participants self-reporting their language attitudes, use and management (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; King, 2000; Park & Sarkar, 2007). I sought to move beyond this in the current study, with the recordings allowing me insight into participants' lived experiences within the family setting and compare what parents said they did with what they actually did as well as how children actually behaved, used language and interacted with their parents. I requested each family to provide two audio recordings at monthly intervals (i.e. a total of eight) to collect various types of language choices and practices during different activities. Each recording took between twenty and thirty minutes, as in Lanza's study (2004). The participants were instructed to consider typical situations in the home likely to give additional insights into their family language practices, including mealtimes, homework and playtime. A list of the audio recordings provided by individual families and their duration can be found in Appendix E-1. I asked the mothers to use their mobiles for the recordings and send them to me regularly at the end of each month. These were then checked, and regularly reviewed, once a week, being subsequently reconfirmed with content during the process of transcribing and translating the audio recordings. I also consulted the parents in my study about some of the interpretations, so as to strengthen the emic perspective and minimise any external assumptions(Higgins & Wright, 2021).

4.6.2 Audit forms

The audit forms aimed to enrich the information within the recordings, including the context of the families' conversations. The forms are shown in Appendix B and include open-ended questions focusing on: (1) their conversations and context; (2) the language used during the activity; (3) language and activity used before and after; and (4) any difficulties faced during the recording.

4.6.3 Semi-structured interviews with mothers

The interview forms one of the most popular tools in qualitative research (Holliday, 2010; Lichtman, 2010), with Brinkman and Kvale (2014, p.6) defining it as having 'the purpose of obtaining descriptions of the life world of the interviewee to interpret the meaning of the described phenomena.' In semi-structured interviews, the researcher asks the interviewee a series of predetermined but open-ended questions or a list of topics to be covered (Binkmann, 2014). This allows the researcher more freedom than a pre-set interview guide to follow up different perspectives of importance to the interviewee and focus on aspects relevant to the study (Binkmann, 2014; Perry, 2011).

As a constructivist, I believe that the participants in a conversation are active subjects making sense of their experiences (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003; King et al., 2008), and the interviewer and interviewee interact to produce meaningful knowledge (Peer et al., 2012, p.80). In this current research, this technique enabled me to make sense of specific language practices and language management strategies exhibited in the recordings concerning language use and the negotiation of family language practices. Furthermore, they assisted me in obtaining a deeper understanding of the mothers' perceptions of language use at home, as well as their opinions of the importance of Arabic/English learning for their children.

The semi-structured interviews used open-ended questions (Dörnyei, 2007), within three main sections. The first focused on parental language use at home with family members, including children, along with language practices in different situations, and the mothers' strategies and involvement in their children's language learning and use. The second section examined children's language use and preferences at home, while the final section explored the mothers' language beliefs (see Table 4.1, below). During the interviews, I attempted to be neutral by avoiding any leading or ambiguous

questions having the potential to elicit specific or predetermined information, while at the same time accepting any emerging information. I initially discussed a general outline of the types of questions (see Appendix C-2) with the mothers, giving them the space to pose additional questions arising during the flow of conversation. The questions were based on the analysis of both the recorded conversational data, as well as the audit forms of the conversational contexts.

Table 4-1   Outline of semi-structured interviews questions with Saudi student mothers

FLP and parents' language use
What language(s) do you use at home?
Have you discussed language use at home with your husband?
What language do you prefer to use?
What languages do you use with your children?
What language do you use in the following situations? (when chatting/ playing together/ joking/ angry/ complaining)
What languages do you use with (husband/ grandparents/ uncles/ aunties/ cousins)?
Children's language preferences
What language do your children prefer to use at home?
What language do your children use in the following situations? (when chatting/ fighting/ playing together/ joking/ angry/ complaining) Do they take Arabic lessons? Explain? If you teach them Arabic, how do you explain difficult words? If there is a difficult word in English they do not understand, how do you explain it to them? Do your children help you with certain tasks thanks to their English language?
Mother's language beliefs

> How do you find Arabic from your point of view?
>
> How do you find English from your point of view?

The semi-structured interviews provided rich data, instant follow-up and clarification where necessary (Marshall & Rossman, 2014, p.150), and gave me the opportunity to interact with the mothers, asking them direct questions about their language beliefs, attitudes and perceptions of their children's language preferences, along with exploring any emerging information. In addition, the flexibility helped me to probe a number of complex topics and elicit explicit and detailed interpretations. For example, when I asked one of the participants what she meant by saying English is the language of 'freedom of expression' she illustrated her reply with an incident with her daughter.

However, there were also some disadvantages, including the time it takes to build the trust needed for intimate conversations, while being an effective interviewer requires significant skills in framing questions, personal interaction and gentle probing (Marshall & Rossman, 2014, p.151), which can only be achieved through qualitative methods, i.e. interviews. Many researchers (Dörnyei, 2007; Shohamy & Spolsky, 2000) have emphasised the benefits of qualitative research tools (i.e. interviews) when examining language attitudes, beliefs and preferences. While others (Baker, 1992) have questioned the validity of a quantitative approach to attitudes, motivation, and ideology studies, arguing that respondents may not be clear about their attitudes, or conceal their opinions

in a questionnaire (Baker, 1992). This led me to use interviews to elicit longer discussion from the mothers, as I felt this would reveal their true opinions.

I gave the parents the option to choose to use either English or Arabic, with most preferring Arabic. In addition, the semi-structured interviews were conducted through different mediums, based on the mothers' preferences and availability. The mothers were reminded of the general focus of the interview and were encouraged to express their opinions freely. The semi-structured questions focused on specific issues, while at the same time providing the freedom to express personal opinions (see Table 4.2, below). Each interview lasted between twenty-five and forty-five minutes, with a total of five hours and thirty-three minutes. The data obtained from the interviews was then triangulated, compared and cross-checked with data gathered through audio recordings, audit forms and descriptive background forms (Marshall & Rossman, 2014).

Table 4-2   Hours and modes of interviews

Interviewee	Place of interview	Period of interviews
Layal	Video call via Skype	52:02
Sara	Video call via Skype	54:35
Razan	Face to face, at home	25:10
Eman	Face to face, at home	24:02
Lina	Face to face, in a booked room in a library	38:45
Taif	Face to face, at home	31:35
Total	Six interviews	5 hrs 33 mins

4.6.4   Transcriptions and translations

As noted above, the audio recordings and interviews were undertaken in Arabic. I then transcribed the semi-structured interviews in the original Arabic and employed Arabizi for audio recordings. Arabizi is Arabic text written in Latin characters representing

certain alphabets in Arabic or using the English alphabet. Since the introduction of technology in the 1990s and 2000s, Arabizi has become an informal use of Arabic among the younger generation, being generally mixed with English. It is particularly popular in informal settings, i.e. when communicating with friends and family through text messaging or chatting and on social media platforms. However, since they are different dialects of the Arabic language, the Arabizi writing system is not standardised and there is no single correct way for it to be written down.

I selected Arabizi to transcribe the family conversations in order to facilitate the formatting of the transcription documents, particularly as Arabic is written from right to left, while English is written from left to right, while the conversations included a mixture of both languages. I experienced problems when I attempted to manage the transcriptions in Word but found this was eased by the use of Arabizi. However, the interviews were written in Arabic, so it was easy to manage the transcriptions in one-word documents, because most mothers rarely used any English words. I then translated the transcriptions of both the audio recordings and the interviews into English.

4.6.5   Background forms

I employed questionnaires (appendix-D-1) as these allowed me to collect important background information, additional to that obtained from the interviews and organised responses, i.e. dates of birth, education levels, the number of children, the language used for specific activities, the presence of relatives, and the number of annual holidays taken in Saudi Arabia. The use of the descriptive background forms is a direct approach widely employed in the studies of language attitudes and ideologies (Baker, 1992; Garrett, 2010). Respondents can take their time to fill in the required data, and do not need the researcher present, thereby limiting the impact of the researcher and maximising the consistency and reliability of the results (Dörnyei & Taguchi, 2009). In the current study, the main purpose of the questionnaire was to firstly, establish the background of the participating Saudi student families; secondly, contextualise their language environment; thirdly, confirm information given by mothers in the interviews; and fourthly, offer additional information concerning language use at home. I used a questionnaire adapted from the Alberta Language Environmental Questionnaire (ALEQ), in response to the analysis of the audio recordings and interviews. The

questionnaire was in English, as most of the mothers were highly educated and spoke advanced English and was conducted during the final stage of data collection (see Appendix D-1).

I recognise the issues involved when designing a questionnaire, including the potential for incongruity (Clark & Schober, 1992; Schober, 1992). I was therefore careful to design a well-structured, unambiguous questionnaire, encouraging the participants to express their opinions and preferences honestly, using multiple-choice and open-ended questions. The questionnaire recorded data on the following aspects:

- Parents' background: age; role in the family; country of origin; date of their first arrival in the UK; length of residence; expected date of leaving the UK; number and ages of children; and whether other relatives were living with the family.
- Language use at home: parents' language use with children; children language use with each other; and other relative's language use with the children and with parents.
- Language practices and management: school attended by the children and their language use during different activities at home, i.e. reading, ICT, storytelling, singing, writing, Arabic lessons, chatting with family members/ friends.
- Parental language attitudes: parents' attitude and opinions concerning the importance of Arabic/ English for their children's language learning, along with reading, speaking, and writing.

The questionnaire was distributed only to mothers, as they tended to be more involved in the family interactions and were easier to approach due to the cultural considerations discussed above. In addition, over half of the husbands had been obliged to stay in Saudi Arabia as a result of career and financial obligations (Bahhari, 2020).

4.6.6 Data set

Table 4-3 demonstrates the content of the audio recordings, i.e. the interaction between family members at mealtimes, and during homework and playtime. Each recording lasted between twenty and thirty minutes, resulting in a total of eight audio recordings for each family, lasting for a total of 1090 minutes. These were accompanied by audit

forms (four forms in total) including details about the context, the members participating in the conversations, and the language and activities used before and after the conversations. The semi-structured interviews were conducted with the mothers after a period of four months (i.e. in August 2019), resulting in a total of five hours and thirty-three minutes of recordings, for six semi-structured interviews in total. The mothers then completed the background forms, made up of eighty-one items, depending on the number of family members.

Table 4-3   Descriptions of data set

Data collection methods	Description	Quantity/Duration	Number
Audio-recordings of selected naturally occurring events in the home and audit forms.	Audio recordings of family interactions in the home (e.g., mealtime, homework, playtime), the researcher is not present in the home. Each family submitted two audio recordings monthly of 20 to 30 mins duration, and one audit form.	(1090) minutes (total for all family recordings combined). See Appendix (E-1) for the number and duration of individual recordings for each family.	Eight audio-recordings undertaken with each family
Audit forms accompanying audio recordings.	Details of context before/ during/ after each conversation of the families in the home.	Monthly submissions of one audit form for two audio recordings of the family conversations.	Four audit forms
Semi-structured interview.	Interview with the mothers.	Interview with mothers/ Duration approximately 30 to 50 minutes with total of 5 hours and 33mins.	One interview with each mother
Background forms.	Demographic information about all family members and their language preferences and practices.	81 items but can be fewer depending on the number of family members. These are divided into 4 sections: demographic; language use and practices; language management; and parental language beliefs.	One language background form for each family

4.7 Data collection

I commenced the data collection after receiving ethical approval on December 15th 2018, contacting and sending emails and text messages to potential participants on December 20th 2019. The pilot study then took place in February 2019. Following the subsequent analysis and report, I started collecting my data for the main study between March 2019 and July 2019. However, I found I needed to extend the period to October 2019, due to a number of participants being unavailable during the summer holiday.

During this time, each family made two audio recordings of between twenty and thirty minutes, which were undertaken at monthly intervals. These were followed by semi-structured interviews with the mothers in August. This ensured the parents' language practices were not influenced by their reported beliefs in the interviews. Questions for the semi-structured interviews were determined following the analysis of the audio-recording data, with other questions arising spontaneously during the process of conducting interviews (Bryman, 2016), which allowed me to compare any differences between the stated parental beliefs and actual parental practices. This was followed by the multiple-choice background questionnaires. Table (4.3) (below) summarises the timeline of the stages of data collection.

Table 4-4   Timeline of the study

Date	Procedure
December 15th 2018	Received ethical approval
December 20th 2018 to January 25th 2019	Participants recruited
February 1st 2019	The piloting study commenced
March – July 2019	Audio-recordings data collected
August to September 2019	Interviews conducted
November 2019	Background questionnaires distributed

4.7.1 Challenges in data collection

I faced a number of challenges during the data collection and analysis, as follows: Some interviewees gave sparse answers, which meant I needed to prompt them to explain further.

- During the interviews via Skype, there were a number of disconnections, including twice with one participant, although I reread the last question to remind her once the connection returned. In addition, I used a notebook to remind me of the interview questions and jot down any important information.

- I also experienced issues with the participants' ability to commit to the time of sending the recordings, particularly as they were busy juggling between their multiple tasks. I responded to this be being flexible with the timing, in order to prevent them from leaving the study altogether and sent them a text reminding them at the beginning of the week in which they were supposed to record, as well as to thank them once I had received the audio recordings. Despite this, two families were unable to record during the final month, due to being in Saudi Arabia, one for data collection and one for a holiday. However, both agreed to undertake the recordings after returning to England.

- Due to the mothers' busy lives, I found text messages through WhatsApp more effective than emails and phone calls. In addition, I was aware of the careful wording required to encourage the mothers to remain committed, particularly when it came to reminders. I sent formal messages to all the participants before each recording, followed by less formal texts, in which I addressed the mother by her name and explained that she could submit at her convenience, while at the same time, drawing attention to any formal occasion that might disrupt their schedule, i.e. Eid and Ramadan. This approach appeared to be effective, and I therefore continued to use both formal and informal messages according to each situation.

4.8 Ethical considerations

After obtaining ethical approval from the Education Ethics Committee at the University of York, I collected the data from the participants. Prior to the data collection, all participants were informed in writing of the aims and procedures of the study and asked

to sign a consent form (see Appendix A) to confirm that they participated of their own free will. I also informed them of the right to withdraw from the study at any time prior to the analysis, and that their confidentiality was assured (Simon, 2009), including the use of pseudonyms for all family members' names, both in this thesis and any subsequent publications, while at the same time removing any potentially identifying information. The families were also informed of the appropriate handling, storage and disposal of research data to ensure confidentiality and privacy, for example, the data was stored securely on my computer, to which nobody else had access, apart except from myself and my supervisor. I took care to follow the data management plan set by York University throughout the data collection process and made every effort to ensure I adhered to the relevant ethical principles. As the study recorded the family members' conversations discussing their beliefs, opinions and practices, as well as the negotiation of their language use and choice at home, I was aware of the potential for participants to disclose personal and emotional experiences. These ethical requirements were also included in the application made to the Education Ethics Committee at The University of York.

The wording used in the consent forms and information sheet was in English. It was clear, concise and easy to comprehend, reflecting the linguistic backgrounds of participants, all of whom had an advanced level of English as an additional language.

4.9   Data organisation and management

As noted above, I requested the mothers use their mobile phone to make the audio recordings, as firstly, it this did not cause any additional cost, and secondly, being a familiar object, it would not attract notice and therefore likely to encourage more natural conversations. However, there were few instances in which the participants' voices were not sufficiently clear, either due to being too quiet, or too far away from the recorder, or an overlap of speech. However, the recordings of the interviews are clearer in quality, as I was able to choose a place away from any disturbing sounds, as well as each focussing on one individual at a time.

As noted above, the interviews and audio recordings were stored in a password-protected folder in OneDrive and were deleted after being transcribed. The audit forms were also kept in a password protected folder in OneDrive, while any copies made of

the transcriptions, audit forms and questionnaires were kept in a file in a locked drawer in my office at home. These will all be destroyed ten years after I have submitted my thesis. I completed the transcriptions by myself without hiring anyone for this reason. It was made clear to the participants that the data can be used for future analysis and stored for future research purposes.

As all the participants were assigned pseudonyms, all identifying data were replaced with equivalent pseudo information. This organisation was facilitated by the use of a computer (Creswell, 2013), with the data placed in files on my laptop, and named (e.g., F1, audio-recordings – date). In addition, I employed the two essential methods of organising data noted by Marshall and Rossman, (2014), i.e. firstly, I drew up a list of categories to allow me to retrieve and analyse data easily, and secondly, I employed colour coding notes to determine the most important information and analysis process and assist in writing the results

4.10 Piloting and the research tools tested

Piloting is a crucial element of any research design, as it tests the research instruments and analysis procedures in order to find any their weaknesses before conducting the actual research. This increases the trustworthiness (i.e. the reliability and validity) of a study and highlights any lack of research protocols, and whether the research, in general, is feasible and can be conducted successfully.

I therefore piloted this study in December 2018, with two families selected from a list of potential participants, both of whom conformed to the selection criteria as set out above. However, one family withdrew, resulting in the pilot being undertaken with one family. This experience also prompted me to over-recruit families for the main study.

Hassan, Schattner, and Mazza (2006) stated that recruitment strategies and other research techniques can be sampled in preparation for the larger study. Thus, I tested all the research tools using the same procedures employed in the main study (Hassan et al., 2006). I tested audio-recordings, audit forms, semi-structured interviews, and background questionnaires in terms of timing and length, the number and clarity of items and instructions, and the analysis procedures. In addition, I took into consideration the feedback and comments from the pilot family, as follows:

- The use of a mobile phone for recording was convenient, and the voice quality was clear. The only difficulty that the family faced was finding appropriate times and activities enabling all family members to participate. I therefore suggested the activities in the main study should be lunchtimes, playtime and homework sessions. The pilot recordings were deleted, including from my own mobile phone, after I had uploaded them on a file in OneDrive secured with a password.

- The audit forms were simple, short forms and convenient.

- The interviews questions were clear and convenient, and the duration of the interviews was tested and set to be around forty-five minutes.

- The mothers commented that the paper questionnaire was too long, with some questions being tedious and repeated, and it was hard to complete. For this reason, I removed some aspects of the questionnaire (which were instead discussed during the interviews), and I deleted any repetitions. The questionnaires were then placed online using Qualtrics (i.e. web-based software for creating an online survey), to make it easier for the participants to fill in and for the researcher to analyse and report the results.

4.11 Keeping a log

From the beginning, I maintained an electronic log to record administrative details, including the dates of the ethics forms, the location and size of families, and notes on procedures used or changed. As the log was updated regularly, it helped me to organise and archive the data, including sorting some of the qualitative data into MS Excel files and MS Word. Cowie (2009) highlighted the need to immediately organise and summarise data to ensure the smooth progress of research. In addition, maintaining a log and writing memos helped me to analyse the audio recordings and interview data, alongside recording the procedures used (Rallis & Rossman, 2009). A log also proved beneficial during the following: firstly, my reflections on my personal experiences and how these might shape my interpretation and results; secondly, the process of data collection; thirdly, my impressions of everything I went through or learned; and fourthly, making notes on the participants' reactions during the interviews or the families' recorded conversations (Creswell & Creswell, 2017; Glesne, 2016; Pillow, 2003). Furthermore, it helped monitor my subjectivity during the research process and

become aware (and disclose) when my personal experiences might accord with, or differ from, those of the participants, including how this might influence my interpretation. It also helped me to achieve reflexivity and consequently reduced any researcher's bias, although I acknowledge that subjectivity will always be a feature of qualitative research.

4.12 Data Analysis

It was crucial that I organised and categorised the data for the analysis, due to this being complex and rich in a qualitative study (Marshall & Rossman, 2014). I therefore systematically organised the data in a consistent, coherent and accessible manner. I divided each data set according to dates, time, place, and the relevant participant (Marshall and Rossmann, 2016, p. 217). I also kept a research diary, as the iterative analysis process in qualitative research does not separate it from the stage of collecting data (Bitchener, 2009), and so makes the analysis process difficult to manage (Holliday, 2015).

I understood data analysis in the context of the current study as being the 'formal inductive process of breaking down data into segments or data sets which can then be categorised, ordered and examined for connections, patterns and propositions that seek to explain the data' (Simons, 2009, p. 117). As discussed below, as my data was gathered by means of multiple sources, I employed TA (Clarke & Braun, 2017) for: (1) family conversations; (2) the interviews with the Saudi student mothers; (3) the family audit forms; and (4) the family language background forms.

4.12.1 Thematic analysis

In this study, I employed TA for the semi-structured interviews, the families' interactional conversations, audit forms and language background forms, to identify, analyse and establish the relevant patterns and themes of the datasets. I selected TA as the most appropriate method of providing a detailed and rich report of the findings, due to its flexibility and suitability for analysing different types of data (Clarke & Braun, 2013), along with its ability to assist in the interpretation of differing aspects of the research (Grbich, 2012).

I analysed the datasets in my study following the six main stages established by Braun and Clarke (2006). For the first stage, I coded the data following the six steps of Braun and Clarke (2006), as discussed in detail below.

The first phase consisted of familiarising myself with the data sets. I therefore immersed myself and generating views of each set of transcription data (Creswell, 2013, Marshal and Rossmann, 2016). I initially listened to the audio recordings of both the family conversations and the interviews with the Saudi student mothers, followed by transcribing each interview and conversation, all of which had been saved electronically into NVivo. It should be noted that I utilised NVivo solely for the purposes of organisation, and I undertook the analysis manually, through TA, which further enhanced the validity of the resulting data. This involved printing out the data and using different coloured highlighters to highlight the codes. After transcribing the data, I read the and reread the transcriptions of the interviews, family conversations, audit forms and background questionnaires in an analytical and critical manner, with this forming an iterative process. When transcribing the audio recordings and interviews, I ensured I was able to make an objective analysis and increase the study's credibility by employing a systematic process to validate the findings (Dörnyei, 2007; St. Pierre & Jackson, 2014). In addition, I also used 'memoing' to record my comments, thoughts and questions, and to highlight notable quotations. I found that organising and rereading the transcriptions helped me to establish a general picture of Saudi student families' FLP. In addition, I analysed the data relating to the interviews and family conversations through the original untranslated transcripts. I therefore based the analysis of the semi-structured interviews on the preliminary investigations of the audio recordings and audit forms,

The second phase focused on generating the initial codes. I used TA to identify codes (i.e., the smallest unit of analysis capturing the data's most significant features), followed by aggregating them into the main themes, using the research questions as my guide (Clarke & Braun, 2017). My coding for this research involved labelling and selecting segments from lines, phrases or paragraphs that drew my attention as significant in relation to the family members' language use, beliefs and management strategies (e.g., being open to dual identity, as found in Layla's interview), all of which are important for children's language learning. As noted by Grbich (2012),

coding is a beneficial tool for reducing the volume of data. Thus, I identified the data arising from the family conversations as being very rich and of considerable volume (Patton, 2002). This led me to select representative data, in particular by excluding the first recording (i.e. when the parents were unfamiliar with the process) as well as the last (i.e., when most families were distracted by preparing for their annual leave).

After finding the initial codes, I reread the data sets iteratively, in order to organise the data and define the most important codes capable of being assessed in a meaningful manner regarding the language use, beliefs and management strategies of Saudi student mothers and their families. I underlined a number of sections from the data sets and identified some initial codes, e.g., the influence of language use at school; siblings' interactions; and memorising the Quran. For the full dataset, I coded first inductively and then deductively. In the inductive coding, I highlighted a set of codes that appeared to be significant and relevant to the research questions. I then deductively identified other codes in the dataset derived from the codes in inductive coding, as well as a number of further codes obtained from the literature review and existing knowledge. I then applied these to the data sets (i.e. interviews, family conversations, audit forms and background forms). During this stage, I constructed explicit and latent codes by examining the segments of data (Braun & Clarke, 2012). Most of the generated codes were sematic (i.e. concerns relating to their children's lack of Arabic), with certain codes referring to substantial segments of data and others to a single line. I then coded and recoded each data item I felt could be important for answering the research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2012). I followed systematic coding until I had completely coded the data for each interview, conversation, language background form and audit form.

Tables detailing the most frequent codes related to the themes generated were produced manually using an Excel spreadsheet. The frequency of the themes was calculated based on the repetition of certain concepts. Similar codes relating to specific concepts (see appendix E) were collated and assigned to specific themes. For example, statements or phrases including negative attitudes towards monolingualism, or positive attitudes towards bilingualism or identity, were counted as a code. These codes were collated and assigned to one theme of language beliefs e.g., being open to multifaceted identities and multilingualism.

The third phase consisted of the search for themes. This followed the completion of the coding process. Firstly, the assigned codes were reviewed to recognise patterns, similarities and any overlap. This stage enabled me to firstly, identify the patterns arising from my initial observation or the codes of each family's dataset, so helping me to form my preliminary categories or themes. I then compared these across the families, in order to identify any similar patterns or distinguishing themes, including any held in common. Secondly, I developed themes capturing important aspects of the data and offering patterns (or meaning) in the dataset (Braun & Clarke, 2006), i.e. being open to multi-faceted identities and multilingualism. Thirdly, I mapped for various codes, including combining some and deleting others. I also coded the content of the audio recordings, interviews, families' conversations and audit forms, to identify patterns and connections and conceptualise themes relevant to the research questions. During this process, I simultaneously wrote memos and linked these themes to others I had identified in the literature review. Fourthly, I reread and evaluated the codes, as well as assigning themes for the proposed codes (e.g., open to dual identities and negative attitudes towards monolingualism, both of which are significant for children's language learning). Fifthly, I categorised these themes under more comprehensive categories and key themes (e.g., open to multi-faceted identities and multilingualism) and provided interpretations for the themes linked various interpretations, in order to establish an overall picture of the language policy of Saudi student families (Marshall and Rossmann, 2006, p.161). Finally, I highlighted any significant interpretation, providing explanations for aspects capable of extending the findings to similar situations (Patton, 2002). This phase resulted in a set of nominee themes, along with my sense of the relationship between themes, which together told a coherent story of the Saudi student mothers' beliefs, use, and management strategies relating to their children's language learning and use. I identified a total of fifty-two themes, which reflected the Saudi student mothers' perceptions of their family members' language use and learning in the UK.

The fourth stage involved reviewing and checking these themes. By rereading the entire data, I reviewed the themes to ensure that the codes and themes were accurate and reflected the content of the data sets. I used two methods to check and review the

themes: the first was to check whether the themes represented the coded data in terms of research questions, while the second determined whether the themes ensured that those themes reappearing across all the data sets were implemented consistently throughout the dataset (Braun and Clark, 2014). Thus, I read each theme's extracts, firstly, to ensure that a coherent pattern was formed and secondly, to ensure that the themes had mutual relationships that were meaningful and independent of each other. As a result, some specific codes were relocated under a separate theme. For example, *siblings' talk* was located under *family members' discourse strategies.* (see appendix E). Finally, I examined the data for any alterative explanations, including patterns, categories and themes. This involved rereading, and critically considering, the transcriptions and thinking about them critically, thus following a technique considered effective for reaching plausible interpretations (Marshall & Rossman, 2014).

The fifth stage consisted of defining and naming themes. I considered it was important for each theme to display specific intent and scope, and for the combination of all themes to show a meaningful story. I therefore reread the themes with reference to section of the data confirming the congruence between the labels and examples capturing participants' accounts, in order to refine and assign a clear name to each theme. I ensured the labels of these themes followed the three basic principles of FLP, as inspired by Sapolsky's Tripartite Model, which organises beliefs, practices and management. I found this demonstrated the benefits of sharing common ground with other researchers and scholars, alongside the data supporting these labels.

The sixth stage formed the process of writing-up the final qualitative report. For this, I drew up a final draft of the interpretations and findings for the themes in relation to each family, in preparation for the results chapter of the study. I employed both descriptive and conceptual styles to generate the analysis, as well as an analytical discussion. I also used data in some places in an illustrative manner, while other data required detailed discussion and a clear interpretation of the resulting meanings. For the latter, I attempted to build an argument to illuminate how the Saudi student mothers perceived their children's language learning and use while living abroad. Accordingly, the final themes are illustrated with extensive quotations (i.e. raw data) that, for purposes of authenticity, were translated into English for citation in the results

chapter.

4.12.2 Additional simple statistical analysis of families' conversations

I found that the data from the audio recordings also provided me with percentage evidence of the language choices of the family members (i.e. English, Arabic and codeswitching). For this, I used a list of symbols of transcription conventions adapted from Have (2007) (see Appendix D). I used the audio recordings to analyse the turns (i.e. an individual action of speech by each family member, undertaken while responding to the precedent), employed by each member of the family participating in the conversations. The turns were classified into: (1) Arabic (i.e. without the inclusion of any English words); (2) English (i.e. lacking any Arabic words); and (3) code switching (i.e. including Arabic and/or English). Furthermore, I classified some words as neutral, being neither Arabic nor English, such as: *ok*; *bravo*; name of places in the UK; names of people; and those lacking Arabic equivalent, i.e. *the Internet*. I calculated the turns by means of Microsoft Word, assigning a symbol to each turn, i.e. (*) for Arabic, (°) for English and (Δ) for codeswitching.

4.13 Triangulation

I triangulated the data for this research using a range of research methods (Yin, 2018), such as semi-structured interviews, audio recordings, audit forms and background questionnaires (Bryman, 2016; Yin, 2018), which enabled me to cross-check the findings generated from one source with those of another, so ensuring a more detailed and trustworthy analysis. In this I followed Cohen et al. (2000, p. 254), who defined triangulation as an attempt 'to map out or explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one standpoint.'

In addition, I employed four interlinked data sources examining the language ideologies, practices, and management of Saudi student families during their daily interactions while sojourning in the UK. I considered that studying identical phenomena through several data formats would help me reduce any problems, weaknesses, and biases associated with the use of single methods. Moreover, it gave me the opportunity

to compare the families' reports with their actual behaviour, i.e. I triangulated the mothers' language perspectives, as set out in the interviews, with their language practices and management as revealed in the audio recordings (Shohamy & Spolsky, 2000).

I further used this triangulation to ascertain my participants' views of their own meaning-making practices, which has also contributed to the trustworthiness of my findings (Starfield, 2010).

In addition, I followed Lincoln and Guba's (1990) criteria to ensure the trustworthiness and validity of my multiple case studies, so enhancing the rigor of my research. For this, I presented the same views of the participants (Schwandt et al., 2007) concerning their language beliefs and practices and their opinions about their children's language learning. I used this approach to ensure authentic and stronger descriptions of how the mothers in my study aligned their beliefs with their language practices and management (Henry, 2015). Furthermore, I was careful not to impose my own beliefs, while at the same time willing to accept any unexpected or emerging change in the direction of the research process, supporting this with detailed descriptions of all my procedures, changes or decisions.

Moreover, drawing up such a comprehensive description also helped me in understanding how my study could be applied to other times, places, people and contexts (Anderson, 2017), so ensuring *transferability* and *trustworthiness* (Anderson, 2017).

Firstly, I achieved *Transferability* by presenting rich and direct quotations, alongside descriptive phrases and experiences, in order to convey a sense of the participants' environment, so resulting in careful interpretations and illustrated in-depth concepts (Anderson, 2017).

Secondly, despite the difficulties posed by the lack of any peer researcher to check my results, I achieved *conformability* through carefully linking my interpretations and research findings to the data (Schwandt et al., 2007), while being reflexive about my research position and my methods to reduce any subjectivity, i.e. an audit trail (Lincoln & Guba, 1990). In addition, I employed multiple and overlapping methods to achieve dependability.

4.14 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the methodological design of my study, along with my research methods. Firstly, I described in detail the research procedures and justified my use of qualitative research. Secondly, I discussed my role as a researcher, including the importance of reflexivity as a qualitative research feature. Thirdly, I illustrated my paradigm as being constructivist and outlined my theoretical and methodological frameworks. Fourthly, I provided detailed information concerning the context and participants of my study and how I followed the required ethical procedures throughout my data collection. Finally, I concluded this chapter ended by providing evidence for the rigour and trustworthiness of my study. The next chapter presents the study's findings, according to the themes generated during the data analysis.

5 Findings from the case studies

5.1 Introduction

This chapter reports the findings concerning the family language policies of the six case studies, commencing with the family demonstrating the most flexible approach. The chapter is divided into six sections, each focusing on the individual student families, employing data obtained from the background questionnaires and semi-structured interviews, along with the audio recordings and audit forms. This includes the participants' demographics and sociolinguistic background, along with their beliefs, practices and management in relation to their mother tongue. Each case study concludes with a summary and a cross-referencing of their characteristics.

The findings are presented so that they align with the research questions, focusing on the main components of FLP (Curdt Christiansen, 2009): parental language beliefs, practices and management of FLP. The themes were chosen based on the research questions and the number of times they were mentioned in the data. The decision to label the themes as language beliefs, practices and management was inspired by Spolsky's tripartite model and FLP by King et al. (2008). The researcher found that categorizing the themes according to these three aspects supported the data and emphasized what the study has in common with that provided by other FLP researchers. The chapter follows a narrative composition, in which one finding leads to another (Gibbs, 2007). It also presents emerging themes, including exploring mothers' wellbeing and mental health through firstly, anxiety about being good a parent; secondly, feelings of guilt and managing their responsibilities for their children's learning while living abroad; thirdly the families' language choices in relation to communication technology (ICT); and finally, the impact of conflicting external and internal on language use at home while living in the UK. The following sections present the findings concerning the mothers' language beliefs and how these influenced their language policies, practices and management with their children. Each section contains three sub-sections, focusing on language beliefs, language practices and language management.

5.2 Layla

Layla arrived in the UK in August 2014 to undertake a PhD in Education, having

obtained her Master's degree in Saudi Arabia (SA). Due to work commitments, her husband remained at home, but she was accompanied by her three children: Hajar, aged eleven, Huda, aged eight years four months, and Fahd, aged five years and six months. Layla had attained a high level in English (achieving an IELTS score of 6.0) and worked as a lecturer in a Saudi university. Layla differed from other Saudi student families in that she was highly supportive of using English language, culture and education but had a negative attitude towards Arabic language and culture. Her children reflected Layla's preference for English, showing the highest percentage of use of English among other families.Table 5-1 shows the basic parameters of age, language use, educational level, and period of residence in the UK for Layla and her three children.

Table 5-1   Layla's family

Family members	Age	Education level	Language spoken	Age on Arrival (AOA)	Residence in the UK
Layla (mother)	35	MA; studying PhD in Education at the time of data collection	Mother tongue Arabic; advanced English		Since September 2014; returned to SA September 2019 (5 years)
Hajar (daughter)	11	Sixth grade	Fluent English; less fluent Arabic	6:3	
Huda (daughter)	8:4	Third grade	Fluent English; Arabic not fluent	3:4	
Fahd (son)	5:6	Reception	Fluent English; cannot speak Arabic	0:7	

During the time Layla and her children resided in the UK, her husband was only able to visit three times, to help them settle in and obtain their visas. No other relatives were available to help her, although she did employ a nanny. This led Layla to be the

decision-maker when it came to her children's education and social activities:

'I have been living completely alone with my children for five years, my husband did not visit us – he came only three times to help with our visas, and his interest in the children's language learning is zero. And even when I returned (to SA), he did not interfere at all, I mean he has zero presence in the children's life.' (Lines 38-39)

Layla was the only one of the participants to complete her thesis by the end of my data collection and return to SA with her family. For this reason, her interview was undertaken through Skype. In addition, she was able to outline the change in her family language policy on her return, from focusing predominantly on English during her stay in the UK to emphasising Arabic on her return to SA. However, despite now having more time to provide support, she reported little improvement in the children's standard of Arabic.

All of Layla's children were born in SA and arrived in the UK in August 2014. The eldest daughter Hajar (aged eleven) was in sixth grade at the time of the data collection, having arrived the UK at the age of six years and three months. She demonstrated the best-spoken Arabic, but still lacked fluency during conversations with her mother, and tended to use English with her siblings, as well as when watching TV and videos on YouTube and playing video games. Her preference for English was clear from both the audio recording data and her mother's statements during her interview, i.e. '*Hajar uses a mix*' (line 296).

The second daughter, Huda, was eight years and four months at the time of data collection and in the third grade. She had arrived in the UK at the age of three years and four months, being initially enrolled in the University nursery. I found that, although she occasionally attempted to reply to her mother in Arabic during the audio recordings, Huda's speech was predominantly native-like English, with Layla acknowledging: '*she prefers English*' (line 294).

The youngest child, Fahd, was aged five and six months, having arrived in the UK at seven months. Like Huda, Fahd attended the university nursery and at the time of data collection was in the reception class, with his speech being exclusively native-like

English, with (as captured in the audio recordings) the only times he used Arabic being to repeat words spoken by his mother. Layla said:

'*He likes Arabic, but he can't really speak it. But he pushes himself so hard – in fact, I've noticed that he's really keen to speak Arabic.*' (Lines 298-299)

In the UK, the family lived in a housing complex in the city centre, a short distance from the university. This formed a multi-ethnic environment, also accommodating students from India, the UK and Sweden, and allowing the children to play with those of other Saudi families. Through the time of data collection, Layla moved to SA. During the interview Layla's responses showed the change in her language policy, between FLP in the UK and the one in SA, which the latter was stricter and more successful in promoting the use of Arabic at home. Table 5-2 shows the change in the Layla's FLP after return to SA.

Table 5-2   Layla's FLP in the UK and SA

	While resident in the UK	**After returning to SA**
Mother	◆ Flexible language policy, allowing use of English with the children. ◆ A private tutor teaching the children Arabic twice a week in the final two years of her residency in the UK.	◆ Strict imposition of Arabic language use with the children. ◆ Started to teach the children Arabic herself.
Children	◆ Children resisted using/speaking Arabic and spoke mainly English.	◆ Children became willing to use Arabic.

5.2.1   Layla's language beliefs

This section examines the three themes characterising the family's language beliefs. Firstly, Layla's admiration of English language and culture, and the importance she attached to knowledge acquisition. Secondly, her positive attitude towards bilingualism and her belief in multifaceted identities. Thirdly, her focus on Arabic on her return home, in order to fit back into the Saudi community.

Table 5-3   Themes highlighting Layla's family language beliefs

		Codes	Frequency
Theme 1	Admiration of English language and culture	-Positive attitudes towards English -negative attitudes towards Arabic	32
Theme 2	Being open to multi-faceted identities and multilingualism	-Open to dual identity -negative attitudes towards monolingualism	19
Theme 3	Arabic is important to fit back into the Saudi community in SA	-worries about children's lack of competence in Arabic culturally socially, educationally	16
		Total	67

5.2.2   Theme 1: Admiration of British/English culture and schooling system

Layla held a very positive attitude towards English language and culture and encouraged its use in the home. Firstly, she considered the language as that of logic and scientific knowledge; secondly, that this was a skill benefiting her children in future and thirdly, that it allowed greater freedom of expression. Layal discussed a very important phenomena, which is about her children being socialised through English to be more critical and use logic. This shows that acquiring a language does not only include the linguistic form but also the cultural values and social roles associated and enhanced by the use of that language (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). Layla hinted here to her children acquired through socialising into English, in school in the UK and through mingling with British peers, the cultural critical values and freedom of expression, which she admired, and she thought that these values are missed in Arabic cultures, which more emotional, compliment and concurred with the majority.

Layla stated that her children framed the content of their questions with a sense of logic, which she associated with English language and culture:

'I am happy that my children are exploring [the world] through English, because I believe that it is <u>logical</u>, it doesn't exaggerate or self-aggrandise, for example, historical exaggeration and that kind of thing. For instance, <u>they ask adults, logical questions, the children grow up free to ask anything they want.</u> I feel that English has such a strong sense of logic, more than Arabic, which focuses on the emotional

dimension, the belongingness, and these types of things. I feel that because of belongingness, they ask me in Arabic and speak Arabic, but the <u>basic logic</u> is British, and this for me is a <u>good point, not bad</u>.' (Lines 272-279. The underlined are Layla's own words spoken in English and are not translated from Arabic).

This indicates that Layla considered English to offer significant advantages to her children, including improving their ability to communicate and explore and understand the world. Layla's beliefs regarding the economic, educational and international benefits of English as a high-status language, being of great importance to her children led her to prioritize English over Arabic (Curdt-Christiansen & Wang, 2018; Gogonas & Kirsch, 2018; Tang & Calafato, 2022). Layla's previous learning experience, along with that as a PhD student, had brought her into contact with recent advances in her field outside SA, including considering academic life in the UK as relatively developed. When I asked Layla how important English language was to her children, she said:

'It's important, as <u>I consider it the language of knowledge,</u> that is to say <u>they can understand the world</u>' (lines 309-310). *...That means if a person wants to increase his or her knowledge English is the language of knowledge and skills. The better you are at English, the more skills and information you will get gain. <u>Information and</u> the <u>data base</u> in English are larger than that in other languages. So, it is good to learn and speak English.'* (Lines 312-315)

Layla also considered English to benefit her children as an international language (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009a; Kang, 2013), and viewed it as their first language, due to the time spent in the UK during their early years:

'*My children speak English as their first language (main language) and Arabic as their second language, although it should be the other way around! They studied in British state schools, and they are very fluent in English*.' (Lines 13-15)

Layla admired the freedom of expression in English culture, considering it as imposing fewer restrictions on children, particularly in relation to freedom to discuss topics

considered taboo in Arabic culture.

'*As a mother, I believe they find more freedom in English than in Arabic, with many cultural barriers in Arabic. So, I find my daughter, who is now a teenager, can speak more freely when using English than when speaking Arabic. She keeps asking me about emotional life and boyfriends in English, but I can't imagine she would ask me the same in Arabic.*' (Lines 72- 78) does this receive a code?

The idea of having a boyfriend is a taboo topic in Arabic, being against the principles of Arab and Islamic culture, in which girls are only expected to have intimate relationship after marriage. English can therefore be seen as helping Layla's children express their ideas freely, so overcoming the barriers of Arabic culture. The connotations between taboo topics and L1, in Layla's case Arabic, is that Arabic would have greater emotional force which can impede her from discussing these topics, while English, as a second language, because it provoked less emotional force and connotations with taboo topics, in Arabic culture (Dewaele, 2004), made Layla more comfortable in discussing these topics in English with her children. This has also led her to be convinced why many of the younger generation of Saudis (including those who have never been abroad) prefer to use English:

'*I wanted to say that, of the new generation, the girls (even the kids) find it easier to express themselves in English.*' (Lines 72-23)

In answering my question as to why she thought this was so, she replied:

'*The Arabic language is so judgemental. It's a language of judgement and of punishment, reward and criticising. There is always wrong and right for these children, you and I were able to deal with it until we had grown up, <u>our generation dealt with it, although it is difficult, this cultural barrier works in a good way</u>. <u>I can't imagine my kids' generation will accept the cultural barriers anymore and</u> I believe this is <u>the main reason</u>'* (lines 147-152. The underlined are Layla's own words spoken in English and are not translated from Arabic).

Layla described Arabic as being '*judgemental*', which I feel can be related to her previous adverse educational and cultural experiences in SA, as well as her current negative experiences during the interview. Layla was the only participant to return to SA at the end of the data collection. As mothers often play the main role in nurturing HL (Tuominen, 1999), Layla's negative attitudes towards Arabic, along with her lack of pride in her heritage and culture, led me to expect a decrease in her commitment to using Arabic at home, with a negative impact on maintaining her children's HL (Urzúa & Gómez, 2008). Layla gave me a subsequent glimpse into her life following her return to SA, including her attempts to re-adjust to Saudi culture and community. She indicated that the mockery experienced by her children due to their lack of linguistic competence, as well as confidence, in Arabic, led her to view Arabic as a judgmental language, causing a conflict between maintaining Arabic for social and educational purposes and supporting her children by reducing their heritage language anxiety and choosing to speak English (Sevinç, 2016a; Sevinç & Backus, 2017; Sevinç & Dewaele, 2018).

Layla mentioned an incident in which her daughters chatted in English in the playground to friends in SA, who have never been abroad, and were studying in state schools. For example:

'*I am not exaggerating when I say, for example, when we went to the funfair with the children recently, all the children spoke English, all of them in the playground, and I kept watching them and thinking that my children have just come from Britain* [she meant that it was to be expected that her children would speak English]*, but my friend's children have never been abroad and they speak English very well, as if they were living abroad, and that is really interesting (eye-catching) that the children are not speaking Arabic.* (Lines 139-144)…*I mean the whole of this generation speaks English.'* (Line 168)

This citation illustrates how English is pervasive globally (Leung & Uchikoshi, 2012), which makes the Saudi new generation attracted to use it in their daily speech. Layla's perception of English being the preferred language of the new Saudi generation influenced her use of language at home, as well as the fact that English was more

familiar to her children linguistically and culturally. This indicates when asked about her children's preferences, she said *'English, of course, is the closest to them.'* And when I asked whether she meant English culture too, she replied *'a hundred percent.'* (Line 68). Parental expectations are one of micro factors that influence the language use at home (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016). Layla's expectations of her children's language preferences, ability and development clearly determine how she shaped her FLP. Layla's had weak impact beliefs (De Houwer, 1999). Her belief that she had little control over her children's language use could be the reason which made her FLP failed to promote the use of Arabic at home (Nakamura, 2016). Parents in a transnational context may feel that learning the HL would hinder the language of the majority, which Okita (2002) calls 'language delay anxiety', English in the UK is the societal language and important for Layla children's academic achievement (Nakamura, 2016).

5.2.3   Theme 2: Being open to multi-faceted identities and multilingualism

Layla stated that she believed in the importance of multilingualism and multi-faceted identities, and that children are encouraged to learn four or five languages:

'It is good to learn and speak English, but I don't mind them their Arabic being fluent, too. I don't see any contradiction in that. Let children learn English, Arabic, Spanish and French. For example, my children are learning both English and French in the new school. Generally speaking, I believe that children can learn four or five languages.' (Lines 316-320)

In transnational families, identity becomes fluid and open to transformation (Farias & Asaba, 2013 The identities of transnational families are often constructed through daily interactional talk (Lomeu Gomes, 2020). Layla was aware of the multilingual identities of her children, associating their linguistic capabilities with different ways of thinking and unique language ideologies (Tang & Calafato, 2022), which she considered an advantage. Layla demonstrated a positive attitude towards bi/multilingualism, noting that learning more than one language can open the mind and improve children's skills, particularly if the language has a socio-economic linguistic capital (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). Layla considered that two important dimensions of any language are its status and power:

'Speaking as a mother, children who speak two languages or more, or in fact those who speak English specifically, their characters are stronger and politer than those who speak only Arabic, and that's really so sad, really sad. Really sad.' (Lines 371-372)

When it came to the issue of multi-faceted identities, and that children have the right to choose their own identities, she said:

'I'm worried, not because of their identity and all that stuff, I believe in identity, I believe that we can't force our children to stick to their basic identity. I can see that in my children, and it's true of all children who have lived in two different countries. You can't restrict children to just one identity only.' (Lines 53-56)

On the contrary, Layla held a negative attitude towards monolingualism in general, and Arabic culture in particular, viewing Arabic as a language of barriers, lacking in logic and critical thinking, as well as freedom of expression, i.e. due to the preponderance of taboo topics. Layla thus believed Arabic was only important because of its cultural and identity values.

5.2.4   Theme 3: The importance of Arabic for fitting back into the community in SA

The prospect of fitting back into the Saudi community and communicating with their extended family was the driving force behind Layla' maintaining her children's ability to speak Arabic. In addition, this demonstrated their belongingness to the Saudi community. However, she was concerned that their lack of fluency might expose them to mockery and bullying by fellow pupils and the community once they returned to SA. Thus, maintaining their Arabic was also seen as important for their academic progress:

'I *was really worried, because, to be honest with you, I was worried that they were speaking English, and I'm still worried because of the potential for bullying. That's why I want them to improve their Arabic, because it is their main language.*' (Lines 267-269)

Thus, as the end of her stay in the UK approached, Layla's changed her use of language and FLP to a focus on Arabic, including literacy, in order to prepare the children for

their return to SA:

'I *have given Arabic learning much attention in the last years because the first two*
years they were young and Hajar was six years old, and Fahd was only six months.'
(Lines 44-46)

However, Layla stated that, following their return to SA, the children demonstrated
greater willingness to speak Arabic:

 '*It's getting better now that we're back here. Actually, I've noticed that they accept*
Arabic more than when we were in the UK, and they no longer show any disapproval.'
(Lines 89-90)

Although Layla admitted that her children needed to learn Arabic because it was their
'*mother tongue',* she did not associate this with Arabic culture and or religion, noting
that: '*Arabic isn't very important as a cultural language'* (Line 326*).* Instead, she
associated the restrictions of Arabic culture (i.e. the inability to discuss certain subjects)
with the language, considering that this reduced the desire of the younger generation to
learn Arabic. She stated she wished to:

 '*Strengthen Arabic by strengthening the critical and logic dimension of the language in*
relation to <u>critical thinking and critical writing.</u>' (Line 347- 348. The underlined are
Layla's own words spoken in English and are not translated from Arabic).

Layla was disappointed with many issues associated with Arabic culture and
particularly the language, which she considered to be judgemental, and placing cultural
restrictions on freedom of expression. She considered it a language of emotions and
exaggeration, promoting illusions that bolstered Arab self-esteem without reflecting the
reality of the contemporary situation of Arabic language and world. She therefore
considered that Arabic language should be developed in future through the
encouragement of critical thinking, logic, and freedom of expression.

5.2.5 Layla's language practices

This section presents the most important themes in Layla's family language practices, as captured in the audio recordings and semi-structured interviews, as shown in Table 5-4. The first concerns Layla's discourse strategies, including to reinforce her FLP, as well as the role of the children in determining the language of conversation. The second theme discusses the influence of social media and TV programmes on the use of English language between family members. Social media and TV was selected as a theme, as these were used by children without any interventions from their parents. In addition, this activity was mentioned by mothers on more than one occasion as a daily practice, and was also recorded as an aspect of the conversations held by a number of the families. The third theme examines the influence of the British community, as represented by the school, in shaping the language choices of Layla's family.

Table 5-4   Themes that highlight Layla's family language practices

		Codes	**Frequency**
Theme 1	Family members' discourse strategies	Mother-interaction with children Siblings interactions	12
Theme 2	Social media and digital technology reinforcing the use of English	Watching TV, social media in English	8
Theme 3	British Schools influence on the children's language choices	-chatting with peers -language use at school	3
		Total	23

5.2.6 Theme 1: Layla's discourse strategies to influence the language choice of her children

The majority of Layla's interactions with her children took place in English, alongside codeswitching between English and Arabic. However, in line with her language beliefs and the language she claimed to use in the interview, she often used Arabic as a move-on strategy (i.e. speaking in Arabic while her children replied in English) to promote a bilingual environment at home (Lanza, 2004). The distribution of the family members'

language use during the audio recordings is shown below:

Table 5-5   The distributions of Layla's family members' language use in the audio recordings

Total English turns	Total Arabic turns	Total CS turns	Total turns
(63.73 %)	(11.38%)	(6.85 %)	1809

	Layla	Hajar	Huda	Fahd
Arabic	(8.45%)	(0.55%)	(1.54%)	(0.71%)
English	(22.38%)	(11.27%)	(13.32%)	(15.92%)
CS	(5.14%)	(0.82%)	(0.66%)	(0.11%)

This shows that Layla's family demonstrated most turns appeared in English, Arabic and codeswitching, with English representing the highest number. The high number of English turns could be due to her conversations with her children in English. Huda showed the second highest number of turns in English and Arabic, but not in relation to codeswitching, which may be due to her high proficiency in English, and the fact that she only spoke Arabic with her mother when confident of what she was going to say.

Hajar can be seen as using more English than Arabic, while her codeswitching proved the highest of her siblings. Fahd, due to his inability to speak in Arabic, can be seen to make more use of English, with his Arabic turns consisting primarily of repetitions of Arabic statements made by his mother.

The main factors influencing Layla's language use at home were shown to be the topic of conversation (i.e. school activities) and the children's language choices. Although she tended to initiate the use of Arabic when greeting her children, she frequently then switched to English, particularly with Fahd, who did not speak Arabic. The order of children and their agencies appeared to have an influence on the maternal language choice, which was often in the majority language when speaking with younger children due to their low proficiency in the HL (Parada, 2013). Layla's greater use of English with

Fahd was due to her awareness his lesser ability in Arabic. Layla also often expressed her emotions in English, i.e. showing surprise and telling jokes, and at one point warning Fahd. This is different from what King and Logan-Terry (2008) found that mothers in transnational context often used the minority language for affective reasons. However, at other times she favoured Arabic, i.e. when talking about relatives in SA, thanking, praising, or showing sympathy to, and warning, her children or teaching them manners.

The siblings' interactions often took place in English, and they did not appear to be fluent in Arabic, with Hajar showing the greatest fluency and Fahd the least. This preference can be seen as partially due to their young age at arrival in the UK, or reflection of Layla's discourse strategies move-on and codeswitching (Lanza, 2004), which are less effective in promoting monolingualism to support Arabic at home (King & Logan-Terry, 2008). However, there were certain situations in which Layla's children preferred speaking English: firstly, with their mother (particularly after school); secondly, with each other; thirdly, with English school friends; and fourthly, when playing with Arabic friends.

113	Hajar:	**algebra]** = *
114	Huda:	=***no she was like she was like oh you have to do a practice*** ((she speaks like her teacher)) ***but we have like many years [ahead of us and then we can do it like after one year:: ******
115	Hajar:	***you only have one year****
116	Huda:	***I know:: ****
117	Hajar:	***you have only a little bit Huda****
118	Huda:	***I know but (.) I don't know why because I'm super bad at maths****
119	Layla:	***why?****
120	Huda:	((giggle)) ***I do not [know****
121	Hajar:	***it's actually] really hard even I find it hard****
122	Huda:	***I 'm good [an:: ****
123	Hajar:	**and** ***they think** us little *ten years old and eleven years old can* **pass that***

124	Huda:	*I'm like very good at maths yeah but algebra no::: I hate shapes * (10:43)*
125	Hajar:	*no wait till you see umm finding ratios of circles and diameter= *
126	Huda:	*=no I hate shapes] *
127	Hajar:	**and they like** *oh you should know that by year five but it's year six work* **like what the hell **

In the above extract the whole conversation between Huda and Hajar was in English. The data shows the children were influenced by the language of school and of their peers (Shin, 2002), with whom they interacted in English, including when they returned to SA, with Layla stating:

"*They are trying to communicate a little bit with classmates in Arabic; and, for example, they try to talk Arabic with my sister's daughter, but in fact, they're also influencing her, so she's starting to talk English with them'.* (Lines 130-132)

The above excerpt from Layla's interview demonstrates the power of her children's agency, as well as how the interactions between siblings and peers can provide a deep understanding of children's linguistic agencies, along with ensuring they become more active participants in the process of language socialisation within the home (Kheirkhah & Cekaite, 2018; Paugh, 2005). Children's agency in transnational families, accompanied by their home linguistic environment, can be seen as influenced by external factors manifested in schools (Leung & Uchikoshi, 2012) , while friendships act to bring the majority language into the home and reverse the directionality of parent-child socialisation (Luykx, 2005). Thus, children influence their parents' language practices through their negotiations concerning their own preferred language and its use (Fogle & King, 2013; Gafaranga, 2010; Luykx, 2005; Wei, 2012). It should be noted that PDS (Lanza, 2004) forms of the strategies employed by bilingual children in their negotiations with parents, in particular to resist their FLP and use the majority language.

Layla was interested in showing her children the pragmatic use of Arabic, this was similar to King and Logan-Terry (2008) who found that mothers were more interested in

correcting their children's language use pragmatically more than nannies. Teaching Fahd *bless you* and *thank you*, as demonstrated in the following extract from the sixth conversation:

391	Layla	shkran **ya Huda *for your support*** Δ
	%tra	*thank you Huda for your support*
392	Huda:	afwan°
	%tra	*you are welcome*
393	Layla	***I love to hear what did you say* sic. ***
394	Huda	shokran°*
	%tra	*thank you*
395	*Layla*	shokran ya Fahd (.) gol afwan°
	%tra	*thank you Fahd (.) say welcome*
396	Fahd	afwan°
	%tra	*Welcome*
397	Layla	gol fedeatik **(expression means may I protect you from all the bad things)** °
	%tra	*welcome*
398	Fahd	fedeatik°

In the above extract, Layla thanks Huda for her support in Arabic '*shkran*' but the sentence in English, with Huda replying in Arabic ('*Afwan*'). Layla socialised her children into Arabic when teaching them some pragmatic use (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011). However, Layla keeps using English and even praises Huda in English, then thanks Fahd in Arabic, requesting that he replies using the word '*afwan'*. However, she praises Fahd in Arabic *'fedeatik'* and asks him to repeat the expression. Layla's use of move-on and CS strategies (Lanza, 2004), with her children contradict her language ideologies in promoting bilingualism and dual identity, as these discourse strategies are less effective in enhancing the child bilingual development, in Arabic and English,

because the children controlled the language interaction and negotiation at home (Lanza, 1992), supporting the use of English.

5.2.7 Theme 2: Social media and digital technology reinforce the use of English

The audio recordings revealed many instances in which the children used English for video games, watching TV programmes and YouTube channels. Social media and digital technology were routinely used by the children without their mother's intervention, therefore these were considered language practices when describing Layla's family. Layla stated that '*the Xbox of course is all in English there are no games in Arabic'.*

During one family conversation, the older daughter, Hajar, talked with her mother about her favourite YouTubers and how they influenced her drawing technique when making anime drawings. The following extract from the third conversation between Hajar and Layla commenced with a discussion of where Hajar wished to study art:

55	Layla:	XX tabghi ya Hajar ba'adeen todrosi *art*? Δ
		%tra XX do you want to study art later?
56	Hajar:	*ey bass abgha aroh li **America** °*
		%tra yes but I want to go to America
57	Layla:	todrosi *art* fi ***America?*** Δ
		%tra You want to study art in America?
58	Hajar:	**yes because I don't know French I don't know Italian (.) I don't know Spanish I don't know German I don't know Russian I do not know Chinese I don't know Japanese I do know Japanese but I don't wanna go study in Japan**= *
59	Layla:	= leesh? °
		%tra why?
60	Hajar:	**I JUST don't BECAUSE EVERY ONE THERE because they all draw anime (.) and its gonna be like ((**hitting sound**)) but I wanna go to the New Zealand (.) New Zealand is one of the top ten safest places on earth (.) plus in New Zealand that's where my favourite artist will teach people how to draw (.)***

| 61 | Layla: | ieesh ismaha **XX** artist? Δ |
| | | |

%tra what is her name this xx artist?

| 62 | Hajar: | *I just know her YouTube channel name but I don't know how to pronounce up but I don't like to being rude* **(.)** *and pronouncing people name so* **(.)** *because that is disrespectful* **(.)** *all I know that she used to put in her profile picture used to be like something like a waffle* **(.)** *but now she changed it* **(.)** *so yeah [cause she* * |

| 63 | Layla: | *Is* **originally** *from New Zealand?]* * |

| 64 | Hajar: | *I think* **(.)** **((**try to remember from where she is**))** * |

In this conversation, Hajar speaks in English about her favourite Youtuber, who is from New Zealand, despite her mother's questions in Arabic ('*ieesh ismaha XX artist?'*). This also shows how social media has reinforced the use of English at home, particularly as Layla can be seen also switching to English and using move-on strategy (Lanza, 2004). Huda, the younger sister, noted that she often played games, replying to her mother question about her plan for the day/ week as follows:

100	Huda*:*		**((**giggle**))** w:: ana rah ana rah *I read a book and then just take a nap like normally because it is I love sleeping* **((** she switched to English because it easier for her to speak with**))** Δ
	%tra		**((**giggle**))** and:: I will I will I read a book and then just take a nap like normally it is I love sleeping
101	Layla*:*		*because you take naps* **sic.** *
102	Huda:	*yeah (.) and then I'm*	((laugh))
104	*Huda:*		((laugh)) *(.) that's all for my next week plans**

In this extract, Huda tells her mother that she was going to play games, which are often in English. Fahd also watched cartoons in English and when his mother asked him which movie he had watched with his friends at school, he replied:

167	Layla:	*tell us about which movie you watch the last week?]* *
168	Fahd:	*aw the Gruffalo and the one stick man* *

Fahd then explains that he watched the Gruffalo and the stickman in school:

177	Layla:	*and you go to the movie which movie you went there?]* *
178	Fahd:	*aa I didn't go to movie the movie was in school* *
179	Layla:	((yawning)) *in the school which movie you watch in the school?* *
180	Fahd:	**Gruffallo** *and the stickman* ((his sound like I told you that before))
181	Layla:	*what is about?* *
182	Fahd:	*Aa*
183	Layla:	*did you like it or not? Tell me the truth* *
184	Fahd:	*a I liked the* **Grufallo** *
185	Layla:	Umm

In this extract, Fahd talks in English about the movie he watched with his classmates at school, so demonstrating both the influence of movie and the role of school and the surrounding environment as an external force that enhances adoption of the majority language. Interestingly, Layla commences, and continues, the conversations with Fahd in English. Layla here used codeswitching into English promoting the use of English at home.

5.2.8   Theme 3: The influence of British schooling on children's language choices

The data shows that Hajar and Huda frequently chatted about school activities in English and these interactions, including with Fahd, generally influenced their mother's own choice of language:

'When they came back from school, the children spoke English amongst themselves, and I was having difficulty communicating with them in Arabic.' (Line 28-29)

The main influence of the British community was represented by the school, particularly as Hajar, Huda and Fahd spent half of their day there, being involved in many activities and having made friendships through the medium of English, often bringing such influences home. Layla also used codeswitching between Arabic and English when asking about school. Here she asks her daughter Hajar about a SAT exam, and Huda also becomes involved in the conversation, with both speaking English:

105   Layla: taieb bass inti **what do you think about the exam for Hajar?** Δ

         %tra ok but you what do you think about the exam for Hajar?

106   Huda: ***I think it's ganna be super hard because my teacher yeah she made us to year six work last week*** *

107   Layla: ***really=*** *

108   Huda: ***=yeah*** *

109   Layla: ***why? =*** *

110   Hajar: ***=because it was like super hard it's like shapes and question marks new numbers I don't know why::?*** *

111   Layla: ***why?*** *

112   Huda: ***she was [like*** ((overlap voices between Hajar and Huda made unclear conversation)) *

The data demonstrated that Layla asked her children about school when she wanted to open a conversation with them, rapidly switching to English, even if she initiated the conversation in Arabic:

89   Layla: goli lana eaish rah tsawee ***next weak what do you have plans?*** **sic.** Δ
       %tra   tell us what you will do next weak what plans you have?

90   Huda: ana rah fi al madrassah ana [rah umm °
       %tra   I will go to school [I will umm

91   Layla: eaish rah tsawee? °

%tra   *what are you going to do*

92 Huda: ana rah rooh bara= **((trying hard to speak in Arabic)) °**

%tra   *I am going to go out=*

93 Layla   : =umm

94 Huda: ey ba'adain ana bass ana bass [ala'ab ° ((not fluent in Arabic))

%tra   *yeah after that I just I just [play*

95 Layla: ((giggle)) ((she is giggling because her daughter's Arabic accent is weak))

96 Huda: ((giggle)) w ba'ad al madrassah ey:: ana rah akol cream ashan ana ahob ice cream °

%tra   *((giggle)) and after the school yeah:: I will eat cream because I love ice cream*

97 Layla: **which flavour you like? ***

98 Huda: choclata°

%tra   *Chocolate*

99 Layla: hayati al chocalata anti °

%tra   *oh sweetie you are the chocolate*

100 Huda: **((giggle)) w:: ana rah ana rah *I read a book and then just take a nap like normally because it is I love sleeping* ((she switched to English because it easier for her to speak with)) Δ**

%tra   *((giggle)) and:: I will I will I read a book and then just take a nap like normally it is I love sleeping*

101 Layla: **because you take naps sic. ***

Here, Layla uses codeswitching to ask Huda about her plans for the following week. Interestingly, Huda is willing to speak in Arabic, even when discussing a topic related to school, but experiences difficulties in expressing herself, thus leading to her mother encouraging her to use English (i.e. '*which flavour do you like?*'. Huda replies in

Arabic, but with a foreign accent, '*choclata*' and Layla replies without correcting her pronunciation. School aged children in transnational families are active agents, capable of influencing their parents' language practices and choices (Fogle & King, 2013) and socialising them into the majority language (Gafaranga, 2010). Huda demonstrates an ability to differentiate between Arabic and English, and uses Arabic with her mother (Lanza, 2004). It is notable that Layla codeswitches into English when she notices Huda's anxiety concerning her heritage language (Sevinç & Dewaele, 2018), in order to reduce her daughter's HLA. This demonstrates that the interplay between external forces (e.g., school) and internal forces (e.g., parental ideologies), can lead to conflict within home domain (Morren López, 2012).

5.2.9   Layla's family language management

This section highlights the most important themes of Layla's management of her language practices, i.e. her attempts to control her children's use of language. The first theme discusses the lack of support from the Saudi government, including the shortage of Arabic resources. The second theme focuses on Layla's role in her children's language use and learning at home. The third theme discusses the children's resistance to use Arabic.

Table 5-6   Themes of Layla's language management

		Codes	**Frequency**
Theme 1	Poor quality of Arabic online resources and closing Saudi schools	-Shortage of Arabic resources -lack of familial support -closing Saudi schools in the UK	10
Theme 2	Inconsistency/ challenges in Arabic lessons and ineffective results	-Hiring private tutor -inconsistent Arabic lesson - late intervention in Arabic lesson	6

Theme 3	Children's resistance to using Arabic at home and Layla's reaction	-Resistance -difficulty in learning Arabic	5
		Total	21

5.2.10 Theme 1: Poor quality of Arabic online resources and closing Saudi schools

Layla was disappointed by the closing of Saudi schools in the UK and the failure to provide student families with the Saudi curriculum, leaving her depending on initiatives from Saudi student families:

'*I truly believe that, as PhD students living abroad with our families, we really need some guidance, and even Arabic programmes administered by the Saudi government, to protect/maintain the Arabic language.*' (Lines 33-35)

Thus, Layla faced the issues prompted by a lack of Arabic teaching resources when she was sojourning in the UK. She attempted to compensate for this by finding alternative resources, i.e. online materials and the media:

'*During the last two years [in the UK] I put on video clips [for them to watch] called (Al-Moa'alim). This was the maximum I could do, because there was no time.*' (Lines 261-263)

In order to enable her children to hear Arabic, she showed them old Arabic cartoons of popular stories from around the world. However, she also criticised the quality of more recent Arabic resources:

'Yes*, yes, the content that is directed to children is a very important. Currently, the Arabic content for children is not of good quality. For example, my daughter likes watching programmes on Netflix, but there are no Arabic cartoons on Netflix and now every house got Netflix.*' (Lines 183-186)

Layla raised a very important point when she pointed to her challenges in promoting the use of Arabic due to the lack of high-quality programmes in the language, while '*the Xbox is of course all in English – there are no games in Arabic*' (Line 188).

"*Yesterday, I was going to choose an (Arabic) series for them called 'Hikaiat a'alamiah', which I love. Actually, I watch it myself. I noticed too that the old Arabic cartoons are very good and when I choose them for the kids, they watched it*" (Lines 174-176)

Layla also used YouTube channels to teach her children Islamic principles. In this, she was influenced by advice from other Saudi student parents, including another student mother living in the UK. This led her to play recordings of the Quran for her children at bedtime and enrolling her daughter in a Saudi school and asking the Saudi community living around her to find an Arabic tutor. When asked if new media were helpful in teaching Arabic, Layla said:

"*They really like listening to the holy Quran, for example, when they go to sleep, I turn on the short verses of the Quran, which the children like listening to. Also, one of my friends, Sahar, told me it's good when you read Quran with the children every day*". (Lines 195-197)

Layla also used ICT to encourage her children to memorise the Quran. In another situation, Fahd asked his mother if he could listen to an Arabic story on his iPad. Layla tried to induce language shift in her children by responding quickly to Fahd and used asked him happily in Arabic if he would like to listen Arabic story. However, Layla kept using codeswitching and move-on strategy with her children without asking them explicitly to speak to reply in Arabic. In the fourth conversation, Fahd asks his mother to play the Arabic story on YouTube:

23	Fahd:	**when can I have *the Arabic story:::]* ((**low voice**)) ***
24	Layla:	lahdha ya Huda eaish ya Fahd? °
	%tra	*wait Huda Fahad what did you say?*

25	Fahd:	**when can I have Arabic story**=*
26	Layla:	=tebgha ***Arabic story***? Alheen ahutaha a'ala al ***YouTube* (.)** noshof qisa arabia? **(.)** tohob al qisas al arabia?= Δ
	%tra	*do you want Arabic story? I will put it in the you tube now (.) do you want us to see an Arabic story? (.) Do you like Arabic stories?=*
27	Fahd:	*=yes=* *

In the above excerpt from the family conversations, Fahd seemed to be accustomed to listening to Arabic stories on YouTube. He asked his mother when he was going to listen to more Arabic stories. Layla's instant response indicated her interest in teaching Fahd Arabic. Although parents' have the agency to mediate and manage their children's media practices, through their active agency and their better knowledge of digital applications and programs children influence their parents' decisions about what language YouTube programs to select (Palviainen & Kędra, 2020; Said, 2021).

5.2.11 Theme 2: Inconsistency/challenges in Arabic lessons and ineffective results

The data shows that Layla made inconsistent attempts to teach her children Arabic due to firstly, the closure of Saudi weekend schools in the UK; secondly, the shortage of Arabic Saudi curriculum materials; and thirdly, a lack of familial support. This included the absence of her husband, who only rarely visited the family in the UK, leaving her feeling overloaded with multiple responsibilities.

Layla noted that, a year before her return to SA, she had hired a private tutor to teach her children Arabic twice a week, but that she did not find this to be beneficial:

'For the last two years, I employed an Arabic teacher for the children every weekend, but actually, thinking about our current situation, I can say that it wasn't an effective policy (Lines 25-27*)… when I got back to SA, I realised that they had been of zero benefit.'* (Lines 230-32)

On her return to SA, Layla enrolled her children in international schools, where there was a greater use of English than Arabic. Despite this, she remained disappointed with the Saudi education system in general, and the support for the Arabic language. In

particular she criticised the teachers as being unqualified for dealing with children returning from abroad. She described the education system in SA as weak:

'The Saudi education system is very poor, they don't focus on improving the children's language skills, they don't work to build a good language system for the children' (Lines 209-211. The underlined are Layla's own words spoken in English and are not translated by me, the researcher, to Arabic).

As a result, she felt responsible for her children's fluency in Arabic, which led her to teach them herself, including drawing up a schedule for Arabic lessons, reading Arabic stories, and encouraging them to listen to the Quran. At the same time, she admired the British education system as fulfilling the learning needs of her children when they were in the UK, particularly as they also provided her with support:

'To be honest, when it comes to English, I didn't…I mean, I owe the school; I think that the school was supporting them in English more than me. I was mostly supporting the kids spiritually/ emotionally, rather than in their language learning. During my PhD studies, I supported them psychologically, spiritually and emotionally, and of course with food, etc., the basic care they needed, rather than teaching them as such. The school supported me at that time, I mean the school carried this load [she means the teaching load]'. (Lines 245-250).

The above excerpts demonstrate that language ideologies and attitudes influence parental involvement in managing their children's language literacy (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, 2013a, 2016), as well as families' literacy activities (Curdt-Christiansen & Morgia, 2018). This reveals the use of language planning motivated by previous experience and future aspirations (Curdt-Christiansen & Lanza, 2018). In Layla's case, her positive previous aspirations were associated with English, while any negative experiences were related to her children's learning of Arabic, which led to her negative views of the language (Urzúa & Gómez, 2008). This was emphasised by the challenges she faced when returning to SA (i.e. ineffective Arabic lessons, as well as a shortage of Arabic materials, and lack of support) (Bahhari, 2020; Hashimoto & Lee, 2011; Said, 2021a), which influenced her degree of involvement in her children's language learning. Thus, as a good parent (Okita, 2002), she took sole responsibility for

teaching her children Arabic, while also making the decision to enrol them in an international school. The positive experience of teaching her children English during her time in the UK, and her children's HLA (Sevinç & Dewaele, 2018), as well as the high language status associated with English globally, all acted to create a conflict within Layla's FLP, in particular between maintaining English while in SA and teaching Arabic for social, religious and cultural values. This then led to contradictions when it came to her parental language practices (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016; de Houwer, 1999; Kopeliovich, 2010). Her weak impact belief (de Houwer, 1999), resulted in assuming that she lacked control over her children's language learning, and thus reduced her influence (Nakamura, 2019).

5.2.12 Theme 3: Children's resistance to using Arabic and Layla's reaction

Layla appeared flexible in her use of English and Arabic at home. This could be a strategy she used to overcome her children's resistance to speaking exclusively Arabic with the family, or due to her weak impact belief (De Houwer, 1999; Pérez Báez, 2013). This made her intervention in supporting her children's Arabic learning ineffective.

She '*tried to force them, like other families did, to speak Arabic, but honestly, I couldn't do that, because English was the dominant language*' (Lines 28-30). Two aspects are discussed under this theme in this section. The first concerns the children's resistance and the second the reaction of parents.

Socialising through language proved one of the main reasons for children's resistance to using Arabic during their stay in the UK, due to English being more effective for socialising with friends, teachers, and neighbours. The use of language by Layla's children was driven by the need to socialise in a meaningful context, leaving her feeling powerless to reduce their resistance to speaking Arabic.

The recent concept of language socialisation in terms of FLP infers that both parents and children possess language agency (Duranti et al., 2011). However, this is dynamic within the parent-child relationship and may, over time, transfer the balance of power (Gurdal & Sorbring, 2018; Kuczynski, 2003a). This can, in different contexts, be in favour of children, with parents become more receptive to their influence (Kuczynski,

2003). In a transnational context, children's agency takes the form of resistance to their FLP, shaped through family's interactional practices over time and space (Smith-Christmas, 2021). Children's resistance strategies in transnational families frequently supports the use of the majority tongue, particularly as this is often the language in which they are more linguistically competent (Revis, 2019; Smith-Christmas, 2020). This aspect is demonstrated by the greater linguistic competence of Layla's children's in the majority language resulting in their use of English as part of their resistance strategies (Fogle & King, 2013a). Negotiations and resistance strategies over time can impact FLPs (Lanza, 2004), with a varying degree of resistance in bilingual families, such as resistance to parents' choice of language for interactions(Hua, 2008) or transforming the language used for family conversations. (Gafaranga, 2010). This consequently resulted in Layla's belief that her children possessed a stronger agency than her own, and thus her inability to control their learning and use of the Arabic language.

5.2.13 Emerging themes: The idea of being a good mother

The emerging themes were selected as they were mentioned by all the mothers, and did not relate directly to the research questions being discussed in previous FLP studies. One emerging theme is the concept of being a good mother (Okita, 2002). Layla was not satisfied with her role:

'*No, I'm not satisfied, to be honest. But I just can't do any more, these are the limits [of what I can do]. Honestly, I think I could do more. The maximum that I could do was to find them an Arabic teacher. I can now* [i.e. since returning to SA] *sit with them to do their homework and practice [things that needs practice]. My responsibility* [i.e. towards her children] *was bad*.' (Lines 253-257)

Thus, as a busy student mother, Layla lacked sufficient time to provide support to her children's heritage language learning, increasing her feelings of guilt. Her perception about being a good mother is linked to Arabic culture conceptions about good mothers (Auer & Li, 2007; Lanza, 2007a). The traditional Arabic culture concepts about the role of mothers that they are more responsible inside the household including raising and teaching children, while the role of fathers is the responsibility for the discipline and

financial leadership of the family (Renzaho et al., 2011). However, studying abroad made her take both responsibility on her shoulders and try to balance between doing her duties as a good mother and fulfilling the father's role while abroad. As noted above, she reduced this feeling of guilt by seeking educational support through enrolling her children in Arabic lessons and providing emotional and spiritual support. Even after returning to SA, Layla was convinced that it was her responsibility to teach her children Arabic by herself, instead of depending on their international school:

'*Because of this* [i.e. lack of help from the school]*, I decided, on my own as a mother, I'm doing it on my own. I've started a daily schedule: the child read a story every day and summarise it to improve their Arabic, then memorise a verse of the Quran. So, this means that it's me who's responsible for developing their Arabic language skills. I'm going to buy a board and put it in the living room, and every day I'm going to teach the children a letter*.' (Lines 228-232)

The conflicting feelings between being a good mother by transmitting the HL to her children and allowing her children to take an advantage of learning English language and acquire all the values that are associated to English and following the public education policy in the UK, is very critical emerging themes.

5.2.14 Summary

Layla's family's language practices can be seen as a manifestation of her beliefs, in particular that Arabic is important at the social, but not the cultural, level, while English affords her children additional advantages and skills. Layla did not view speaking Arabic as important because she believed most of the new generation in SA preferred to use English, due to the prevalence of the language in social media and other programmes and apps.

Layla used both languages at home, being flexible and embracing her children's preference for English at the beginning of her residence and feeling unable to exert control over language use in the last two years of her residence in the UK, this gave Layla had a 'weak impact belief' (De Houwer, 1999; Pérez Báez, 2013), which made her FLP ineffective. This weak impact belief was influenced by several factors,

including: (1) the age of her children; (2) the length of residence in the UK; (3) her language attitudes; and (4) the amount of support she received while living abroad. However, Layla's language beliefs (i.e. her admiration of the English culture) reduced her support for the use of Arabic. Being a sojourning family, Layla was aware of the exact time of returning to SA, and therefore the need to improve her children's use of Arabic to enable them to be fully reabsorbed into the Saudi community. This led her to change her language practices during her last two years of residence in the UK. However, she admitted her failure to improve their Arabic due to firstly, a lack of support; secondly, the shortage of Arabic resources; thirdly, the pervasiveness of English on social media channels; fourthly, the scarcity of high-quality Arabic content on YouTube channels, and fifthly, weak Arabic teaching in international schools in SA.

5.3 Sara

Sara arrived in the UK in August 2014 to complete her PhD in Linguistics, having obtained her Master's degree in the USA. She was accompanied by her husband and their two children, Marwa and Hisham, with her youngest, Rami, being subsequently born in the UK. Sara visited her home country during the summer holidays only. Sara differed from Layla in that she felt proud of her Arabic language and culture, and was more involved in her children's Arabic learning possibly due to her former experiences studying for her Master's in the USA. Sara had worked as an English lecturer in a university in SA and, while her mother tongue was Arabic, she spoke English fluently, with an IETS score of 6:50.

Sara's husband did not take part in the audio recordings, and I therefore excluded him from the analysis. Her two older children were in a primary school and the baby attended nursery. She was expecting to leave the UK after one or two years from the date of the data collection. Table 5-7 shows the background of Sara's family.

Marwa was the only daughter and eldest child, aged nine at the time of data collection, and five when she first arrived the UK. Marwa was intelligent, outgoing and active and spoke both English and Arabic fluently. She was close to her mother and Sara seemed to depend on her. Marwa spoke primarily in Arabic with her mother but English with her brothers. Hisham was the middle child and the eldest son. He was six years old at the time of data collection, and in the first grade, having been one year old when he first

arrived the UK. Hisham seemed to depend on Marwa in many situations and spoke primarily English, with his Arabic less fluent than his sister. Due to his age, Rami had only limited participation in the family conversations, and he only pronounced few words in both English and Arabic.

Table 5-7   Sara's family background

Family members	Age at tie of data collection	Education Level	Age on Arrival (AOA)	Language spoken	Length of residence in the UK
Sara (mother)	Thirty-two	PhD	Twenty-eight	Arabic (mother tongue), English (advanced)	Four years since August 2014
Father (name)	-	-		-	
Marwa (daughter)	Nine	Fourth grade	Five	English (fluent), Arabic (fluent)	
Hisham (son)	Six	First grade	One	English (fluent), Arabic (less fluent)	
Rami (son)	Sixteen months– i.e. born in the UK	Nursery	Not yet born	Baby talk (some words in English and others in Arabic)	

5.3.1   Sara's family language beliefs

This section highlights the main themes concerning the language beliefs of Sara's family. The first theme focuses on reinforcing bilingualism, while the second concerns the need to maintain the flow and clarity of communication with the children as being more important than the language code used and the third focuses on the influence of returning to SA on maintaining Arabic (see Table 5-8).

Table 5-8   Themes highlighting Sara's family language beliefs

		Codes	Frequency
Theme 1	Reinforcing bilingualism among the children	-Children able to learn two languages	18
Theme 2	The relative importance of the flow of communication and use of language	-Freedom in choosing the language at home	9
Theme 3	Returning to SA as a driving force in maintaining the children's Arabic		12
		Total	39

5.3.2 Theme 1: Reinforcing bilingualism through conversing with children

Sara encouraged her children to speak both English and Arabic. She believed studying abroad was a '*golden opportunity*' to learn English:

'*You know, English is an international language, and it's a golden opportunity for them to learn English here [in the UK], because Mashallah sometimes they're better than us in English and they learn things in school that we haven't learnt.* (Lines 174-176)

In Sara's opinion English represented academic and linguistic capital for her children (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). On the other hand, she recognised the importance of Arabic as her children's first language:

'*I remind them how cool it is to speak two languages, and not only speak them, but also write them. So, the idea of the importance of the two languages is that first, we should make children aware of the importance of the language, and second, it's easier for them when they start learning Arabic and English simultaneously* (Lines 160-165)...*I feel that Arabic is very, very important, I mean we should make the children aware of the importance of Arabic before we teach it to them.*' (Lines 157-158)

Sara emphasised the importance of having clear and open conversations with her children about the significance of each language to encourage them to learn both. She also explained the utility of each language and the appropriate context for their use. Here Sara focused on the explicit strategies through discussing the importance of maintaining Arabic with her children and explaining clearly her language preference, Arabic, to her children (Lanza, 2004). Explicit strategies proved to be more successful in maintaining minority language than implicit (Mishina-Mori, 2011). In addition, she believed that learning both languages simultaneously at such a young age would be easier than learning languages separately when they were older. Furthermore, she considered that conversing with her children about the importance and the uses of each language (particularly Arabic) compensated for her limited time to teach and speak with her children in Arabic.

'I don't have time to chat with them and let them talk. I feel that our talking time is very limited, but in terms of education and learning, it helps a lot to raise my awareness of the importance of language.' (Lines 418-19)

In addition, Sara emphasised the importance of raising her children's ability to select the appropriate language according to each interlocutor and location, i.e. *'when they go to a place where they use English, then they go to a place where they use Arabic'* (lines 161-162).

'My children hesitate [when they meet people, unsure whether to start talking in Arabic or English. For me, the most important thing is the awareness of language, and the fact that they need to balance [between the languages], so they won't feel constrained in either language. So, in terms of my awareness, they [i.e. her PhD studies] *help, but in terms of time [spent with the children], they have had a negative effect.'* (Lines 418-424)

Thus, using Arabic in a meaningful context emphasised Sara's views about raising her children's awareness of the importance of bilingualism. Sara mentioned that her daughter Marwa became aware of this after using Arabic at school to help a classmate:

'It happened that she was in a situation at school and since that incident, she's changed. The teacher asked her to help a new student, I don't know where she was from, maybe Syria? She was Arabic. This girl didn't speak much English, so the teacher asked my daughter to help her at school. That day, she came home very happy and told me that she had become a translator at school. I reminded her of the benefit of learning two languages. Since then, she has started to understand how important it is to learn two languages.' (Lines 268-274)

The influence of school and teachers' opinions of parents' language use and their decision about language management is very crucial (Spolsky, 2012; Young, 2014). Marwa's positive experience of using her HL at British state school enhanced the importance of using Arabic in the host country both outside and inside home. The compatible opinions between teachers and parents about the language use and the teachers' appreciation to bilingual children's agency and culture (Bezcioglu-Göktolga & Yagmur, 2018) enhances the FLP and creates feeling of pride in HL among children.

5.3.3 Theme 2: The relative importance of the flow of communication and use of language

Sara considered that clarity of communication relied on speaking Arabic or English in accordance with each individual context.

'I would like to be able to separate the use of English and the use of Arabic. Like when I talk English, it's only English, and when I talk Arabic, it's only Arabic. I don't like to mix.' (Lines 198-200)

The contradiction between Sara's belief in separating between Arabic and English and her language use of codeswitching, shows the influence of her children active agency. Sara's stronger desires to accommodate to her children and nurture a good relationship with them made her switch to the majority language (Fogle, 2012; King & Logan-Terry, 2008). King and Logan-Terry (2008) found that mothers often used the majority language for emotional reasons, for instance when, during her interview, I asked Sara which language she used when scolding her children, she replied :

'Arabic, for sure. If I want to teach them to be disciplined and follow the rules, the same rules they learn at school, I use English, because they understand it. But I don't

tell them off very often.' (431-434).

When I subsequently asked her which language she used when joking with, or praising, her children, she replied:

'*It depends on the topic; if they're talking about something funny in English, we make jokes in English, and if they're talking about something funny in Arabic, we make jokes in Arabic. Sometimes they use English words in jokes that I don't understand, particularly those [words] that they use at school.*' (line 335-349)

This statement can be interpreted as indicating that Sara was cognisant of her children's lack of confidence in Arabic, as well as their own recognition of their lack of fluency. This has therefore led to the condition known as minority or Heritage Language Anxiety (HLA) (Sevinç & Dewaele, 2018). Sara was also aware of the conflicts potentially arising due to differences in her children's linguistic competence (Sevinç, 2016a; Sevinç & Backus, 2017) in Arabic. Therefore, in order to reduce her children's minority-language anxiety, Sara sometimes spoke English with them, even in structuring and emotional situations. This demonstrates that Sara wished her children to be clear in their communication with others, in both Arabic and English, and did not wish to interrupt their flow of speech.

'*Because I feel that they are involved and fluent in their speech, so I don't want to interrupt them, so sometimes, I mix between Arabic and English, I don't mean… I say a complete sentence in English or a complete sentence in Arabic. I feel that my language is a mix. For them, because they speak English easily and they are involved in their speech, I cannot interrupt them to ask them to speak in Arabic.*' (Lines 26-30)

Interestingly, as explained to Marwa, she viewed code mixing or codeswitching as an inefficient method of communication. Sara had a negative attitude towards codeswitching, and she explained that to Marwa.

'*The best thing is to have a clear language, I mean to speak clearly and don't mix words [from English and Arabic]. She (Marwa) noticed my speech, I told her the best thing is to have a clear message. If she speaks two languages, I don't have a problem*

with that, but actually, sometimes, she says unclear words like 'safering', she didn't say 'safer' [i.e. a word meaning travel in Arabic but with adding the -ing for the present continuous]. *I mean Arabic words with -ing. So, I told her not like this, you ruin the word either to say it in English or Arabic.'* (Lines 367-373)

Marwa was aware of her mother's language preferences and sometimes criticised her for mixing between Arabic and English. This explicit strategy of Sara's language preference influenced Marwa's language attitude and resulted in the act of agency she made, she criticised her mother's language use by socialising her mother into how to use languages (Fogle, 2012; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984). This made her a supporter of Sara's FLP.

'*Sometimes, she criticises me when I speak Arabic then mix it with English; she tells me, "See, you use English and Arabic together." I tell her that it's important for her to speak clearly* [she means in either in Arabic or in English]. *When I ask her* [i.e. Marwa] *whether she speaks Arabic at school, she says "no". Then I tell her that it's the same as I want her English to be clear.'* (Lines 54-57)

Besides the emotional reasons, Sara code switched with her children for academic achievement and language learning. She also wanted them to develop their English language and at the same time she liked to learn some of the English terms/words they used in their everyday and non-academic speech: '*Also, I like the English terms that they use so in order to involve with them, I use English*' (Lines 33-34). Thus, Sara is not only influenced by the active agency of her children but also by the macro socio-linguistic forces of the host country (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020; Curdt-Christiansen & Morgia, 2018; Luykx, 2003b).

5.3.4 Theme 3: Returning to Saudi Arabia as a driving force in maintaining the children's Arabic

Sara viewed Arabic to be vital, particularly as it was the language the children would use on their return to SA: '*Arabic is very important when they go back [to SA]*' (Line 177). Sara, like other Saudi student families, was awarded an annual visit home by the Saudi government. '*At the beginning, we used to go every year during the summer term, but later I didn't go*' (Lines 301-302). When they did go, they stayed for '*almost a*

month' *(Line 307).*

This period was sufficient to allow her children to use Arabic in its context. The family's summer holiday in SA with extended families, proved to be useful for maintaining Arabic (Bahhari, 2020). Regular home visits are critical in maintaining children's native language (Pauwels, 2005). However, more recently, Sara and her family had not undertaken a holiday in SA for family reasons: '*I hadn't been to SA for nearly eighteen months*' (Lines 303-304*).* This reduced the children's opportunity to practice Arabic in a real context, which had formed a driving force in maintaining their Arabic.

As noted previously, Sara realised that speaking Arabic fluently helped her children to fit into the community in SA and avoid being teased.

'*It's true that sometimes in our society, when someone makes a mistake, people make fun of them, and they can be relentless when they pronounce some words wrong. For example, when Marwa was four years old and we went back to SA, she used to pronounce the "kh" as "k", but she started to realise how hard it was for others to understand her, particularly the accent* [i.e. the Saudi accent]*, I mean the Amiyah. But in terms of getting along [with people] and adapting to new situations and [the children's] confidence, I'm fine and comfortable with that*.' (Lines 403-49)

Sara's children often spent their summer in SA which exposed them to Arabic and allowed immediate feedback from their peers, which might improve their Arabic skills (Langager, 2010). This feedback could be in the form of teasing. Teasing based on linguistic form may lead to controlling or confirming the linguistic norms within a family through which linguistic form being negotiated (Johnsen, 2020).

However, Sara was not worried about her children's Arabic, as she believed their age would ensure they would easily catch up with their peers in SA. Sara raised an interesting point about the importance of Amiyah for children being able to fit into the Saudi community and socialise with their peers and extended relatives after their return. This differs from the modern standard Arabic used in books, and which her children used during their Arabic lessons. The differences between Amiyah and standard Arabic was considered a challenge for Sara (Saiegh-Haddad, 2012). Sara needed to create a

balance in teaching the two forms of Arabic, Amiyah (spoken Arabic) needed for socialising with friends in SA and MSA (written Arabic) for their children academic achievement in SA. Moreover, Sara needed to monitor her children Academic progress in England (Said, 2021b).

5.3.5 Sara's family language practices

This section highlights the main themes in relation to Sara's family language practices. The first theme focuses on Sara's discourse strategies to reinforce bilingualism, the second theme concerns the use of technology at home, and the third revolves around the influence of Sara's previous learning experience.

Table 5-9   The distributions of Sara's family members' language use in the audio recordings

English	Arabic	CS	total
(24.74 %)	(38.56 %)	(16.39%)	1592

	Sara	Marwa	Hisham	Rami
English	(8.2%)	(56.6%)	(32.7%)	(1.3%)
Arabic	(55.9%)	(21.5%)	(20.8%)	(1%)
CS	(36%)	(33.3%)	(30.7%)	(1%)

The data shows that Sara's family demonstrated most turns appeared in Arabic, English and codeswitching, with Arabic representing the highest number. Sara showed the highest number of turns in Arabic, while Marwa showed the second highest number of turns in Arabic. Marwa's English proved the highest of her siblings. Hisham showed equal number of turns in both Arabic and English. In codeswitching, Sara used the highest number of turns while Marwa and Hisham showed similar numbers. Rami, due to his young age and inability to speak properly, showed the least number of turns Arabic, English and codeswitching.

Table 5-10   Themes highlight Sara's family language practices

		Codes	**Frequency**
Theme 1	Sara's discourse strategy to reinforce bilingualism	-Repetition -use English and Arabic -Sibling interactions	20
Theme 2	Limited use of technology	Strict rules English for games English Arabic for TV programs	10
Theme 3	Past experience forming clear FLP and future expectations	-Annual leave - prepare to SA return	8
Theme 4	Reading is a language learning practice	-Arabic stories -English stories -Local library	3
		Total	38

5.3.6   Theme 1: Sara's discourse strategies to encourage bilingualism

Since arriving in the UK, Sara had attempted various language strategies to promote the use of both languages with her children. Initially, she and her husband chose the One Parent One Language (OPOL) strategy. However, the difficulty of committing to one language led them to using Arabic at home and English elsewhere.

'*At the beginning, we decided that one of us would speak Arabic and the other English, and sometimes we decided to speak Arabic at home and English outside. We made these policies at the beginning, but then we became too wrapped up in conversations to stick to them* (Lines 45-47*). .. In general, at home, we mix English and Arabic*' (Line 12)*….When I talk to them, they may switch to the other language. I told you, we as a family all switch between Arabic and English. We don't stick to one language. When I talk to them [her children] in Arabic, they reply in Arabic, and when I talk to them in English, they reply in English; this is of course at home. I feel that they mix Arabic and English at home. In fact, at home, we all mix Arabic and English, depending on the*

situation.' (Lines 184-189)

Sara admitted that her children played a critical role in determining the language choice of family conversations, which was often in English:

'*When we are involved in speech that depends on each child picking a topic, I feel that they change our language plan/strategy.*'

As the family often talked about the school day, it was logical to use English. This indicates Sara's children's active agency (Fogle, 2013), as her children had greater access to linguistic resources of the majority language at school while Sara had limited access to the same resources. This gave her children the advantage of the linguistic capital, which may reverse the roles of parent and child (King & Fogle, 2013). It created a conflict between promoting the use of Arabic at home and the wish to accommodate her children's emotional attachment, by using their preferred language, English (Fogle, 2012; King & Logan-Terry, 2008). Sara was more interested in understanding what her children wanted to say, than dictating the language code they should use at home:

'*I give them space to talk freely. Also, I like the English terms that they use, so, to become more involved with them in their speech, I use English, because if I use Arabic, I feel that the story will get confused, because most of the terms used in their speech are things related to school or that have happened in school. So I feel that it's more convenient to use English.*' (Lines 32-36)

The contradiction between Sara's desire to promote her children's bilingualism and her low expectation of her children's ability in Arabic may reduce her determination to develop her children's Arabic skills (Nakamura, 2016). This shows that Sara felt she needed to use English in order to accommodate and keep a strong bond with her children (Fogle, 2012; King & Logan-Terry, 2008), as her children were influenced by the language used in school. She also justified her use of codeswitching between English and Arabic by saying that her children found English easier to understand: '*I*

just use English, because they understand it straight away' (Lines 211-212). For example, when Hisham and his mother talked about the homework, Sara started by using Arabic then codeswitched using the school related word '*homework*':

273	Hisham:	***I don't I didn't bring a** qesssah* Δ
	%tra	*I don't I didn't bring a story*
274	Sara:	laish? °
	%tra	*why?*
275	Hisham:	**Actually *I did I bring this book***
276	Sara:	yallah ijless w iqraa khalak shatter °
	%tra	*sit now and read be good*
277	Hisham:	***Mama I wanna do I wanna see my homework** XXX **
278	Rami:	***Wow***
279	Sara:	eaish bak? **(.)** wesh tala'a al wajeb **(.)** ***what's the homework** ashof **(.)** wesh a'aendak? Δ
	%tra	*what's wrong with you? (.) what the homework about (.) what's the homework let me see (.) what do you have?*

Sara often used codeswitching and move-on discourse strategies in her interactions with her children, which encouraged their bilingualism (Lanza, 2004), in favour of English. For example, in the sixth conversation, Sara used move-on strategy with her daughter, when Marwa described how to make a pencil case from her doll.

45	Marwa:	kitha ***looks like a mini pencil case**Δ*
	%tra	*it's looks like mini pencil case*

46	Sara:	la *[*mo haqateh°
	%tra	*no [not for it*
47	Marwa:	**it's just needs a hole opens and a zip and basically to cover the ends***
48	Sara:	eywah °
	%tra	*Yes*
49	Marwa:	**[I did it***
50	Sara:	hatha ismeh hatha ismeh ***recycling*** inti tsaween ashyaa w tasna'aeen minha ya'any *[*momken Δ
	%tra	*this is called recycling when you take old things and try to make other things from them I mean [maybe*
51	Marwa:	**and then I painted it red and I had to put glitter]***
	%tra	*I painted it red and I XXX glitter*
52	Sara:	marrah helow ((yawning)) °

Interestingly, Sara taught Marwa the English word '*recycling*' and explained the meaning of the word in Arabic, but without providing the Arabic equivalent. However, in different situations Sara was keen to teach her children how to use Arabic pragmatically, including discussing the Eid festival and how to answer if someone said 'Eid Mubarak', as demonstrated by the following extract from the fourth conversation:

346	Sara:	marah helow **(.)** taieb weshhi a'abarat a'aeed illy ta'alamtoha w serto togoolonha? **(.)** ged sema'atoha min anass w ta'alamtoha? °
	%tra	*this is really good (.) ok what are the Eid greetings that you have learned? (.) that you heard them from people and learned them?*
347	Hisham:	ALLAH AKBAR ALLAH AKBAR°

	%tra	*Allah is the greatest Allah is the greatest*
348	Sara:	la illy kell ma trohon ahad yegool lakom fi al a'aeed wesh tgoolon? °
	%tra	*no I mean when you meet someone in Eid what do you say to congratulate him/her?*
349	Marwa:	a'aeed sa'aeed a'aeed mubarak kol a'aam w intom bi khair °
	%tra	*happy Eid happy Eid I wish happy year for you*
350	Sara:	momtazah **(.)** w inta ya Hisham wesh ta'alamt? °
	%tra	*excellent (.) what about you Hisham what did you learn?*
351	Hisham:	ana ta'alamt **XX**= °
	%tra	*I learned XX=*
352	Rami:	**((**shouting**))**
353	Marwa:	a'aeed Mubarak°
	%tra	*Eid Mubarak*
354	Hisham:	hata al heen a bahfadh°
	%tra	*I will learn it now*

Sara also used Arabic when telling her children off. Similar studies showed that bilingual parents use their L1 for discipline (Pavlenko, 2004; Smith-Christmas, 2014). In the following extract from the fourth conversation, Sara reproves Hisham for drinking Pepsi, which was not allowed. After Sara expresses her surprise by using "*WHAT?!*" she continues the conversation in Arabic. Interestingly, Hisham then defends himself in Arabic.

254	Marwa:	Mama tedreen mama tedreen fi anadi sharab aa ***Pepsi***°

	%tra	*Mum do you know Mom do you know in the Saudi community gatherings he drank Pepsi*
255	Hisham:	**((giggle))**
256	Sara:	***WHAT? ***
257	Hisham:	**((laugh))**
258	Sara:	LEESH? °
	%tra	*WHY?*
259	Hisham:	Baba khalani °
	%tra	*Dad allowed me*
260	Sara:	mo baba khlani inta min nafsak inta min **[**nafsak °
	%tra	*don't say dad allowed me [from yourself you should not do this*
261	Hisham:	agool leh Baba a'adi aa a'adi akhothe ***Pepsi [***gal ey°
	%tra	*I told him dad is it ok aa is it ok to have pepsi [he said yeah*
262	Sara:	eywah inta illy talabteh**] (.)** khalas inta hathi **[**al ashyaa al mafroodh ma tashrabha min awal ehna ma nashrabha khalas ma teshrabha°
	%tra	*yes you asked him to take it] you should not drink these things because we used not to drink them*

Sara also used Arabic to give her children advice: '*if they made a mistake or someone annoys them, or something happens to them, all my advice and how to behave turns into Arabic*' (Lines 36-37*)*. In the following extract, from the fourth conversation, Sara explains to Hisham how to be grateful for what he had, not looking to what others have, when she heard him saying that his sister Marwa had more luck.

37	Sara:	a'aad inti ya Marwa kan a'andik al ata'a a'andik marah mashallah
		alanshetah katheer safarna w al madrassah a'atatik ejazah w rohto
		barbeque w ba'adain rohto ejtema'a alnadi **(.)** w a'andik mashallah fi
		almadrassah ejaza Δ
	%tra	*oh yeah you had a lot of activities, Marwa, you travel and the*
		school gave you permit, you went to a barbeque and then you went to the
		Saudi community gatherings
38	Hisham:	***she is so lucky ****
39	Sara:	w inta ya Hisham kaman safart w mashallah ishtareat malabis w roht
		shopping w ashtareat hatha a ***t-shirt*** illy tehebah Δ
	%tra	*and so is you, you travelled and bought clothes you went shopping*
		and bought this t-shirt that you loved
40	Marwa:	**((**laugh**))**
41	Sara:	aa gol alhamdulillah alwahed ma yetala'a fi ashyaa anass w yegool
		so lucky w howa ma yegool a'ala aghradhoh alhamdulillah Δ
	%tra	*You should be grateful you should not look at what the people have*
		and say so lucky you have to say thanks god about what you had

In another example:

280	Rami:	((baby talk))
281	Hisham:	***but um Mama I really need help with my homework****
282	Sara:	***Um***
283	Hisham:	w marrah°
	%tra	*Honestly*

284	Marwa:	***DAN DA::::N***
285	Sara:	***what is this? ****
286	Hisham:	***that's so hard****

287	Sara:	la maho ***hard*** ma tegol ***that so hard*** abadan **(.)** ashof aqraah a'an eaish? Δ
	%tra	*no it's not hard don't ever say that is so hard (.) let me see about what it is*
288	Hisham:	***aa silly Jack ****

In addition, the data shows the siblings influenced each other's language choice, with Marwa switching to English to compete with her brother in drawing her mother's attention or explaining a school activity. For example, in the third conversation, Marwa seems aware of her mother's language preferences, so starts to explain how to make a bath bomb (which she had made in school with her teacher) in Arabic. However, when her brother Hisham joins the conversation, she switches to English:

47	Sara:	uhh ***stop*** (.) iqa'aod hena (.) eywah (.) khalast? *[*Gol al hamdulillahΔ ((talking to Hisham))
	%tra	*uhh stop (.) sit down here (.) yes (.) finish? [say thanks God*
48	Marwa:	takhotheen ma'aha hatha (.) um] °
	%tra	*you take with it this one(.) um]*
49	Hisham:	***I'm so fast****
50	Sara:	gol MashaAllah°
51	Marwa:	***you need food coloring ****
52	Sara:	Um

53	Marwa:	um:: ***It can use two drops to four*** *
54	Sara:	um (.) ajeeb lak ma°
	%tra	um (.) shall I bring you water
55	Marwa:	***and*** (.)*
56	Hisham:	***how about drop three*** (.)*

Marwa spoke primarily in Arabic with her mother, but often codeswitched into English when arguing, chatting, playing or quarrelling with her brother. Hisham spoke in English most of the time and rarely codeswitched to Arabic, apart from when competing with his sister for his mother's attention. In conversation 3, Hisham and Marwa quarrelled in English:

102	Hisham:	***XX XX XX she makes me she makes me XX*** ((unclear)) *
103	Marwa:	***so*** *
104	Hisham:	***so I'm faster*** *
105	Marwa:	***so****
106	Hisham:	***so I'm faster****
107	Marwa:	***so I'm****
108	Hisham:	***faster****
109	Marwa:	***so*** *
110	Hisham:	***so I'm faster*** *
111	Marwa:	***so I'm*** *
112	Hisham:	***so I'm faster*** *
113	Marwa:	***so*** *
114	Hisham:	***I AM FASTER****

115	Marwa:	*so* *
116	Hisham:	*stop i:::t* *

It is clear that Sara's children preferred to interact with each other in English. Sara said: '*they prefer English when they talk with each other*' (Line 179). However, Marwa sometimes took the role of the older sibling, copying her mother in teaching Hisham some Arabic words. Sara said:

'*When they talk to each other, they prefer English because it's easier, but sometimes Marwa teaches Hisham things and, to get his attention, she switches to Arabic. I think she's copying me in that, copying my way of talking.*' (Lines 182-184)

In addition, Marwa talked to her little brother, Rami in English. For example;

53	Marwa:	*but then the problem is that um* (.) *it's kept getting squished in her*
		bag *
54	Sara:	shofi Rami baqi dayekh (.) shofo ma sheba'a noom /rah jab bataneyateh°
		%tra look at Rami still want to sleep (.) look he didn't get enough time of sleeping [he went to bring a blanket
55	Marwa:	((laugh))/ *you're really funny* (.) *you're so cute* (.) *Rami* (.) *you're cute*= ((in a baby way of talking))*
56	Sara:	=ma amda yenam meskeen sahetoh° ((talking about Rami))
	%tra	=*you didn't let him take enough time of sleep you awakened him*
57	Marwa:	*YOU'RE CUTE* * ((talking to Rami))

5.3.7   Theme 2: Strict rules on using technology

Sara placed very strict measures on the use of technology at home, only permitting the children to watch TV and use technology on Sundays, as a reward for having worked

hard during the week:

 '*I'm strict with my children when it comes to technology. They only watch movies in English on Sunday, for example, if they're good during the week. It's considered as a reward.*' (Lines 335-337)

Her children watched both English and Arabic programmes. Sara said:

 '*They mostly watch cartoons on the TV and iPad. There are also Arabic apps and English apps. They like games and they often upload them.*' (Lines 346-347)

However, I only captured two instances of the family describing watching a movie or using the internet to search for information, both in English. This was supported by the family's conversations. In one example, Sara asked her children about a children's movie they had watched with their father about aliens arriving on earth. The children expressed how boring they found it, along with the reasons, as in the following extract from the fifth conversation:

162	Sara:	Marwa laish ma a'ajabek al ***movie***? °
	%tra	*Marwa why you don't like the movie?*
163	Marwa:	***huh?***
164	Sara:	laish ma a'ajabk? °
	%tra	*why you don't like it?*
165	Marwa:	la anneh ma **XX** ma **XX** ya'any marah qaseerah w inno mafeeh um ya'any *[*ma feeh shay **sic**.°
	%tra	*because it is XX it is XX very short and [it has nothing sic.*
166	Hisham:	***not clear movie]*** *
167	Marwa:	*[yes**
168	Rami:	***YE:::::::]***
169	Hisham:	***all of it*** *

170	Marwa:	ya'ana ma hata ma amdani asma'a kalamhim zain **sic.** °
	%tra	*I couldn't hear what they say clearly*
		Then they continued
177	Hisham:	***not full movie****
178	Sara:	istana°
	%tra	*Wait*
179	Marwa:	***like you don't get what the moral is****
180	Sara:	eywah? °
	%tra	*Yes*
181	Marwa:	***and every time when I see a movie when I see a movie I know the moral but that what I don't know (.) so [**illy ma laha ma'ana Δ
	%tra	*and every time when I see a movie when I see a movie I know the moral but that what I don't know (.) so [which has no meaning*
182	Rami:	**((**shouting**))]**
183	Sara:	ma laha ma'ana? °
	%tra	*it has no meaning*
184	Marwa:	eywah°
	%tra	*Yes*

In another instance, Marwa described to her mother how they had made a bath bomb at school. Sara was intrigued and suggested they tried to make these at home. Sara googled how to make bath bombs in English, and watched a video, which was also in English. The following extract from the third conversation related to Sara googling the instructions using English:

| 372 | Sara: | OH legetaha ° |

	%tra	*OH I find it*
373	Hisham:	ashof °
	%tra	*let me see*
374	Sara:	**homemade bath bomb***
375	Marwa:	eywah kitha °
	%tra	*yes this is it*
376	Hisham:	abgha ashof abgha ashof °
	%tra	*I want to see I want to see*
377	Marwa:	*OH:::* [*how to make* ***
378	Hisham:	abgha shof ((sad tone)) °
	%tra	*I want to see ((sad tone))*
379	Sara:	**how to make homemade bath [bomb***
380	Hisham:	khalini ashof °
	%tra	*let me see*

Although Sara said that she had strict rules on using technology at home, Marwa several times mentioned watching the YouTube programmes '*five minutes craft*' and '*Slick Slam*' The following extract from the sixth conversations shows Marwa describing crafts to her mother:

120	Marwa:	**and then now like people now on the five minutes craft they're using stuff for barbies (.) they start using the little bath tops like playhouse**
		slick slam slick slam (.) yeah slick sic.***
121	Sara:	yestakhdemoon alala'aab hathi lil lea'aeb wala qasdik al **brand**?Δ
	%tra	*they use these games for playing or you mean the brand?*
122	Marwa:	**they recycle things for the toys***

123	Sara:	**Um**
124	Marwa:	**and you know that play [aa they***
		They continued
130	Sara:	jarabteeha inti? °
	%tra	*have you try it before?*
131	Marwa:	**no but** Genan **did***
132	Sara:	**um::**
133	Marwa:	**and also I saw it in aa five minutes craft is so cool***
134	Sara:	**um::**
135	Marwa**:**	**I sent to videos um five minutes crafts they did it and it's gone and also slick the slam sic. ((**she means Slick the Slime Sam**)) (.) slick slam sic**
		Sam the slime something with Sam basically *
136	Sara:	**Aha**
137	Marwa:	**she also did it and it's so cool***
138	Sara:	eywah °
	%tra	*Yes*

Sara stated that her children preferred playing games to watching educational programmes, which were often in English:

'*Marwa also likes some games. Although I don't like my children spending too much time playing games, because I like to see the games myself.*' (Lines 341-343)*... They like games and often upload them* (line 347)… *Sometimes, at home, they check the games applications on their iPad*' (Lines 229-230). However, the audio recordings captured only one instance in which the children played videogames.

237	Marwa:	**this is mine (.) you're liar you don't find it ***

238	Hisham:	***wa:::::::::::::::***
239	Sara:	eaish al lea'abah illy a'aendik ya Hisham? °
	%tra	*Hisham what is that is game you play?*
240	Hisham:	***wait try to get him*** **(.)** ***I wanna get him thirty ninety and you get to finish nine*** **(.)** ***we::::::*** ((meaningless words)) ***SIX FIVE FOUR THREE TWO ONE*** **(.)** ***o::*** la △
	%tra	*wait try to get him (.) I wanna get him thirty ninety and you get to finish nine (.) we:::::: ((meaningless words)) SIX FIVE FOUR THREE TWO ONE (.) o:: no*

5.3.8   Theme 3: Past experience and forming clear FLP and future expectations

The data revealed that Sara's management of her children's language learning was influenced by firstly, her previous experience of studying for her Master's degree in the USA, including issues related to bilingualism, and secondly, her current PhD studies and background in linguistics. This helped shape her FLP, prompting her to teach her children both Arabic and English as soon as she arrived the UK:

'*As soon as we arrived [in the UK], I intended from the beginning to maintain both languages. For Marwa, when we were in the USA and ever since, I've been collecting the small books [booklets] of Arabic letters, and I've used the same strategy with Hisham. So, from the beginning, I've dedicated Saturday for Arabic, because it's the day when I'm free and she is also free.… For me* [she means as a PhD student in linguistics], *we have an idea about how to use language with children and how to use the second language. I find this helpful.*' (Lines 15-16)

In addition, Sara valued the opportunity to live abroad, due to her experience of living in a monolingual country such as SA, where schools place little emphasis on promoting bilingualism:

'*Yes, because honestly, it's an opportunity and it's important that they learn. It's hard*

to learn English, and you know' (Lines 173-174). *…Because Mashallah sometimes they're better than us in English and they learn things in school that we haven't learnt.' (Lines 175-176)*

5.3.9   Theme 4: Reading as a language learning practice

Sara recognised the benefits of reading with her children in both English (i.e. when helping them with their homework) and Arabic.

'*Sometimes, when they finish [their homework] at the weekend, we go to the library to let them read outside school, so they're not just reading in school. I also have an idea what type of stories they like, and the local library is close to our house, it's in the neighbourhood, so I can check their level in reading. When they read, I see the type of stories they like, and I know they're feeling comfortable.*' (Lines 225-229)

Sara also found that that reading with her children in English enabled her to acquire a non-academic vocabulary:

'*Although I don't often find time to read stories with the children, when I do, I learn new types of vocabulary [in English]. It's good that they broaden my vocabulary, because, as you know, most of what we study in English is academic. We haven't read children's stories before, which contain everyday vocabulary. It's good that they help me learn these things and widen my everyday vocabulary.*' (Lines 257-262)

In addition, Sara used the strategy of reading stories to enhance her children's Arabic, stating: '*I also dedicate one hour before sleeping time to Arabic stories*' (lines 237-238).

The following extract was from the sixth audio recording:

272	Sara:	eaish jebt lak kaman qessah (.) Hisham eaish jebt qessah ashof °
	%tra	what story you bring (.) Hisham what story you bring let me see
273	Hisham:	***I don't I didn't bring a** qessah* Δ
	%tra	I don't I didn't bring a story

274	Sara:	laish? °
	%tra	why?
275	Hisham:	**actually *I did I bring this book***
276	Sara:	yallah ijless w iqraa khalak shatter °
	%tra	sit now and read be good

Hisham and Sara discussed what happened in an English story in the following extract from the fifth audio recording:

17	Hisham:	umm because um tetthakarain al **gold** qessah Δ
	%tra	*Mum how um do you remember the gold story*
18	Sara:	**um**
19	Hisham:	sah gal ho al **hands up** sic. Δ
	%tra	*he said hands up right?*
20	Sara:	**Um**
21	Hisham:	a'ashan yebgha yeshofon ***when you got aa when you got some*** kitha zai ***want to be*** kitha w homa khalas zai **to pretend** *they got some gold* yefokon al **gun** yehotonaha **away** ba'adain *they start spying*= Δ
	%tra	*((syntax is unclear))*
22	Sara:	=eywah **(.)** nafs alqesah haqatak a'ashan ja a'alaeehom al losos al harameyah w yebghon ysroqon kol al flos al mal illy a'aendahom w kol al thahab gal lahom ***HANDS UP*** ya'any afra'ao ayadekom a'ashan yedaweron yeshofon a'andahom shay ma a'aendahom masdas ma a'aendahom shay ygtolonhom ma a'aendahom sakeen khalas ʃitha kol wahed rafa'a yaddah yedawron fi jeyobhom Δ

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yes (.) it is like your story when the thieves wanted to steel all the money that people have and all the gold he said to him Hands up he means raise your hands so they can check if there is any gun or knife [if all of the thieves raise up their hands the police can check their pockets.

This indicates that Sara held a positive ideology when it came to both Arabic and English, as well as a strong impact belief(de Houwer, 1999) in maintaining her children's Arabic language. She realised the importance of reading activities for her children's language learning, with language literacy considered the main activity capable of enhancing language learning (Curdt-Christiansen & Morgia, 2018). Sara therefore took care to provide reading books in both Arabic and English. Sara's strong involvement in her children's literacy activities can be interpreted as forming part of her strong impact belief, as parents' language ideologies and attitudes have been found to frequently determine the degree of parental involvement in literacy activities (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016).

5.3.10 Language management

This section highlights the most important themes in Sara's language management, as discussed in more detail below. The first theme concerns Sara's consistency in teaching her children Arabic, the second focuses on the children's resistance to learning Arabic, and the third examines her strategy for teaching them Arabic.

Table 5-11   The themes which highlight Sara's family language management

			Codes	**Frequency**
Theme 1	Consistent early Arabic home-schooling		Weekend Arabic lessons -specify a time -provide Saudi curriculum books	22

Theme 2	Challenges in teaching Arabic and children's resistance	-Closing Saudi schools -Different language needs -Providing Arabic resources -Children resistance	13
Theme 3	Sara's Arabic teaching strategies	-Reward system -Using visual teaching materials -Creating sense of competition	10
		Total	45

5.3.11 Theme 1: Early consistent Arabic home-schooling

Sara was committed to developing her children's literacy skills, including providing consistent Arabic lessons, for which she set a fixed two hours every Saturday, one for Marwa and one for Hisham. Consistency in using and teaching the minority proved to support children's language acquis ion of minority language (Kasuya, 1998). Sara said:

 'So I'm committed to the rule that they have Arabic lessons two hours in the morning every weekend, both Saturday and Sunday. When they started attending English schools and learning English, I started teaching them Arabic at the same time. That way, they keep learning Arabic and English at the same time (Lines 85-89)…The most important thing is not the quantity, but the continuity, because the continuity is really hard, really, really hard. It's difficult to teach at the weekend, because sometimes we get sick, sometimes we're under pressure, because we need to submit work, sometimes we travel. So, there are unexpected things that change the plans we've made. So, the most important thing is sticking to your plan, and the continuity is more important than the quantity.' *(Lines 243-248)*

Sara was assisted in reinforcing the importance of Arabic with her children by the Islamic community in the UK, including the mosque.

'Yes, I also had outside support from the mosque when my daughter was going there for Halagah – it was every afternoon and she kept on going for about a year, and they

taught them the Nouraniah rules.' (Lines 133-135)

Sara enrolled her children in local Islamic sessions held in the mosque where the lessons were explained in English, as the teachers were Muslims but not Arabic. However, the content of curriculum was in Arabic, for instance: Arabic alphabets, Nouraniah rules (i.e. how to pronounce the Arabic words), Tajweed and reading the Quran. Religious lessons were very important in maintaining Sara's native language. In fact, it is safe to say that the triangle of Religion-Etninicity-Language (REL) mentioned by Souza (2016) is clearly found in Sara's language management. Being Saudi, is strongly associated with being a Muslim whose language Arabic (Bahhari, 2020). In addition, Sara felt English helped her children to understand Arabic words, and she also used English to explain unfamiliar vocabulary.

'I also noticed during the reading time or other similar activities, that when I use Arabic and try to clarify the meaning of a word [in Arabic], I experience difficulties in explaining the meaning in Arabic. Next time, I can explain it in Arabic, but for the first time, I explain in English, so I keep using the two languages.' (Lines 59-62)

5.3.12 Theme 2: Challenges in teaching Arabic and children's resistance

Sara experienced various challenges in following a fixed plan for teaching Arabic to her children and preparing them for their return to the Saudi educational system. Firstly, her children had previously attended Saudi Sunday classes run voluntarily by a local Saudi student association, but these had recently closed, increasing her responsibility for teaching her children Arabic at home. Secondly, she experienced issues in obtaining curriculum resources from SA. Thirdly, she found it difficult to explain standard Arabic to her children, who used Amiyah in their daily speech, including a simple version of standard Arabic.

Sara believed that raising awareness of the importance of Arabic, and regular lessons, reduced her children's resistance to learn the language:

'I'm really pleased with the current situation, because I feel they're aware of the importance of learning Arabic. They don't refuse to learn it like before, or feel that learning Arabic is not important.' (Lines 196-198)

Sara had strong impact belief (De Houwer, 1999) concerning her ability to control her children's language practices and management, alongside the use of strategies to explain the importance of Arabic, helping her deal with their language resistance. Sara took the authoritative and the structured role of a parent when dealing with her children's language learning, while her strong impact belief in the importance of consistency in teaching her children Arabic increased her parental agency (De Houwer, 1999) and reduced that of her children, along with their resistance strategies. This shows that children's agency is dynamic and tends to shape interactional practices at home over space and time (Smith-Christmas, 2020a). Furthermore, it can take the form of resistance strategies against FLP during their interactions and negotiations with their parents at home (Fogle & King, 2013a). Moreover, parental response to children's growing linguistic competence and agency is crucial in controlling (or reducing) the influence of their resistance strategies (Fogle & King, 2013).

When I asked Sara whether she was pleased with the support she provided for her children's Arabic learning, she answered:

'*Very pleased – the continuity in teaching Arabic should be a habit for me and for them. At the beginning, they felt that studying Arabic was boring, particularly my little son. But lately, he's got used to this system of studying Arabic at the weekend, so things carry on.*' (Lines 250-252)

Sara was not worried about her children's Arabic language, because of her continuity in teaching Arabic during the weekend and observed their good progress in Arabic, particularly in Hisham's Arabic skills. This is different from some Saudi sojourning parents in Australia in Bahhari's (2020) study, who were mildly worried or not completely worried about their children's education in SA, either because they planned to enrol them in international schools as a transitional stage until they improve their Arabic language or were satisfied with the minimal level in Arabic. Sara found it hard to juggle the responsibility of her roles as mother, student and Arabic teacher. Thus, by setting a fixed time for teaching Arabic, she reduced the feeling of guilt and not being a good mother and consequently increased the feeling of satisfaction, with had considerable impact on her wellbeing and self-confidence:

"But when I allocate an hour in the morning to teaching them Arabic, I feel that's a good use of time. I also dedicate one hour before sleeping time to Arabic stories. So, these two hours have been very effective, and I am really pleased with the support I've given them in Arabic in these two hours." (Lines 236-239)

5.3.13 Theme 3: Sara's Arabic teaching strategies

Sara's strong impact belief (De Houwer, 1999) was reflected in her very active and strong involvement in teaching Arabic. Sara used different tools and materials to ensure her Arabic lessons were more interesting, including a board to help explain Arabic stories and words, and to avoid using English while teaching Arabic:

'*We are used to having a board in their room, which I use to explain historical stories, so when I read the stories and these kinds of stuff, they do not understand well. But when I use the symbols, they start to understand.*' (Lines 206-209)

However, Sara also used English as being easier for her children to understand when facing some difficult words in MSA:

'*It's not easy, but it's quicker for them to understand…… but when it is bedtime, you know, I used to explain [stories] in English, because they understood the story more quickly.*' (Lines 209-210)

Sara also maintained her children's involvement in Arabic lessons by creating a competition between them through using a timer to see who finished first:

'*Sometimes, I use a timer to create a competition between them [Marwa and Hisham]. I often give them an hour and see who is going to finish first, and sometimes I use the first hour for Hisham and the second hour for Marwa. The two hours every Saturday are specifically for Arabic, no matter how it's distributed between them.*' (Lines 104-107)

5.3.14 Summary

This section has demonstrated that Sara believed in the importance of encouraging her children to learn both English and Arabic, including how to choose the appropriate

language according to location and interlocutor. She also emphasised communication as being more important than the language employed and so used both languages at home, although with a preference for Arabic when disciplining her children, teaching them manners, or giving them advice. Furthermore, Sara primarily used move-on strategy and codeswitching, which in the transnational context, promoted the children's use of English at home, consequently the risk of shift to the majority language, this contradicts her ideology about raising her children bilingually.

This section has shown that Sara's belief being explicit with her about the importance of bilingualism and how and when to use each language, was reflected in her teaching strategies and language management, particularly in ensuring they were familiar with the subject of their Arabic lessons and had a clear idea of what was expected from them. Although Sara had complete control of the language use in technology (i.e. iPads, TV, and video games), she had restricted rules on the time spent on these devices and only allowed them to be used during the weekend, as a reward for studying Arabic during the weekend.

5.4 Razan's family

Razan arrived the UK in June 2014 to undertake her PhD in information systems. She came with her two daughters, Jana (aged nine), Rana, (5:6) and the children's grandfather, while her husband remained in SA due to work commitments, visiting the family periodically. In addition, Razan visited her home country during the spring and summer holidays. While she was in the UK, she gave birth to her third daughter, Fara (who was five months at the time of data collection), but who had been left with her grandmother in SA. Razan was expected to return to SA in January 2020. Razan differed from Layla and Sara because she was afforded advantages due to the grandfather staying with the family, frequent visits by her husband and other extended family members, and regular visits to SA (twice a year). She had worked as a lecturer at a number of Saudi Arabian universities and was fluent in English, with her IELTS score being 7. Table 5-12 outlines Razan's family background.

Table 5-12   Razan's family background

Family members	Age	Education level	Language spoken	Age of Arrival (AOA)	Residence in the UK
Razan (mother)	34	Currently studying for a PhD in Information Systems	Arabic and English		Five years and three months (i.e. from June 2014)
Jana (daughter)	9;8	Fourth grade	Arabic and English	4;6	
Rana (daughter)	5;6	Reception	Mostly English	Four months	
Grandfather	-	-	Arabic	-	

The eldest daughter, Jana, was attending the fourth grade at the time of data collection. She was 4;6 on arrival in the UK, and a fluent speaker of Arabic. However, she had since gradually started to lose her native tongue, resulting in her mother enrolling her in private Arabic lessons once a week, as reported in the interview:

"*Jana was five years old at the time, and she had very good Arabic vocabulary. We talked to her in Arabic and she understood, and we kept on doing that at home. As time passed, I noticed that she found it more and more difficult to express herself in Arabic. Then, I realised that it was really necessary for her to practise Arabic.*" (Razan: lines 21-25)

Rana, the middle daughter, was in the reception class at the time of data collection. She was four months old on arrival in the UK, and had since attended nursery. Her spoken English was fluent and native-like, but her Arabic was weak.

5.4.1   Razan's family language ideologies

This section discusses the themes highlighting Razan's family language ideologies. The first focus is on the importance of Arabic as a representation of Arabic and Islamic identity. The second concerns the need to maintain the language in order to enable the family to be reabsorbed into the Saudi community after returning to SA. The third presents a view of English as an opportunity for academic achievement and to enhance future career prospects. The fourth theme emphasises the fact that clear communication

between family members was considered more important than the language code used at home (see Table 5-13).

Table 5-13   Themes highlighting Razan's family language beliefs

		Codes	Frequency
Theme 1	Arabic as a representation of Arabic and Islamic identity	Maintain Islamic identity Arabic identity	13
Theme 2	English is important for children's academic achievement and better future career	-Good skill -Future career International -easier	10
Theme 3	The importance of fitting into the Saudi community after the return to SA	Mingle with Saudi community back in SA	4
		Total	27

5.4.2   Theme 1: Arabic as a representation Arabic and Islamic identity

Razan believed in the importance of clear communication between family members, regardless of the language used. She was therefore flexible with her children, with the emphasis placed on encouraging them to speak freely and convey the message they wished to express in either English or Arabic, without any restriction or interruption. Razan stated:

"*I let them choose whichever language they feel they can best express themselves in. For example, if they want to ask for something, and feel that they are better able to express that in Arabic, then they use Arabic, and if they feel that they can say it better in English, they can use English. I don't have any problem with that. I am not the type of mother who tells off her children when they speak English and asks them to use Arabic. I gave them the freedom to choose either language.*" (Lines 40-44)

This demonstrates that her children's language agency influenced Razan's language choice and ideology, as well as their preference for English tended to increase the use of the language at home. Her language choice was also influenced by her idea of being a

good mother, i.e. "*I'm not the type of mother who tells off her children when they speak English*".

Razan's belief in the benefits of flexibility when dealing with her children, including accepting their language preferences, can be seen as making her good mother (King & Fogle, 2006; Okita, 2002). However, her consequent language ideology had the potential to weaken her impact belief when it came to maintaining her children's Arabic. As noted by Kuczynski (2003), the power between parents and children is dynamic in relation to language socialisation, with parents frequently becoming more receptive to their children's influence. Thus, Click or tap here to enter text.Razan's weak impact belief led to the balance of power in the mother-children relationship shifting in favour of her children (Gurdal & Sorbring, 2018). This belief could therefore be seen to reduce the power of her language agency and increase that of her children. Moreover, in transitional families, children's growing linguistic competence in the majority language helps them to become active agent (Revis, 2019), exploiting resistance strategies against FLP to use the majority language in interactions with their parents (Fogle & King, 2013).

In addition, Razan demonstrated a positive attitude towards additive bilingualism, which played a critical role in her children's language acquisition and development (Tannenbaum & Howie, 2002), believing that they were able to acquire more than one language: "*I believe that children can learn two languages*" (line 205).

However, this could be associated with English being considered socio-economic linguistic capital (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009b; Leung & Uchikoshi, 2012), while Arabic represented the family's cultural and religious values.

Razan emphasised the importance of her children learning Arabic as a representation of their Arabic and Islamic identity, including being concerned about her daughter not being able to read the Quran in its original Arabic:

"*It is their mother tongue and the language of the Quran. I cannot imagine that, when my daughter is fifteen or sixteen years old, she will be unable to read the Quran. This idea obsessed me.*" (Lines 175-177)

This was particularly important as Arabic is the language of the Quran, and thus being able to understand and speak the language is crucial to an understanding of Islamic principles, which are very important for Razan's family. This led Razan to view learning Arabic as capable of maintaining her daughter's continuous contact with Islamic principles through regular reading of the Quran. That learning would also facilitate her other children's reading and understanding of the Quran and undertaking Islamic practices, such as praying five times a day.

5.4.3 Theme 2: English is important for children's academic achievement and a better future career

Razan also recognised English as an international language: "*the English language controls the whole world [it's an international language]' (lines 191-192).* She therefore believed that English would help her daughters to progress in their academic life and open a wide range of opportunities for their future careers (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009b). As she noted in her interview, Razan felt this ensured that learning English would prove an advantage and a '*special skill'* for her daughters:

"So it's good that my daughters have a special skill that makes them stand out from the crowd. They have even acquired English pronunciation and writing skills from their original country. I am really pleased with that, and I hope they keep it and keep on using it and don't lose it over time. It is a very good skill." (Lines 191-195)

The interviews revealed that Razan was pleased with her daughters' level of English and believed that being in an English-speaking environment like the UK provided an opportunity for her children to acquire high quality or native-like language skills, which "*make them stand out*" from their Saudi peers. She also wished them to maintain both languages after the family's return to SA. When asked why she considered English a beneficial skill, she replied: "*for their future studies and careers, I feel that it [English] will be a powerful tool for them" (lines 197-198).*

Moreover, Razan believed English to be the most intimate and effective language for her children to express themselves, noting:

"Yes, they understand better in English. If you think about the long hours they spend at

school, where they have all the information in English, it's easy for them to understand explanations in English." (Lines 253-255)

This demonstrates how parents' expectations about their children's language ability influences their FLP. Thus, Razan's use of English was due to her belief that the children would find it easier to understand (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009b).

5.4.4   Theme 3: Fitting into the Saudi community after their return

The study demonstrated that Razan's efforts to maintain her children's Arabic related to the family's eventual return to SA, when they would need Arabic to socialise and show their belongingness to the Saudi community, particularly as most Saudis do not speak English.

In speaking of Jana, Razan noted: *"she'll be able to mingle with the people in the community around her when we go back, because most will be speaking Arabic" (lines 177-178).* Thus, she considered that her daughters would be better able to mingle with other Saudi children in SA if they were fluent in Arabic.

This was highlighted by the negative impact of the children's lack of fluency in their home language on their communication with members of their extended family and others in SA, i.e. this led Jana needed to pause in the middle of her conversation with her family in order to translate sentences from English before communicating them in Arabic. This lack of fluency exerted a psychological impact on both Jana and her mother, and led to Rana seeking to teach her children Arabic:

"I mean when we go to SA in the holidays, I feel sorry for her (Jana) *because I feel that she has to translate from English to Arabic before she can speak. There is no fluency in either her pronunciation or expression. She finds it hard to communicate in Arabic. So, I feel upset when I see my daughter like this. I really want her to be like those [peers, relatives and friends] around her."* (Lines 179-182).

This was also the reason Razan noted her increased efforts to speak Arabic with her children during the final period of her studies for her PhD, when the time was

approaching for their return to SA. She acknowledged that she was happy with the positive response of her younger daughter, Rana and felt that they could be able to cope with the change because "*they're still young, so they'll adapt*" (line 184). However, Razan stressed to other families the importance of maintaining Arabic with their children before returning to SA, in order to avoid any adverse reaction to Arabic or the unfamiliar environment:

"*I strongly recommend that all families who come here [to the UK] maintain their children's Arabic, because otherwise they will experience plenty of problems when they go back and can't speak Arabic. Some children may have an adverse reaction. So my advice is that families should do all they can to help their children speak Arabic, as they will learn English anyway.*" (Lines 274-277)

5.4.5   Razan's family language practices

As summarised in Table 5-14, Razan's family language practices comprised of: firstly, family discourse strategies and the interaction between the siblings; secondly, extended family visits and visits home during the summer and spring holidays; thirdly, watching TV programmes, YouTube channels on their iPad, and video games.

Table 5-14   Themes highlighting Razan's family language practices

		Codes	Frequency
Theme1	Razan's family discourse strategies	-Siblings's interactions -Razan's language strategies	11
Theme 2	Visits from the extended family and returning to SA for the summer and spring holidays	-Summer holiday - family visits	12
Theme 3	Technology as a language learning practice	-Watching YouTube -attractive English games	6
		total	29

5.4.6 Theme 1: Family members' discourse strategies and sibling's interactions

Razan spoke both languages with her daughters. She explained in the interview that, when she first arrived in the UK, she had not planned to follow a clear family language policy, primarily due to Jana, her older daughter, being fluent in Arabic, and Rana being very young. However, as noted above, Razan stated that she had experienced Jana's use of Arabic as gradually weakening over time in favour of English - based on Razan's statement (7.1). Thus, Razan adopted two different family language strategies with her daughters, in accordance with their needs and ages. In order to address Jana's loss of fluency in Arabic, including vocabulary, Razan chose to make more use of Arabic at home. However, she needed to focus on speaking English with Rana, due to her daughter attending an English-speaking nursery. It is notable that Razan planned to speak English with her daughters at home in SA, in order to ensure they continued to maintain their familiarity with the language.

This reveals that Razan's approach was influenced by an attempt to balance the support available for each language according to location. This led her to focus on Jana's Arabic (as she was surrounded by English at school) but choosing to speak English with both daughters when they returned to SA, as they were surrounded by Arabic speakers.

The data collection revealed that Razan's daughters preferred to speak English, including to complain, chat with each other after school and when listening to a bedtime story. Razan described this as: *"kind of English, but sometimes they use Arabic and English, but maybe more English"* (line 123). In addition, schooling influenced the family's conversations, with the children speaking more English immediately after returning home from school. Thus, the place and the topic of the conversation played a role in the language used at home. However, the siblings spoke English with each other, both when they were in the UK and SA. Razan noted that, even when they were in SA, *"they prefer a bedtime story in English"* (lines 129-130) and tended to sing in English *"they sing a few songs in Arabic, but mostly in English"* (line 136).

Table 5-15 shows the distribution of the family members' use of language while in the UK, as shown in the audio recordings.

Table 5-15   Razan's family language use

English	Arabic	CS	Total
(23.21%)	(50.28 %)	(10.35%)	1400

Table 5-16   Language distribution between family members

	Razan	Jana	Rana	GrandF	Reemah	GrandM
English	(6.7%)	(35.4%)	(54.6%)	(1%)	0	(0.3)
Arabic	(59.8%)	(19.7%)	(5.6 %)	(0.03%)	(3.1%)	(6.7%)
CS	(63.4%)	(12.4%)	(19.3 %)	0	(2.7%)	(0.7%)

GrandF= grandfather, Reemah=aunt, GrandM=grandmother

Table 5-16 shows that Arabic tended to be spoken among family members, rather than English or codeswitching. Razan made the most use of Arabic, followed by Jana, while Rana used more English than Arabic and codeswitched more than either her mother or sister. However, the extended family generally communicated in Arabic, i.e. the children's grandfather, grandmother and Reemah, their aunt.

It was notable that both Jana and Rana helped their mother to understand some of the English words they used in their conversations, with Razan asking them to translate unfamiliar words: *"sometimes in their conversation they use a word that I don't understand ....they are happy to translate it to me."* (lines 72-74), Razan added that her daughters also helped her with pronunciation: "when *I pronounced some words wrongly, they laughed at me and corrected my pronunciation".* (line 78). This shows how the children at times took the role of teacher, which made them feel more confident and to have more status than their mother.

5.4.7   Theme 2: extended family visits and summer and spring holidays

The use of Arabic by the children was reinforced by their holidays in SA, along with the many visits of Razan's extended family to the UK, most of whom only spoke Arabic, and the presence of the grandfather, who lived with them during their period of residence. Razan's parents and sisters, grandfather and grandmother visited at least once

a year and Razan noted that Rana's Arabic tended to improve during this time.

"*I noticed that Rana's Arabic really developed a lot. It developed much more with them than when she spends time with me. Her Arabic [skills] developed so much when my family were here.*" (Lines 99-101)

In the fourth conversation, Rana speaks in Arabic with Razan when talking about their trip to a resort in the UK and how her grandfather taught her to swim:

44   Rana: ((giggling)) **yes] and I XXX like** ((Rana gasping)) *

45   Razan: ma tikhafeen min almoyah?/ °

      %tra   *aren't you scared from the water?*

46   Rana: la°

      %tra   *No*

47   Razan: tiseeheen? [akeed? °

      %tra   *did you cry? sure?*

48   Rana: la la] °

      %tra   *No*

49   Razan: tayeb laish laman roohti baba Samih/ga'adti tiseeheen/ tiseeheen/°

      %tra   *well why did you cry when you went with baba Samih?*

50   Rana: ashan baba Samih/ kan yahwaishtni **sic**./ °

      %tra   *because baba Samih told me off*

51   Razan: yahawaishik baba Samih?°

      %tra   *baba Samih told you off?*

52   Rana: eyeh ((expression means yeas in Arabic)) °

      %tra   *Yes*

53   Razan: la ma yhawaishik/ ya'a'lemik bas/°

54 Rana: eyeh bas xxx hawaishatni **sic.**/ °

%tra   *yes but he told me off*

55 Razan: ((giggling)) yahabik papa Samih/°

%tra   ((giggling)) baba Samih loves you

This study demonstrates the importance of Arabic for cultural transmission and maintaining the connection with other family members. Razan observed that Rana enjoyed speaking Arabic with her extended family:

"*She is even happy when I talk to her in Arabic, as she now replies in Arabic. For example, when I talk to my family [in SA], she tells them, 'look I am speaking Arabic'. She is proud of this, that she can now speak Arabic.*" (Lines 13-16)

Razan demonstrated her pride in her daughters when they used Arabic, and particularly Rana, who she encouraged her to speak Arabic with her extended family when they communicated through Skype. This was, as noted above, due to Razan's association of the language with belongingness to SA, including when it came to relationships with members of their extended family.

Moreover, their father's visits influenced the children's willingness to use Arabic, particularly as he lacked a strong grasp of English. Razan said: "*mostly when their father is around… they prefer to express themselves in Arabic*" (lines 108-109). When I asked Razan whether her husband knew English, she replied:

"*Kind of. But he uses more Arabic, maybe because he doesn't understand English very well. So, they try to speak more in Arabic with him.*" (Lines 113-114)

5.4.8   Theme 3: Technology is a language learning practice

Razan indicated that her children watched a large number of YouTube channels in English, as well as TV programmes. This was confirmed by the audio recordings from

the fifth family conversation, which captures Rana watching different YouTube channels in English, Arabic, and another language.

(Rana is watching a programme in a language that is neither English nor Arabic)

Razan: waisho hathe Rana? Hathe aih?

% tra *what's this Rana? What's this?*

Jana: **Polish**

Razan: hathe aish English wala Arabi?

% tra *is this English or Arabic?*

Jana: **Polish**

Rana: **and Spanish**

% tra. *and Spanish*

Razan: **Spani::sh** wala xxx tishoofeen **Spanish** ba'ad

% tra *Spani::sh so you watch Spanish too*

Jana: **no is Polish**

Razan: **Polish** mashallah Jana anti ta'areefeen fi al **school**
Polish akthar ashan ali ma'ak fi al **school Polish**

% tra *Polish mashallah Jana you know that because in your school there are many Polish many Polish with you in the school*

Rana had also watched a YouTube channel in a separate language during the previous extract and demonstrated her interest in understanding. Jana, the older sister, answers her mother's questions by stating that the programme is 'in Polish', while Rana adds 'and Spanish'. Jana confirms that it is Polish, explaining that she recognised the language because of her Polish friends at school.

Razan mentioned that her daughters tended to watch more programmes in English than Arabic, primarily because they found them more attractive and easier to understand.

However, she had also noticed that they recently enjoyed watching an Arabic/ Saudi family channel on YouTube:

"*They used to watch too many programmes in English, but lately they started watching videos about the Moshaya'a family. I was surprised that even Rana liked to watch their videos very, very much. So I let them watch these videos.*" (Lines 138-140)

This programme imitated trending English-language YouTube family channels and followed a family's everyday activities and travels in Arabic. It proved to be one of the children's favourite Arabic family channels. It was notable that Razan did not impose strict rules regarding the time spent on the iPad or watching TV.

5.4.9 Razan's family language management

This section discusses the most important themes relating to Razan's language management. The first theme concerns Razan's home-schooling in Arabic, while the second focusses on her children's resistance to learning Arabic and the third examines Razan's key advice to other families (see Table 5-17).

Table 5-17 Themes highlighting Razan's family language management

		Codes	Frequency
Theme 1	Teaching Arabic is the mother's responsibility	-Hiring Arabic tutor -Enrolling in Islamic lessons	11
Theme 2	Children's resistance to learning Arabic	Arabic lessons are extra load on Children resistance	8
Theme 3	Past experience and key advice to others	Teachers' advice	6
		Total	25

5.4.10 Theme 1: Home-schooling and Teaching Arabic is mother's responsibility

Two main factors influenced Razan's decision to enrol her daughter in Arabic lessons. Firstly, that Jana, her eldest daughter, started losing her ability to communicate in Arabic:

"*As time passed, I noticed that she found it more and more difficult to express herself in Arabic. Then, I realised that she needed to practise Arabic.*" (Lines 23-25)

This led Razan to teach her eldest daughter Arabic, as well as the Quran after two years of her residence in the UK, when Jana was seven: "*she was signed up for Arabic lessons when she was in year two*" (line 154). She also joined a group of other PhD student mothers who hired a private Arabic teacher to teach their children Arabic and the Quran in one of the mother's houses. However, when it came to Rana, she did not feel that it was urgent to start teaching her Arabic due to her young age.

While teaching Jana Arabic, Razan tended to codeswitch between Arabic and English, explaining difficult Arabic words using English and difficult English words in English.

The second factor concerned her children's ages and language needs, which led Razan to adapt her language strategies and interests accordingly. For example, she said that *"I encourage them, particularly the little one,"*(line 62), to speak Arabic. In addition, Razan changed from teaching English to Arabic when Rana got older and was unable to speak Arabic but had become fluent in English. Similarly, Razan decided to enrol Jana in Arabic lessons when she considered her old enough to start learning her mother tongue, particularly as she was conscious that her daughter's peers in the Saudi community were fluent Arabic speakers

Razan considered that teaching her children Arabic was her responsibility as a good mother, "*I feel responsible as a mother*" (line 152)… *so, I feel that it's her right to learn Arabic," (line 154)*. She expressed the responsibility as being daunting at times, but she was pleased with her efforts to teach her children both Arabic and English. Razan's children took Arabic and Quran lessons once a week and she helped them with their Arabic homework during the weekend, as well as their English homework during the week, believing this to be the most effective method of supporting her children's

language learning. However, she also acknowledged that this support had recently been impacted by the pressure of completing her PhD. Thus, the interviews made clear that, despite Razan's satisfaction with her children's language learning, she continues to worry about their progress, saying: *"I hope we did the best for them"* line, 229), and the sigh as she began answering the question: "*what is the role of your study in your children's language learning?"* (Lines 255-226).

5.4.11 Theme 2: Children's resistance to learning Arabic

As noted above, Razan's children demonstrated some resistance to studying Arabic, which discouraged her from making additional efforts to improve their language skills, particularly as Jana considered Arabic homework an overload:

"*Yesterday, we just argued about the amount of work they have to do. They complained about studying and doing homework in Arabic and at the same time studying and doing homework in English. Particularly Jana. She told me she's tired and that the weekend is for relaxing and not studying.*" (Lines 219-222)

Razan struggled between giving her children additional Arabic drills, thus putting them under more pressure to study Arabic, and being flexible and helping them with their language learning without pressure, saying:

"*I would like to give them more, but I end up not wanting to overload them, while at the same time helping them.*" (Lines 223- 224)

In the following example, Rana resists reading the Quran with her mother:

47	Razan:	yala doorik ya mama bismallah alrahaman alraheem yala ya mama=°
	% tra	*come on sweetie your turn bismallah alrahaman alrahaeem come on sweetie=*
48	Rana:	= bismallahi alrahman alraba'a **sic.** ° ((Rana is not reading properly and pronouncing the words in the wrong way))

% tra   *bisamllah alrahaman alraba'a sic.* ((Rana is not reading the verses properly))

49   Razan: astaghfooro allah la haram ya mama hathe gooran lazeem titkalameen zain yala bismallahi al rahmaani alraheem alhamddullah raba ala'alameen al rhaman [alraheem°

% tra   *astaghforo Allah no that's not accepted sweetie this is Quran you should read well come on bisamllah al Rahman alraheem alhamdullah raba al a'alameen alrhaman [alraheem*

50   Jana: maliki-]°

% tra   *Maliki*

51   Razan: yala maliki yoom aldeen yala mama ((reading the verses from the Holy Quran)) °

Then later in the same conversation, she tried again with Rana

249   Razan: Rana yala asma'ayni yala agra'ai gooran yala bisura'ah yala°

% tra   *Rana come on listen to me come on let's read the Quran come on quickly come on*

250   Rana: ya'a ((nonsense words))

251   Razan: astaghfoor allah yala habibiti shatrah binti [awal shai bismallah alrahman alraheem°

% tra   *astaghforoo allah come on my darling good girl my daughter [the first thing in the name of Allah the most*

252   Rana: alhamdullah XXX] ° ((Rana did not recite the Quran correctly and make nonsense words))

% tra   *alhamdullah xx]*

In the fifth conversation, Razan is teaching Jana how to read some short Suras from the last chapters of the Quran:

35   Rana: [*no:::* *NO*::*

     % tra   [*no:: NO::*

36   Razan: yala shattra yala habibi galbi]°

     % tra   come on good girl come on my sweetheart]

37   Rana: *why every time every time* *

     % tra **why every time every time**?

38   Razan: ashan aldirasah ashan anti lazeem ta'areefeen tagra'aeen algoran ashan
              [anti kibeerah °

     % tra   *so you should study you should know how to read the Quran because*
              you are older now

39   Jana: *you're Arabi*] *

     % tra   *you're Arabi]*

40   Razan: ashan lazeem ta'areefeen yala [gooli bismallah °

     % tra   you should know come on come on [say bismallah

41   Rana: *why?* [da- *no**

     % tra   *why? [da-no*

42   Jana: **XXX that is still to XXX***

43   Razan: yala habibi°

     % tra   *come on sweetie*

44   Rana: **I'm not**= *

45   Razan: =Jana awal shai Jana tabda'a yala bismallah wa alsama thati alborooj
              ((Rana tries to read with Jana)) [shh astaghfooro allah =°

     % tra   *Jana you first start come on bismallah wa alsama thati alborooj ((*
              Rana tries to read with Jana)) [shh astaghforo allah=

46 Jana: =wa asama] thati alborooj° ((Jana reads the verse very well with few mistakes))

    % tra   = wa alsama] thati alborooj ((Jana reads the verses very well with few mistakes))

The above extract shows Razan attempting to encourage Rana (whose main language is English) to read the Quran in Arabic. When she refuses, her older sister Jana (who is more fluent in Arabic and experienced in reading the Quran) joins the conversation and reminds Rana of her Arabic identity by saying that she is *'Arabi'*. Furthermore, in order to encourage Rana to read the Quran, the mother asks Jana to read after her. This conversation confirms that Razan viewed Arabic as vital for establishing Islamic principles and identity (Moore, 2016).

Rana's resistance to reading the Quran after her mother can be interpreted by her lack of linguistic competence in Arabic (i.e. the language of the Quran), which may impel anxiety in using her HL (Sevinç & Dewaele, 2018). Her feeling of HLA and her lack of fluency in Arabic gave Rana some resistance strategies against her mother's request to read the Quran, due to her strong impact belief (de Houwer, 1999) in Islamic religious practices. This aspect is significant as one of the most important driving forces for maintaining Arabic in Saudi families (Bahhari, 2020; Said, 2021). Thus, a tension in their conversation was created by Rana's resistance strategies and her mother's strong impact belief in the Islamic religion (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016), which ended by Razan becoming flexible and accepting her daughter resistance. In addition, the role of older siblings as supporters of FLP (Said, 2021b) was manifested in Jana's attempt to help her mother in convincing her little sister to read the Quran, as well as pointing out the importance of showing her Arabic identity.

5.4.12 Theme 3: Past experience, advice and future expectations

Razan decided that, in order to address Rana's delay in speaking, she needed to disregard her own views and follow the advice of key personnel in the nursery, i.e. that a child needs to pick up one language and use it properly, before he/she can learn another. this is a key contradictory influence on the mothers; own beliefs and ambition

for her children- comment.

Razan said,

"*My little daughter Rana didn't speak for a long time [after we arrived in the UK]. She spent most of her days at the nursery until 6:00 pm, and the language there was English*" (lines 25-27). …*When I discussed this with the nursery and asked them why my daughter didn't speak at all so far, they replied that 'it's not a big problem – the reason is that she's faced two languages, so you should talk to her in a specific language until she masters it'. So, I was forced to talk to her in English during that period [when she was in the nursery], to be consistent with the language in the nursery.*" (Lines 29-33)

After following this advice, Rana started to speak English. Razan then began to focus on Arabic, particularly when she observed that Rana was losing her ability to express herself in Arabic. She justified her delay in teaching Rana Arabic as follows:

 "*Well, she is still in the foundation year, and she has just started reading English. So, I prefer that, after she becomes very good in reading English, that is when I will start helping her with the second language.*" (Lines 167-169)

This was due to Razan following the nursery's advice to ensure Rana should learn English first and be strong in one language, before learning Arabic. This also demonstrates the family language policy as being dynamic and accommodating the needs of the children. too vague

As noted above, Razan was keen to ensure her children maintained their fluency in both languages after returning to SA. Her plan was to enrol her daughters in an international school, alongside an intensive Arabic course:

"*I intend to enrol them in schools that support both languages, I mean international schools, which have an English curriculum, but at the same time support their Arabic language through intensive Arabic courses. I don't want them to lose the things they have learnt here in the UK, and at the same time, I want them to be in schools that*

support Arabic. I want them to study both languages." (Lines 201-205)

5.4.13 Summary

This study has found that Razan had a flexible language policy and was open to using both Arabic and English, focussing on ease of communication between family members. However, she stressed the importance of learning Arabic in order to maintain her children's Arabic and Islamic identity. Furthermore, the data demonstrates that her language practices were in line with her language beliefs. Razan did not force her children to speak a certain language, and she also made use of CS when needed. In addition, she often used the move-on strategy with her children, which promoted bilingualism at home. Her language management emphasised the need for the children to learn Arabic, including to read the Quran. Razan felt satisfied with her efforts to support her children's Arabic, although at the same time recognising the limit of her children's willingness to take additional lessons.

5.5   Eman's family

Eman came to the UK in February 2015 to study for a PhD in Biology. She was accompanied by her three children, Rasheed (20:6 years old), Hatim (14:3) and Rahaf (9:8). Eman was the only widow among the participant families and took full responsibility for her three children. She worked as a lecturer in an SA university and spoke advanced English, with an IELTS score of 6. At the time of data collection, Eman's family had been in the UK for four years and eight months and was expected to return to SA in 2021. Table 5-18 shows the background of Eman's family.

Table 5-18   Eman's family background

Family members	Age	Education level	Language spoken	Age on Arrival (AOA)	Residence in the UK
Eman (mother)	Not stated. Appeared to be around forty	Currently studying for a PhD in Biology	Arabic and English	-	Four years and eight months since Feb 2015
Rasheed (son)	20;6	Studying in the UK, attending a London university	English and Arabic	16;6	

Hatim (son)	14;3	Eighth grade	Arabic	9;9	
Rahaf (daughter)	9;8	Fourth grade	English	5;6	

Eman visited SA during the summer holidays as well as some of the spring holidays and breaks. In addition, she had visits from her extended family, including her brother and his family and the children's grandmother.

Rasheed, aged twenty, was the eldest son, but he generally lived separately from the family. He initially remained in SA to finish his Tawjihiyah (General Secondary Education Certificate, equivalent to GCSE), which was followed by completing his BA degree at a university in London. Due to his limited presence, Rasheed did not participate in the family conversations.

The middle son was Hatim, who was 14;3 years old and attended the eighth grade. Hatim's Age of Arrival (AOA) was 9;9. As his mother reported in the interview, he preferred speaking Arabic and only used English at school. He enjoyed playing video XBOX/Sony games.

Rahaf was the youngest child, and the only daughter, who had been 5;6 when she first arrived in the UK and at the time of data collection, attended the fourth grade. Despite being fluent in Arabic, Rahaf preferred speaking English at home, particularly with her mother. Rahaf had both Saudi and English friends from the Saudi community and her British state school, with whom she spoke English.

5.5.1 Eman's family language beliefs

This section examines the most important themes in Eman's language beliefs. The first concerns Eman's views concerning the importance of bilingualism, both culturally and linguistically. The second focuses on the need to be able to fit into the Saudi community following the eventual return home. The third explores the importance of clear communication between family members, regardless of the language used. Table 5.19 shows the most important themes of Eman's family language management same comment as above.

Table 5-19   Themes that highlight Eman's family language beliefs

		Codes	Frequency
Theme1	Culture and language are inextricable	-encouraging bilingualism Understand English culture-Arabic culture	30
Theme 2	The need to fit in the Saudi society reinforces the maintenance of the Arabic language and culture	-avoid being laughed at -Fit in Saudi society	2
		Total	32

5.5.2 Theme 1: Culture and language are inextricable

The data showed that Eman clearly encouraged bilingualism: "any *language that people learn is very important*" (line 222). She believed that Arabic was important for her children, because it showed their Islamic and Arabic identities, stating:

"*Of course, it's important because it is our language, and it's important for our religion and in our life [Saudi life], our communication now and when we go back."* (Lines 220-221)

Eman considered the Arabic language and culture to be inseparable and therefore emphasised that it was vital her children acquired both, in order to communicate successfully in both the UK and SA. Eman also viewed Arabic culture as equally important as Arabic literacy, noting:

"*The problem of Arabic is not only about the language but also about the culture and traditions. I mean learning speaking and writing in Arabic is not just only about the Arabic language, there is also Arabic culture." (Lines 67-70)*

This indicates that, to Eman, Arabic represented both the cultural values and social identity of her children, determining membership to specific social groups (Schieffelin et al., 1998). Hatim is therefore simultaneously Saudi and a member of the Saudi male

community, sharing specific traditions and required to perform certain duties.

Eman stressed the importance of Arabic culture for her children, particularly Hatim, whom she wished to learn Arabic customs and traditions associated with the male role in an Arabic society in general, and Saudi society in particular. This was particularly important as males are often the leaders and decision-makers in the Saudi community and therefore need to be familiar with customs related to greetings, gestures, and hospitality. Eman noted that Hatim did not know how to correctly take turns in the conversations with other older Arabic men he met in the UK, including without interrupting them, which was considered a sign of disrespect:

"*What men talk about is different – having listened carefully to men talking, the Islamic habits and traditions, these things a boy needs to know, perhaps even girls. When Hatim socialises with Arabs here, he doesn't know these things. I realised this was a problem, so I started letting him mix with people [Arabs]*' (lines 75-78)...*The children – particularly the boys – should master it. So, for example, I didn't let Hatim mix with other Arabs here in Britain. However, I realised he didn't know how to deal with men, particularly in the Saudi way, I mean the way of talking. The way of talking in Saudi society is different.*" *(Lines 70-73)*

This indicates that Eman recognised that, as a widow, she was unable to deliver certain Arabic competencies, and was unable to fulfil a father's role model for Hatim, including teaching him the customs of male conversation. This was also true of her elder son, Rasheed, as he lived in a different city from his family while continuing his studies.

"*I am particularly concerned about Hatim. When it comes to Rasheed, I don't have a problem, but Hatim is so shy when he talks, and he says very little. This could expose him to that kind of stuff [making fun of him]. He should know how to defend himself and how to deal with people.*" (Lines 96-99)

As discussed in Chapter Three, Kopeliovich's (2010) study demonstrated that the father's indirect strategies tended to prove more successful than the mother's direct strategies in attracting children to speak Russian. This was particularly so as the father

focussed on creating interesting content to convey Russian cultural values, as opposed to enforcing the use of the Russian language at home. Like Eman, most mothers have considerable responsibilities, multitasking and fulfilling several roles, including (as in Eman's case) taking on the role of a missing father. Furthermore, Okita (2002) examined the ways the invisible efforts by mothers can lead to a negative experience of disappointment. However, there is also a need for further investigation into the role of fathers in FLP, particularly their contribution to mothers' strategies for maintaining the home language.

The data also shows that Eman recognised the importance of understanding English culture, as her children were residing within an English-speaking country, and they needed such understanding for their academic progression, as well as socialising with their friends and others in the community (Spolsky, 2019). Eman stated:

"*Of course, English is important. It's important now for their studies, because they're living here in a country where English is the official language, and it's the language of the education system.*" (Lines 199-201)

When they first arrived, Eman's children struggled to learn English. Hatim, in particular, required considerable support:

"*As for Hatim, the school helped him a lot by providing him with books and a translator pen. They used to bring him home and give him extra lessons [in English]. But, of course, because of his character, Hatim didn't reveal that he could already speak English!*" (Lines 205-207)

This could be a reason for Eman's preference for Hatim to speak English rather than Arabic, in order to develop his language skills, i.e. "*I would prefer him to be better in English*" (line 151). Eman's language experience (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009b) with her children, and maybe also her role as a PhD student, can therefore be seen to influence her language ideologies concerning the English language, including the decision to promote the use of English at home.

Furthermore, Eman was also aware of the academic importance of English for her children in the UK and SA, including any continuation of their studies at university,

including in SA, stating:

"*Because, later on, they'll need English to continue their studies, maybe even at university. All education systems are in English, whether here or in our country. So, if they have a good foundation [in English], it will reduce the struggle to learn it when they're older, because they'll have the basics already and know it very well.*" (Lines 212-215)

In recognising Arabic culture and Islamic faith as being intertwined, Eman considered Arabic a prerequisite to understanding Islamic culture and principles, and undertaking religious practices, such as reading the Quran properly. As Arabic is the language of the Quran, it simultaneously represented the family's identity as Muslim and Arabic:

"*Of course, this is another problem, to know their religion correctly, so they need to read the Quran because the Arabic language is connected to the Quran.*" (Lines 104-105)

5.5.3   Theme 2: The need to fit in the Saudi society reinforces the maintenance of the Arabic language and culture

The importance of learning the Arabic language and culture was also linked to the family's eventual return to SA and the consequent need to fit into the Saudi community. Eman's main concern was to ensure her children were able to socialise effectively in the community in which they were living. Thus, as the family prepared to return to SA, Eman reconsidered her FLP, while the prospect of this return was a driving force throughout her stay in the UK to continue to maintain her children's Arabic, particularly to facilitate continued communication with members of the extended family (Hirsch & Lee, 2018). She believed effective socialisation demands the acquisition of the language of the relevant community, along with an understanding of its culture, noting:

"*Because my children live here right now, they need to understand English culture. However, they also need to understand Saudi culture, because they will return [to SA], and when they return, they will be of an age…. Yes, they might laugh at him, something like that, when we go back.*" (Lines 90-94)

Eman explained that Hatim would live in SA when he was older and so would be expected to be familiar with Saudi culture and language, which prompted her to prepare her children linguistically and culturally before returning to SA (Hirsch & Lee, 2018).

The data revealed Eman's concern that Hatim's lack of understanding Saudi culture, and Hatim and Rahaf's lack of fluency in Arabic, could, expose them to being teased or mocked when they returned to their home country. However, Eman did not worry too much about her children's loss of Arabic, as their language level was generally good.

When I asked her what other things she might worry about when the family eventually returned to SA, Eman replied, "*In terms of language, I don't have any worries*" (line 102). On the contrary, her main concern was her children's loss of Saudi culture. This study has shown that Eman faced several challenges in meeting the differing language needs of her family, in order to build her children's confidence in communicating when in the host country, while at the same time preparing them for the return to SA by maintaining their Arabic. Her children's needs therefore influenced her choice of the language used at home. She stated that she found English was an easier method of communication with her daughter, but she needed more support in Arabic, while Hatim showed a preference for Arabic and needed more support in English.

5.5.4   Eman's family language practices

This section discusses the most important themes in Eman's family language practices, as captured in the audio recordings and semi-structured interviews. Table 5-20 shows the key themes captured in the audio recordings. The first theme concerns Eman's discourse strategies and their use with her children to reinforce her FLP, alongside the role of the children in determining the language of conversation with their mother. The second theme examines the influence of social media, TV programmes and video games, including how these advanced technologies reinforced the use of the English language at home between family members. Finally, the third theme explores the influence of visits from relatives and the family's regular holidays in SA. Table 5-21 shows the distribution of the family members' language use during the audio recordings while in the UK.

Table 5-20   Themes highlighting Eman's family language practices

		Codes	**Frequency**
Theme 1	Eman's family discourse strategies	-Arabic in serious situations -English with Rahaf -Sibling interactions	28
Theme 2	The visits of relatives as a two-faced advantage	-annual holiday -Cousins speak English -Grandmother speak Arabic	7
Theme 3	Use of technology in both languages	-Children English YouTube channels -Mother watch Arabic channel	3
		Total	38

Table 5-21   Overall language distribution of Eman's family during the audio recordings in the conversation

Arabic	**English**	**CS**	**Total**
61.3%	**14.8 %**	**6.8%**	1413

5.5.5   Theme 1: Eman's family members' discourse strategies

Table 5-22 shows Arabic being used more among Eman's family members than English or codeswitching. Eman made the most use of Arabic, followed by Hatim and then Rahaf. When it came to the use of English, Rahaf demonstrated the highest percentage (65.6%), followed by Eman (27.8%), with Hatim having the lowest (5.7%). Rahaf also made more use of codeswitching than either Eman or Hatim. The extended family (i.e. the grandmother, aunt, and cousins) primarily spoke Arabic. Although the percentage of Arabic use among the extended family members tended to be less than that of Eman and her children, this was only due to their limited participation in the family's conversations, with each only participating in a single conversation.

Table 5-22   Language distribution between the members of Eman's family and their relatives during their visits

	Eman	**Hatim**	**Rahaf**	**GrandM**	**Aunt**	**Omar**	**Farah**
Arabic	(38.3%)	(32%)	(18.1%)	(8.3%)	(7.9%)	(5.4%)	(4%)
English	(27.8%)	(5.7%)	(65.6%)	0	(0.5%)	(0.5%)	(5.3%)
CS	(34.4%)	(28.1%)	(28.1%)	0	(1%)	(1%)	(10.1%)

GrandM= grandmother; Omar= cousin; Farah =niece

The study revealed that Eman implemented a flexible family language policy, rather than dictating the use of a specific language at home. Instead, she permitted her children to speak in the manner best suited to expressing their feelings and ideas. However, when it came to emotional situations (i.e. disciplining the children, or joking and having fun with them), Eman tended to use Arabic, as she stated in her interview:

223 The researcher: When you tell the children off, which language do you usually use?

224 Eman: Arabic (laughing), to express myself freely!

225 The researcher: When you're joking, which language do you usually use?

226 Eman: Both Arabic and English

Eman's preference for using Arabic in such emotional and structuring situations, (i.e. joking with, and telling off, her children, may be due to Arabic being the language in which she felt more comfortable express herself and less anxious, i.e. '*to express myself freely'* (line224). This lack of confidence in using English in such emotional situations, along with the conviction that she lacked sufficient linguistic competence to express her feelings, led to Eman's anxiety when using the majority language y (Sevinç & Dewaele, 2018). On the other hand, Eman's daughter, Rahaf, could experience HLA (Sevinç & Dewaele, 2018), primarily due to her lack of fluency in Arabic. This minority language anxiety could also lead to speakers avoiding the use of a language

prompting feelings of insecurity, so gradually decreasing their language proficiency in Arabic (Sevinç, 2016; Sevinç & Backus, 2017). However, Rahaf also used Arabic to express her feelings in the fourth conversation of the family *'twaja'ani showaya'* Line (74). Interestingly, her mother used the word '*sorry*' to express her apology. The following excerpt from the family's fourth conversation shows how Eman expressed her feeling in Arabic:

72	:Rahaf	mama
73	:Eman	°ha habebti
		tra yes sweetheart%
74	:Rahaf	°twaja'ani showaya
		tra it hurts me%
75	:Eman	*sorry* (.) *sorry*

This was not true of her children, potentially due to their differences in age, (Kroskrity, 2004; Urzúa & Gómez, 2008). Hatim was the only family member who preferred speaking Arabic at home and English elsewhere. Rahaf preferred to use English most of the time, even when she complained, or played by herself or with her friends. Like her eldest brother, Rasheed, she spoke English outside the home, and a mixture of English and Arabic inside. This showed the significant determiners in the children's choice of language as being location and interlocutors. This included the fact that they spoke Arabic in SA during the holidays, while at the same time switching to English when surrounded by English speakers.

It was notable that the children's language needs and abilities influenced Eman's own language choices. She spoke English with Rahaf and Hatim, in order to improve their fluency, and reassure herself of their ability to fully socialise in the host country. Eman stated:

"*I prefer her to speak Arabic with me, but when she speaks English, I know that she'll be improving her language [skills], so I let her speak [English]."* (Lines 140-141)…*So, I get an idea of what her English is like and how she speaks outside [the family]*."

(Lines 143-144)

Eman explained that she was flexible with Rahaf, in order to help her communicate in English and believed that her daughter could express herself more easily in English than Arabic, stating:

"The problems come when you want them to speak Arabic at home – particularly for my little daughter, who can express herself better in English than in Arabic, and when I make her speak Arabic, she can't say what she wants clearly, so I decided to let her choose whichever language she wants to use." (Lines 30-33)

This indicates that Rahaf also found English easier to understand than Arabic. For example, Rahaf answered the times tables in English, with Eman explaining: "*English is faster for Rahaf to understand*" (line 42). On the other hand, Hatim found Arabic easier to comprehend.

In the third conversation, Rahaf talks about her school day while her mother is cooking dinner. Eman mainly uses move-on strategy and only switches to English when involved in the conversation with Rahaf:

Rahaf: *5:00*

it's really weird in school cause today (.) there is so many boys who were playing with balls (.) and then (.) I came and took the ball and it is so weird cause it was all boys and then I was the only girl [who played with the ball*

((((sound of frying

Rahaf: huh ((went to her mum in the kitchen to tell her what happened at school))

Eman: na'am°

%tra yes

Rahaf: *so I was the only girl that was playing with the ball ((her voice is not clear because of the sound of frying)) because I was playing with balls and then a hundred there were millions of boys who just trying getting the ball and then I just XX literally got one now because we aa we need to be more responsible they need to have XX it's like so the yellow bibs for grade four but the green bibs for grade five (.) do you get it**

Eman: aha **(.)** w ba'adain°

%tra aha (.) continue

Rahaf: *we have XX like how activity in XX it is really XX but the problem is (.) like everyone wants to the ball and the boys but because the girls just really care about (.) the skipping ropes (.) I care about the ball but I'm the only one awkward person ((her voice is not clear)) huh*

Eman: **XX**

Rahaf: *that's bad you think bad you think good or bad to you (.) I think pretty good now cause like thinking about it* **I feel more** *special* **(.)** *huh right?* **(.) huh***

Eman: *but I don't like* **playing with boys***

Rahaf: *no I'm getting my own ball and everyone was literally tried to get the ball and I just like XX easy and then they were fighting XX huh? It was really awkward** mama alyoom ameenah alyoom am jat

Eman: laih?

(((((their voices are not clear

Rahaf: **I have no idea** *XX*

Eman: **XX tell the teacher***

Rahaf: *no I forgot to tell the teacher so I guess I'm just ganna tell her on Monday* **(.)** ((sings in English))*****

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Furthermore, Eman's children helped her to become familiar with colloquial English.

"*Yes, particularly everyday language, of course, because I don't speak this type of English language at university, or with the people I know. It's not only the everyday language but also the speed in speaking English and the new way of speaking English, the English of young people; they help me in understanding that, and when I'm ordering at a restaurant.*" (Line 166-169).

In addition, the children tended to correct their mother's pronunciation of some English words, which tended to impact on her confidence, and resulted in her allowing the children to take the lead in everyday activities.

"*They don't like the way I talk [in English], or my pronunciation, of course, but their pronunciation is just like that of local people, I mean they are native-like.*" (Lines 175-176).

5.5.6   Theme 2: Using technology in both languages influences Eman's children in their language choice

The family had access to both Arabic and English channels, with the children preferring to watch English channels. They were also influenced by English video games and YouTube channels they viewed on their iPads. When I asked Eman if they had a TV, she replied, "*Yes, we have, including some Arabic channels*" (line 255)*, and when I asked her which channels her children preferred to watch, she said, "English [channels]"* (line 257). Eman acknowledged the influence of YouTube channels on Rahaf, including on occasions when she was playing by herself, and when she tended to speak in English (line 229).

In the fourth conversation, Rahaf, talks to herself while her mother is reading the Quran and Hatim is playing video games.

38   Rahaf: *okay (.) so I'm XX tiny bit (.) tiny (.) so this time I actually XX time* *

((Rahaf talking to herself and her mother reading the Quran))

39	Rahaf:	***this is so satisfying people (.) and royalty in the comments (.) XX***
		people I don't care (.) it's so seriously this XX (.) just to do this XX
		(.) XX * ((her voice was not clear, Hatim making an angry noise
		while playing Xbox)

One of the children's favourite activities, particularly Hatim, consisted of playing videogames, with Eman stating *"they play Sony and everything in English"* (line 260). Eman confirmed that both Hatim and Rahaf preferred English programmes, video games, and YouTube channels and spent considerable amounts of time watching these programmes in English. When I asked if they watched or played Arabic videos and games, Eman stated that they did not find these as interesting as the English versions.

In the fourth conversation, Eman is negotiating her son Hatim, who is playing a football videogame, as she wishes to watch a Saudi channel to follow Salat Taraweeh:

16		**((**Hatim playing PlayStation**))**
17	Eman:	bagi laha kateer hadi al lea'abah hagatak°
		%tra *will the game take long time until it finish?*
18	Hatim:	eiwa lisa ma khalaso alshot alawal°
		%tra *yes it's not finished. Still the first half of match*
19	Eman:	tab a'ashan ana abgha ashof alsalah°
		%tra *because I want to see the prayers*
20	Hatim:	taieb **(.)** lesa alsalah ya omy°
		%tra *okay (.) there's time for the prayers mum*
21	Eman:	badat a Taraweeh fe a Sa'audeyah ya Hatim **(.)** alsaa'ah tamaniah
		khalas a'asharah kaman henak a'andahom alsaa'ah a'asharah°
		%tra *Hatim Taraweeh is starting now in the Saudi channel (.) it's*
		eight o'clock here but it's ten o'clock in SA

The above extract was from a recording made during Ramadan, when Eman was keen to follow '*Salat Alatraweeh*', which are night prayers held often in the holy mosque in Makkah, and which were shown on a Saudi channel. She also practised reading the holy Quran in front of her children. Eman seemed very connected to Islamic practices in her daily activities. In the fourth conversation, Eman asks Hatim and Rahaf to revise Suras from the Quran with her, although the children fail to show much interest.

61   Eman   aa'aoth be Allah min ashaytan arajeem besm Allah raja'at al asowar illy goltalak nerajea'aha° ((Eman read Quran))

          %tra I seek refuge in Allah from the cursed Satan in Allah name have you revised the verses I told you to revise?

62   Hatim: kont ahaseb inty w Rahaf°

          %tra. I thought you mean You and Rahaf

63   Eman: =la ana w inta w Rahaf°

          %tra. =no me you and Rahaf

64   Hatim: =la°

          %tra =no

65   Eman: kaif la?°

          %tra. what do you mean by no?

66   Rahaf: eaish ana w inty w Rahaf? °

          %tra. what do you mean by me you and Rahaf?

67   Eman: nebgha nerajea'a asowar jozoa A'ama **(.)** ana asa ana ya'any ana asamea'aek w inti tesamea'aeeni w ana asamea'a Hatim w Hatim yesamea'aek zai keda°

          %tra. I'd like to revise with you the verses of A'ama's part (.) I recite to you then you recite to me after that i recite for Hatim and Hatim recite for you and so on

68	Rahaf:	ma fehemt°
		%tra. i don't get it
69	Eman:	nehfadh nerajea'a ma'a ba'adh aswar asagheerah°
		%tra. we memorise and revise to each other the small verses
70	Rahaf:	***bye bye ***

In the above excerpt, Eman's request faced resistance from her children to revise some suras of the Quran despite her strong impact belief in religion, which obviously reflected in her practices. the avoidance of their mother's request can be considered an aspect of Eman's children's agency (Sorbring, 2005). Eman's strong belief in religion practices was common among most of the families in this study and has proven to be one of the most influencing factors to maintain Arabic in Arabic and Saudi families (Bahhari, 2020). Siblings' agency is also clear in this extract. Hatim's avoidance of his mother in the first place influence his little sister to avoid her mother's request as well. Siblings' agency proved to have great influence on the parental language use (Kheirkhah & Cekaite, 2018).

5.5.7   Theme 3: Relatives' visits as a two-fold advantage

The data reveals that the annual holiday to SA helped reinforce the use of Arabic use by Eman's children: "*when we go back to our country during the holidays when we go there, they speak Arabic*" (lines 231-232). Furthermore, Eman's mother (who does not speak English) visited them frequently, staying for long periods of time. Eman said:

"Generally *speaking, she comes here every four months and stays with us for one or two months; she always talks to the children in Arabic, and they reply in Arabic, too."*
(Lines 252-253)
This indicates that the grandmother's presence helped maintain the children's Arabic, as it was the only medium of communication.

The study also showed that the language used by Eman's family was influenced by the number of visits from relatives from SA and their level of English. For example, Eman's brother and his family made regular visits during their holidays, when the

children spoke English with their cousins to help them with their English. Eman noted:

"*For example, when my brother's children came here, my children spoke with them in English to improve their English [skills].*" (Lines 245-246)

In the fifth conversation, Omar, Hatim's cousin, mispronounces the word 'spinner', prompting Hatim to help him pronounce it correctly.

20   Aunt: eish esmoh**/** la:: illy awal kan ydor kethaº

            %tra what is it] no:: I mean that thing rolling like this

21   Omar: **snebar ((**They laugh**)) s snebar* sic**. **((**he means the
                     spinner))

22   Hatim: gol Sº

            %tra say S

23   Omar: ana golt **s s /nebar sicΔ**

            %tra   i said s s [neber sic

24   Aunt: p p**/** laº
            %tra   p p] no

25   Hatim: la laish **XX?** S S *spinnerΔ*?

            %tra   no why you say XX it is S S spinner

            Omar: ((laugh))

26   Hatim: gol S **(.) [**gol bas S gol bas Sº

            *%tra   say S (.) [just say S just say **S***

27   Rahaf: mardhan? º

            *%tra   are you sick**?***

28   Aunt: **/**la tbla'a **XX** haº

            *%tra   don't gulp XX oka**y***

29	Hatim:	enta mardhan wela mank mardhan?**/** inta mardhan wala mank mardhan? º

%tra   are you sick or not?] are you sick or not?

30	Omar:	hey eshbo wajhi kitha? º

%tra   hey why my face is like this?

31	Rahaf:	teftaker mardhan illy fat **(.)** illy kona ma'akom feh ya Omar a::::ms **sic**. **((she means Ramadhan)) º**

%tra   do you remember last Ramadhan (.) when we were with you Omer before a long time ago sic. ((she means Ramadhan))

5.5.8   Eman's language management

This section discusses the most important themes in Eman's language management. The first theme focuses on Eman's previous educational experiences influencing her language management. The second theme examines Eman's early intensive Arabic and religion lessons and the children's resistance to learning Arabic. Table 5-23 highlights the most important themes of Eman's family language management.

Table 5-23 Themes highlighting Eman's family language management

		Codes	**Frequency**
Theme 1	Early intensive Arabic and religion lessons and the children's resistance	-Hiring Arabic tutor -Early Arabic lesson -Using standard Arabic in teaching	26
Theme 2	Previous language education and future expectations	-International school in SA -avoid struggles with English in future	6
		Total	32

5.5.9   Theme 1: Early intensive Arabic and religion lessons

From the first year of their residence in the UK, Eman enrolled her children for Arabic lessons, so aligning with her view of Arabic as their language and her fear that they would lose their native tongue. In reply to my question about when she started Arabic lessons, Eman said:

"*Immediately, the moment we came to Britain, because that is their language, and I was afraid that they would forget it if they didn't practise the basics in Arabic.*" (Lines 62-64)

Eman was also very interested in teaching her children the Quran and, at times, Tajweed (i.e. the science of how to pronounce the Quran correctly). She believed in the importance of learning Arabic, as the Arabic language is connected to the Quran, as well as reading the Quran to help her children understand Islamic principles. This meant she was eager for her children take Quran lessons with their private tutor as well as learning Arabic:

"*They take intensive lessons [in Arabic], they read, write and know the rules, read the Quran, and take religious lessons, thanks to Allah.*" (Lines 102-104)

However, she was not satisfied with the content of the tutor's religious lessons, which led her to teach them additional lessons during weekends:

"*At the weekends, when I have time, we read and learn about Tajweed, because when they go to their [Arabic] teachers, they don't learn about the Idahar, the Edgham, the Tanween, the Ghunah and the Mudood, they don't learn any of it.*" (Lines 106-109)

Eman's children were advanced in Arabic writing and reading, particularly Hatim, who had attended the first three grades of primary school in SA. However, he faced some challenges in writing Arabic, using the Amiyah (everyday Arabic) Saudi dialect in his Arabic homework instead of standard Arabic, which is the official Arabic version used in schools. Eman noted that:

"*He was writing in Saudi dialect because he didn't know how to write in standard*

Arabic and because we always speak and write in Saudi dialect. This was a problem."
(Lines 194-195)

Eman also found it a challenge to teach her children standard Arabic, including explaining difficult words and information in the Arabic lessons. This demonstrated that Eman was aware of the requirements of the education system in SA and also keen to meet the relevant homework requirements in preparation for her family's return:

"I don't give them the meaning in Saudi dialect when I explain standard Arabic, because if I explain it in dialect, they will write it down that way." (Lines 183-184)
A further challenge Eman faced was her children's resistance, particularly as they could feel pressured and overloaded by their English language learning at school and the intensive Arabic and Islamic lessons at home. Eman expressed her desire to give her children more support in Arabic, but accepted that studying simultaneously in English and Arabic could become a burden, and so accommodated her children's language learning to their willingness to learn:

"The problem is to what extent they would accept [any more help if I] put pressure on them and gave them extra lessons. I wish they were more enthusiastic, so I could give them more. Right now, they are fed up [laughing] with the amount [of lessons] they have." (Lines 127-129)

This confirms that the number of lessons Eman set related to the willingness of the children to learn Arabic:

"I would like to say that we did what we could do and we are trying, but they [the children] need to be willing to learn, because it's so much pressure for them to learn two languages or even learn two cultures, so that puts pressure on them." (Lines 303-306)

However, Eman raised a very important issue concerning her children's willingness and the degree of pressure placed on them to study Arabic while and at the same time

making progress in English. This prevented her from increasing the number of Arabic activities and lessons. Her awareness of her children's capacity and willingness to learn created an inner struggle between her desire to help her children in language learning and protecting their mental health.

Eman also faced difficulties in addressing the children's changing language and academic needs. This included a conflict of educational priorities, such as the need to temporarily halt Hatim's Arabic lessons to give priority to his GCSE lessons in English to ensure he passed his examinations. This demonstrates that the influence of the educational policy of the host country overcame Eman's desire to maintain Arabic (Spolsky, 2004) in order to ensure her children's academic success (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016). This contradiction was also identified by Curdt-Christiansen (2016), who examined parents from three ethnic groups in Singapore experiencing similar conflicts of ideology between their children's language identity and their educational achievement. The parents in the study were found to favour the use of English at home (including in their interactions with their children) over their heritage languages, influenced by the official language policy of Singapore being English.

This finding demonstrates the difficulties experienced by Eman in balancing the learning needs of the two languages.

5.5.10 Theme 2: Eman's past education and future expectations

Eman utilised the experience of other student families residing in the UK to help her, including to immediately locate a tutor to start Arabic lessons, which they often attended for "*two hours a week*" (line 60).

The data also reveals that Eman focused on maintaining her children's Arabic and English after returning to SA: "*I will support them in both languages" (line 271)*, this included a plan to enrol them in an international school:

"I will enrol them in international school" (line 263) … *Because English is the main language of education, and they follow the same English way of teaching.*" (Lines 265-266)

Eman viewed an international school as a transition stage to help her children gradually adjust to being reabsorbed into the Saudi community. She also considered it important to maintain their level of English, because of the benefits for their future academic progress and careers. Despite the possibility of being delayed in Arabic, she believed that "*Arabic [teaching] is good in the international schools in SA.*" (Line 269), stating:

"I don't think it's not appropriate for them to go back to the Saudi education system; they should be in schools with an English education system."(Line 265-267).
This could be considered a response to her low expectations of the ability of her children to reach the same levels as their peers in Arabic if she enrolled them in a public school on the return to SA.

Eman was aware of the limit of her ability to support her children's language learning, including the pressure of her PhD studies and the limited time available. Being a busy widowed mother increased the pressure on Eman, who needed to spend long hours working in the lab, and which affected her ability to support her children as she would have wished:

"My studies have had an effect. I spend so many hours in the lab, of course. I had to spend such a lot of time at university. We all go out early in the morning, and I get back late … I then still have more work to do on the computer at home." (Lines 283-286)

However, she recognised that this was an inevitable aspect of her PhD: *"it's the nature of my studies"* (line 293). She was also convinced that she used her time in the most effective way possible. When I asked Eman whether she was satisfied with the support she provided to her children in relation to their language learning, she replied:

"*It depends on what is available. I mean I've done everything I can. I've used everything available [all available resources], and I've tried to strike a balance between [teaching] Arabic and English, and between my studies and theirs.*" (Lines 122-124)

Eman was also pleased with her children's English level and satisfied with her support, despite identifying some weaknesses in their English at school. She also expressed

being pleased with the Arabic support she provided, as she had taken care to employ all the available Arabic resources.

It was noticeable that Eman's feelings of guilt about her children's potential loss of their mother tongue were reduced when she involved them in activities supporting the minority language. For example, joining with other Saudi families to hire an Arabic tutor to teach her children the Arabic language and read the Quran. In addition, speed of progress in her children's language acquisition also contributed to Eman's feelings of satisfaction and increased her confidence in a positive future in both languages.

5.5.11 Summary

This study has found that Eman believed in the importance of both languages, both linguistically and culturally, resulting in her being open to bilingualism. Furthermore, her language practices remained in line with her beliefs. She allowed her children to select their preferred language, including speaking English with them when required and intending to enrol them in international schools upon their return to SA.

This study also highlights Eman's worries about her children losing their proficiency in Arabic and that they might lose their Arabic culture and traditions. Eman's environment clearly supported the use of the Arabic language, including visits from her mother and other relatives and taking annual holidays in SA, alongside ensuring her children's private Arabic lessons. The data reveals that Eman faced a number of challenges in teaching Arabic, including her children's differing language needs, the pressure of Arabic lessons on top of their existing education, and the requirement to teach them in standard Arabic. It also demonstrates that an important factor in determining the effort and amount of lessons provided in teaching Arabic concerned the children's willingness to learn.

5.6   Taif's family

Taif arrived in the UK in October 2017 to undertake a PhD in English literature, having earned her Master's degree in Saudi Arabia. She was 33 years old and was accompanied by her husband and three children, Yusuf (9.6 years old), Nada (8.7 years old), and Yazeed (2.6 years old). At the time of the study, the family had been living in the UK for almost two years. Taif spoke Arabic as her native language, and was also fluent in

English; her International English Language Testing System (IELTS) score was 7. What made Taif unique among the participants was that she was very proud of her Arabic language and Saudi culture, and her interest in improving her children's English language was consequently minimal. Moreover, her family was the only family accompanied by the father, and he only spoke Arabic, perhaps explaining her preference for the use of Arabic at home. She had worked as an English teacher in Saudi Arabia for a number years. Table 5-24 presents background information about the members of the family.

Table 5-24   Background information for Taif's family members

Family members	Age	Education level	Language spoken	Age of arrival (AOA)	Residence in the UK
Taif (mother)	33	Currently undertaking PhD in English literature	Arabic	31 years	Two years (10/2017 to 09/2019)
Husband			Arabic		
Yusuf (son)	9.6 years		Arabic	7.4 years	
Nada (daughter)	8.7 years		Arabic	6.5 years	
Yazeed (son)	2.6 years		Arabic	4 months	

Although Taif's husband, the father of her children, lived with the family, he did not participate in their conversations. Since I respected the family's cultural background, I did not ask Taif why this was the case. As Taif explained, the family visited Saudi Arabia *"once or twice a year"* (Line 99), staying with her extended family, and some of their relatives visited also them in the UK. In addition, Taif's brother lived with the family temporarily in their first year of UK residence, in order to study general English.

Taif was interested in transmitting her Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) to her children, because of its instrumental value as the main medium of instruction in education, while Amiyah, or colloquial Arabic, is socially important as it conveys the cultural values of

Saudi society and is therefore important for everyday interactions.

Yusuf is the oldest of Taif's children. He preferred to speak Arabic all the time at home. He was very proud of his Saudi identity and had significant influence over the language choice of the family members. He enjoyed watching Saudi YouTubers and playing games. Although he spoke English fluently at school, his language level was behind that of his peers. His mother reported that he had made good progress with the language since joining a British state school in 2017, when he was 7.4 years old. He valued Arabic and his Arabic identity, culture, and traditions, preferring to speak Arabic because he considered the language to be part of his identity, and because it gave him a feeling of belonging to the Arabic culture.

Nada is the middle child. She spoke mainly Arabic at home, but also enjoyed speaking English, particularly with her mother. She was active and outgoing and had many native British friends at school. Although her level of English was behind that of her school peers, like her older brother, she had made good progress with the language since joining the UK school in 2017 at the age of 6.5 years. She appeared to be more open to adopting English culture, and attempting to speak English, even copying the British accent upon occasion. Nevertheless, as both the parents and their children were proud of their Saudi identity, Taif explained, *"We really don't like the children speaking Arabic with a foreign accent at all"* (Line 94).

Yazeed was the youngest son and was only four months old when the family arrived in the UK. At the time of the data collection, he had recently been enrolled at a nursery for two to three days a week. As the family wanted to preserve his Arabic language, he had only recently begun using more English words. As Taif explained, *"He's started speaking English now. For example, yesterday when I took something from him, he said 'no mine'. You know, he's started speaking English"* (Line 136-137). She also noted, *"He's been at nursery for only three weeks, and he's already started speaking English"* (Line 139).

5.6.1   Taif's family language ideologies

This section presents the main themes of Taif's family language beliefs. The first theme

concerns the use of English at school and Arabic at home, the second addresses the importance of Arabic for communicating with the extended family, and the third theme concerns the way in which the Arabic language represented the family members' Arabic identity. Table 5-25 shows the frequency with which these themes arose in the discussion with Taif.

Table 5-25   Themes of Taif's family language beliefs

		Codes	**Frequency**
Theme 1	Arabic at home, English at school	-Arabic at home - English at school	9
Theme 2	Fit into Saudi society after return home	-Fit in SA society - -communication with extended families - avoid being teased by cousins	9
Theme 3	Arabic to show children's Arabic and Islamic identity	Fluency in Arabic Arabic & Islamic identity	8
		Total	26

5.6.2   Theme 1: Arabic at home, English at school

Although Taif believed that there was value in employing both English and Arabic, she considered that it was better for her children to use English at school and Arabic at home for two reasons. Firstly, this approach would enable them to learn to speak and understand English accurately as they would be taught and hear it from native speakers at school. Taif was concerned that she might teach her children incorrect pronunciation of English words, explaining, *"if we speak English with the children, we might ruin the language skills they've learnt at school, because we make mistakes. So I don't want to ruin their language"* (Line 114-116).

Secondly, she was worried that her younger son, Yazeed, might lose his Arabic language altogether if his siblings spoke English at home, neglecting Arabic. Her children had different degrees of Arabic language experience, depending on their age of

arrival in the UK, and the social arena in which they participated (Kheirkhah & Cekaite, 2018). Specifically, Yusuf and Nada arrived in the UK late, after learning the basics of Arabic, while Yazeed, who Taif feared might lose the knowledge of his home language (HL) unless she established a strict language policy of speaking only Arabic at home. In the interview, she elaborated upon this, explaining:

So we decided that we would only speak Arabic at home, [so as] *not to lose the language* [or fluency in it]. *The other reason was because of my youngest child. We knew that he was going to go to school, so we wanted to improve his Arabic, and that's why we waited until he was two years old to enrol him in a nursery,* [in order] *to teach him Arabic. When he started speaking Arabic, we registered him in a nursery.* (Line 25-29)

As noted previously, once Yazeed began attending nursery, he started to use more English at home, but this was not a matter of concern for Taif, as he was so young, and she had only two years left to complete her PhD in the UK. This meant that the family would return to Saudi Arabia when Yazeed was four or five years old, which from her point of view was young enough to learn to speak Arabic fluently.

Meanwhile, Taif also believed that it was important for her children to learn to speak and understand English, because it is an international language that would enable them to communicate globally. Indeed, she was proud of her children when they spoke English in public places in the UK, communicating very well with native speakers, and was particularly proud of them when they used English practically, explaining:

I mean the reason for using English: if they just want to show off, I don't like that. For instance, if we're in Saudi Arabia and they speak English in front of someone who doesn't understand, I don't like that. Not that they do it very often. I like it if they use it in an airport or other such places and communicate with people and ask for what they need. (Line 128-132)

Moreover, she considered that English was necessary for her children's future careers, as, for example, knowledge of the language was vital when searching for information on the internet, as she had discovered during her time as a PhD student. This experience had instilled in her a belief that the best and most accurate information on the internet was more available in English than in Arabic: *"Knowing English is good*

because the most accurate information is in English. So, it's useful when they search for something. I prefer them to search in English first, because [accurate] *information is more available in English on the internet"* (Line 52-54).

Taif had an interesting attitude towards her children's English language learning, as she considered that the ability to write and read English was essential for her children's language learning, but not for developing their skills in speaking the language. She therefore expected them to achieve a high level of competence in writing and reading English and believed that these skills were best learned at school. She explained:

I feel that reading and writing skills in English are important, but I feel that Arabic is more important when speaking. We're going to go back to Saudi Arabia, and they will use Arabic socially more, and that's why they must become fluent speakers of Arabic. Most of the companies and places here require strong reading and writing skills. So I would let them read and write more in English at home but speaking should be in Arabic. (Line 34-38)

These beliefs were connected to her desire to prepare her children for their future careers, as she noted that the ability to write and read English was a prerequisite for attaining a job in many companies. Although this demonstrated her recognition of the language as linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991), interestingly, she limited its value to the two skills of reading and writing English, omitting the skill to speak the language. This positive attitude to English may be due to the perceived sociolinguistic power and economic value of the language (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009a).

5.6.3   Theme 2: Fit into Saudi society after return home

Taif's family returned to Saudi Arabia for a holiday *"once to twice a year"* (Appendix-C-2-TF5). These regular return journeys motivated Taif to maintain her children's Arabic language skills. As Pauwels (2005, p.125) noted, frequent visits to a home country, and mingling with the extended family, helps to maintain children's native language skills, as it provides them with a "more extensive network of CL [community language] speakers". For Taif, the annual holidays to Saudi provided a realistic means

of evaluating her children's Arabic abilities before they returned to their home country permanently at the end of her PhD studies, which she expected would be in August 2021 (Appendix-D-1). Since they lived with Taif's extended family when they visited Saudi Arabia during the holidays, this gave her children daily contact with their extended family members and enabled them to interact with these individuals in Arabic.

It was important to Taif that her children retained their Arabic language skills at the same level as their peers in Saudi Arabia, in order that they would not be the subject of derision or deceit: *"I want them to know Arabic very well: to know the meaning of Arabic words, terms, and pronunciation; to know everything in Arabic, so that no one can get things past them"* (Line 49-50).

This demonstrated her fear that her children would be tricked or teased if they did not have a comprehensive understanding of their native language, and she wished to ensure that they would be able to reengage with the Saudi community without any problems, for example understanding jokes made in the language: *"if somebody laughs or makes a joke, they'll be able to understand what they say"* (Line 242-243).

Nevertheless, Taif was against her children using English for bragging purposes when they were in Saudi Arabia, explaining that they sometimes found opportunities to boast about their English skills, in order to stand out from their peers, noting, *"sometimes they use English just to show off"* (Line 106).

5.6.4   Theme 3: Arabic to show children's Arabic and Islamic identity

Taif believed it was important for her children to speak and understand Arabic as the language represented their Arabic Saudi identity, culture, and traditions. Moreover, she believed that learning Arabic increased the children's sense of belonging to their Saudi community, and enabled them to fit into Arabic society, either in the UK or when they returned home to Saudi Arabia at the end of her PhD studies. She explained, *"Because of Saudi society, their identity is Arabic, so it is good that they can express themselves in Arabic."* (Line 43-44).

Moreover, as discussed previously, she considered that it was more important that her children could speak Arabic than read and write the language, because the Arabic

language was the medium employed for socialising with their extended family and Saudi friends. Interesting, she believed that her children needed to understand the Saudi dialect and all the relevant cultural references in order to fit properly into the Saudi community. Therefore, in her view, it was not sufficient for them to learn standard Arabic, rather they needed to understand the Saudi dialect or dialects. She provided an example of the difference between standard Arabic and Amiyah (colloquial) Arabic that involved aspects of dialect, culture, and gender reference that might be a challenge in family language practice (FLP) formation, as follows: *One day I said to Yusuf 'kafoo'* [Arabic = well done/good boy]*, and he said 'kafook alteeb'* [which meant her son knew how to reply correctly]. *So I asked him how he knew what to say,* [as] *even me myself I don't know how to respond in this way"* (Line 250-252). She continued, *"I was so happy, I encouraged him, and I asked him how he knew that, and he said that a YouTuber always says it. Imagine things I've never told them about, and even I don't know about it, because it's usually men who say them"* (Line 254-256).

Her surprise that Yusuf knew how to reply to the word 'kafoo', which means 'well done', responding with the words 'kafook alteeb', was therefore particularly due to the fact that this reflected an understanding of a specifically male aspect of Saudi culture. Her children's learning of Amiyah, using the appropriate Saudi accent, indicated to Taif that they understood the Saudi culture and consequently would fit smoothly into Saudi society upon their return home. This need to fit into the Saudi community is a recurrent theme among Saudi student families, who are often concerned that they do not face mockery when they return to Saudi Arabia.

Taif's family also employed the Arabic language to socialise with other Arabic and Saudi families and their children in the UK, primarily due to their desire to retain their HL and cultural values. As Taif commented, *"I'm very happy when we meet some of the Arabs living here in the UK; they see my children speaking Arabic, and they really like it"* (Line 121-122).

5.6.5   Taif's family language practices

This section highlights the main themes of Taif's FLP, the first of which is the family discourse strategies, the second Taif's language strategies with her children, and the

third concerns the siblings' interactions, and their influence on language choice at home. Table 5-26 presents the most important themes of Taif's language practices.

Table 5-26   Taif's family language use

English	Arabic	Code-switching (CS)	Total
185 (10.24%)	1044 (57.83%)	126 (6.98%)	1805

Table 5-27   The distribution of language use among the family members

	Taif	Yusuf	Nada	Yazeed	Ali
Arabic	492 (47.1%)	233 (22.3%)	259 (24.8%)	45 (4.3%)	3 (0.3)
English	54 (29.2%)	42 (22.7%)	78 (42.2%)	15 (8.1%)	0
CS	49 (38.9%)	20 (15.9%)	49 (38.9%)	6 (4.8%)	0

These tables show that Arabic was used by Taif's family members more than English or code-switching, the latter of which was used the least. Taif employed the most Arabic, followed by Nada, then Yusuf. Meanwhile, Nada exhibited the highest percentage (42.2%) of English usage, followed by Taif (29.2%), while Yusuf used the least (5.7%). CSwas used the same amount by both Nada and Taif (38.9%). The father's participation in family conversations was very limited, and he spoke only a small number of words in Arabic in one of the conversations.

Table 5-28   Themes of Taif's FLP

		Codes	Frequency
Theme 1	Discourse strategies of Taif's family members	-Father uses Arabic -Child broker -Mother-daughter bond through English	22
Theme 2	Annual visits to Saudi Arabia, and communicating with the	Annual holiday -communcation with grandparents	4

	extended family		
		Total	26

5.6.6   Theme 1: Taif's family members' discourse strategies

Taif's FLP was firmly in favour of using only Arabic at home, and English at school. As Taif noted, *"90% of the time, we speak Arabic* [at home]*"* (Line 83).

The family's reason for this decision was to preserve their youngest son, Yazeed's, Arabic, and also to ensure that the children did not learn an incorrect form of English, as Taif explained, *"we decided to let them practice English at school to master the language thoroughly, but we didn't want to ruin their English at the same time, because my language* [level] *is still not native"* (Line 22-24).

In the audio recordings, Taif often spoke Arabic with her children, reprimanding them, praising them, and complimenting them in the language. However, she also occasionally initiated speaking English with Yazeed, praised Yusuf in English, and code-switched between English and Arabic with Nada.

The conflict between Taif's language preference to employ only Arabic at home and her CS in certain situations with her children in practice may be due to the influence of the external factors of British society, as she wanted her children to succeed at school and to acquire the English language. It should be noted that the family had only been in the UK for two years, which may explain Taif's desire to socialise her children in English, as they would require it in coming years.

Moreover, Taif's husband, Ali, influenced the language practice at home. Although he did not participate in the audio recordings, Taif reported that the family members needed to speak Arabic at home in order to communicate him, and to maintain a harmonious relationship (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020). As he did not speak English, he reinforced the use of HL among the family members. For instance, Taif explained that when her youngest son, Yazeed, spoke to her in English, she did not reply in the language, instead responding in Arabic, because Ali wanted all the family to

communicate with him solely in that language. She added, *"most of the time, he gets angry because of the youngest son if their father is there. They also speak in Arabic sometimes, but they forget certain words in Arabic. So, they either stay silent or get them wrong"* (Line 85-88). She also explained, *"Even when his sister talks to him in English, I stop her"* (Line 151).

Meanwhile, Yusuf had a negative attitude towards English, and appeared to be more committed to using Arabic at home than Nada, employing solely this language at home, even when expressing annoyance. As Taif observed, *"My older son doesn't like to communicate in English at all"* (Line 83-84). In contrast, Nada used both English and Arabic, and switched to English to express annoyance, as Taif demonstrated in the following example: *"Nada may reply in English and say*, '*it is not fair'"*. Nevertheless, due to her father's influence, Nada spoke Arabic the majority of the time, and her older brother, Nada, did not speak English with their father at all, as he was inclined to reprimand the children if they did so, although she occasionally attempted to teach him English, for instance, as Taif explained, *"sometimes ... saying 'Daddy say this', or 'I dare you to say this word"* (Line 292-293). The audio recordings captured more than one instance when Yusuf criticised his sister when she spoke English, as in the sixth conversation (Line 213-222).

213	Nada:	=Fadi yegool inneki anti m::ara b atwaqa'a inneki aa ***struggle*** Δ
		%tra =Fadi says I think you are going to a **struggle**
214	Taif:	***struggle?*** *
215	Nada:	Ey
		%tra yeah
216	Taif:	leeh? °
		%tra why?
217	Yusuf:	huh? ya'any a'arabi eaish w englezi eaish? °

		%tra huh? Do you speak Arabic or English?
218	Taif:	shlon ya'any? **(.)** wesh qasdak? °
		%tra what do you mean? (.) what do you mean?
219	Yusuf:	laish tetkalamon engleezi? °
		%tra why do you speak English?
220	Taif:	a'adi taieb *struggle* Δ
		%tra so what? **Struggle**
221	Yusuf:	*struggle* hata anti tara Δ
222	Taif:	taieb asfah khalas **(.)** [*struggle* ya'any **(.)** tata'ab Δ
		%tra okay I'm sorry (.) **struggle** means (.) you feel tired

The contradictory language preferences of Yusuf and Nada were clear in the audio recording data, and Yusuf often succeeded in using his agency to force Nada to speak Arabic. Nada only combined Arabic and English when she was by herself, or with her mother; on these occasions, her mother replied in English to test her language ability, as Taif explained, *"my daughter sometimes wants to express herself, and a word slips out in English, so I reply* [in English] *... and encourage her to check her understanding and to observe her English ability"* (Line 84-85).

Indeed, during the audio recordings, the mother-daughter interactions were sometimes in English, and Taif noted, *"When I'm alone with her in a room of the house, and she talks about her friends at school, she switches to English quickly and easily, and I reply in Arabic, but most of the time she speaks Arabic"* (Line 267-269). In addition, Nada code-switched occasionally with her mother and her little brother, for example singing nursery rhymes in English with her Yazeed. It may be that case that Nada felt a sense of belonging to the English language, due to her young age or to her type of interactions with English through watching English YouTubers and engaging with her English peers at school. Moreover, the family members watched English television programmes together, and it was on these occasions that Nada sang nursery rhymes to Yazeed in English, as the third conversation (Line 1-4) exemplifies:

1 Nada: aish ismah? ((Peppa Pig song starts, then Nada starts to sing after it))
         Mary had a little lamb little lamb little lamb Δ

         %tra: what is it? ((Peppa Pig song starts, then Nada starts to sing after it))
         Mary had a little lamb little lamb little lamb

2 Yazee   Yazeed: *Mary had a little lamb little lamb little lamb*Δ ((singing after the
   d: song on the TV))

3 Nada: mama **(.)** mama

         %tra: mum (.) mum

4 Taif: huh?

         %tra: what's it?

In addition, in the sixth conversation, when Nada was competing with Yusuf to spell an Arabic word correctly, she switched to English to ask her mother whether Yusuf had cheated by copying the word *'copy him'* (Line 554-564). Here, Nada used English to demonstrate solidarity with her mother against her brother. It was observed that Nada often replied to her mother in English when complaining or competing with Yusuf, as the following extract illustrates (…).

554   Yusuf: khalast khalast**/** °

         %tra I'm done I'm done]

555   Taif: wareeni **(.)** shof°

         %tra show me (.) let me see

556   Nada: shof °

         %tra let me see

557   Taif: momtaz °

%tra excellent

558	Yusuf:	YEEY ((happy))

559	Taif:	sah (.) khalas a'araftaha°

%tra right (.) you know it

560	Nada:	*copy him* sah?Δ

%tra **copy him** right?

561	Taif:	la °

%tra no

562	Nada:	shafaha °

%tra he looks at the word

563	Taif:	la wa Allah ma shaf°

%tra no he didn't see the word

564	Nada:	*okay* (.) aa hathi eaish?Δ

%tra okay (.) aa what is this?

In the interview, Taif admitted that her children sometimes taught her new colloquial English terms, such as, 'what the heck?', although interestingly she did not enquire about the meaning of the phrase as she did not expect them to know. In addition, Nada sometimes prompted her mother with certain words that she did not often use and helped her to use them in the correct context. As Taif explained, *"sometimes … I can't remember a specific instance. For example, there's a phrase they always repeat 'what the heck' – what does it mean? I've only heard it from them"* (Line 162-163), and Nada sometimes helped her with certain new adjectives: *"sometimes they use adjectives we don't often use, for instance, an adjective I don't often use or say."* (Line 169-170). This role of child broker was discussed in the studies conducted by King (2016), Luykx (2005), and Schwartz and Verschik (2013).

Finally, the siblings, Nada and Yusuf, often conversed in Arabic, reflecting Taif's

observation in the interview. However, the children socialised with their peers at school in English, and Taif explained, *"Nada's got more friends. I noticed that Yusuf's friends are from Thailand and India; I mean, his besties are not English originally, but more of Nada's friends are English"* (Line 183-185).

5.6.7 Theme 2: Annual visits to Saudi Arabia and communicating with the extended family

Arabic was the main language of communication for Taif and her family, both with their extended family, and between the family members at home, particularly her husband, Ali, who only spoke Arabic. Taif was keen that her children maintained their Arabic, not least in order to communicate with their grandparents in Saudi Arabia, who did not speak English (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020). As she explained, it was important to prevent *"a gap between their generations and people in the community, for example, my parent's generation"* (Line 47-48), adding that, *"Another reason is to be close to each other in* [their native] *language of communication; my mother and father speak Arabic, they don't speak two different languages"* (Line 118-119), therefore, *"even my parents encourage me to maintain their* [grandchildren's] *Arabic"* (Line 125).

While supporting continued contact and communication with the extended family, such as grandparents, in home country contributes to children's ability and willingness to use the minority language (Takeuchi, 2006), not all extended families support the use of the HL (Braun, 2012). For instance, in the case of this family, the younger members of the extended family, such as Taif's sister and brother, could speak English, and sometimes used it with Taif's children: *"my sisters reply to them in English when they use it, because one of my sisters speaks English"* (Line 106-107). Thus, the residence and language proficiency of the members of the extended family can influence parental efforts to maintain the HL (Braun, 2012).

5.6.8 Taif's family language management

This section discusses the key themes of Taif's language management. As shown in Table 5.29, the first of these is Taif's previous education experience and future expectations for her children, and the second concerns the Arabic lessons Taif arranged for her children, and their home-schooling. Meanwhile, the third theme concerns the use of technology and YouTube to reinforce the use of Arabic and the Saudi dialect at

home.

Table 5-29   Key themes of Taif's family language management

		Codes	Frequency
Theme 1	Previous education experience and future expectations for her children	First year language struggles -international schools in SA	10
Theme2	Arabic lessons as a strategy to reduce the pressure of Taif's responsibility	-Hiring Arabic tutor -Sibling independent in learning -siblings help each other in homework	7
Theme 3	Technology reinforcing the use of Arabic and Saudi dialects	-Watching SA Arabic TV programs -Nada watched English YouTube channel -English programs of high quality	12
		Total	29

5.6.9   Theme 1: Previous education experience and future expectations for the children

The previous education experiences of Taif's family members, and her future expectations for her children, influenced Taif's language management. Both Yusuf and Nada had a good level of Arabic, because they came to the UK at an older age (Yusuf was 7.4 years old and Nada was 6.5 years old) and studied at a private school that focused on the Quran and MSA.

Their age of arrival (AOA) in the UK played a critical role in their willingness to learn Arabic at home. However, Taif believed that their level of Arabic had reduced during the time they had resided in the UK. Nevertheless, Yusuf's Arabic was excellent, particularly in his study of the Quran. As Taif observed, *"therefore he felt disappointed when we came here because he was so good at Arabic and the Quran; he was fluent in them. He was better there* [Saudi Arabia] *than since he has been here. When Yusuf came*

here, of course, he felt disappointed" (Line 213-216). As Taif was keen that her children retained their Arabic at its previous level, she enrolled them in private Arabic lessons upon the family's arrival in the UK, and also planned to enrol them at an international school when they return to Saudi Arabia, because she wished to continue their English language development.

However, as discussed previously, Taif demonstrated certain contradictory practices concerning her language principles during the audio recordings, specifically her stance on employing only Arabic at home. Despite mentioning that she watched Arabic television programmes, the audio recordings only captured instances of Taif, Nada, and Yazeed watching English television programmes. Indeed, Taif was actively involved with them, interacting with the programmes' content by singing nursery rhymes to Yazeed and asking Nada about the meaning of an English word mentioned in a particular programme. In another instance, Taif asked Yusuf and Nada about the meaning of certain English words. Taif's education experiences may have affected her tendency to teach English words, as she was an English teacher in Saudi Arabia.

Meanwhile, the audio recordings also captured more than one instance in which Taif was involved with her children when they were doing their Arabic homework, reading certain Arabic sentences, spelling Arabic words, and encouraging Nada and Yusuf to write them by creating a competitive game. According to Said (2021a), parents' background education influences HL literacy, because of the cultural values attached to literacy. In the case of Taif's family, despite their intention to use only Arabic at home, in reality there were contradictory practices. Nevertheless, Taif's efforts to teach her children Arabic, and to engage with their Arabic homework were clear in the family's everyday interactions.

5.6.10 Theme 2: Arabic lessons as a strategy to reduce the pressure of Taif's responsibility

While the family were in the UK, providing Arabic lessons was very important for maintaining the Arabic language level of Taif's children, particularly MSA. As Taif was aware of the importance of MSA in Arabic literacy, she had enrolled her children in weekly Arabic lessons with a private Arabic tutor and other Saudi and Arabic children, which gave her children the opportunity to socialise with the other Arabic children in

the group and to receive instruction in MSA literacy (Said, 2021a). However, Taif used Amiyah (colloquial Arabic) when explaining difficult Arabic words, contradicting her belief in the importance of MSA.

As well as supporting her children's Arabic, the lessons also reduced the pressure on Taif to support her children's maintenance of the language, as it meant that the onus was not solely on her to do so, since she had the support of a private Arabic tutor. According to Said (2021b), the support parents receive from technology in transmitting their HL to their children, as well as from HL tutors, decreases parents' anxiety regarding their responsibility for their children's first language (L1) maintenance. Taif exhibited this anxiety in the following interview comment

When it comes to Arabic, I mean for both languages, Arabic and English, I just haven't had time in the last two years, I don't give them enough. I pushed them to read in English, but I just felt relieved to find them an Arabic tutor for Arabic. That's all the support I've given them, nothing else. (Line 226-229)

Moreover, Taif's children's independent learning of Arabic helped to reduce her concerns about their language development; Yusuf helped Nada with her Arabic, and Nada helped Yusuf with his English vocabulary, *"because they are … at the same level in everything, so they help each other. For example, Nada is better at English vocab, so she helps Yusuf. Yusuf is better at Arabic, so he helps Nada, and so on"* (Line 232-234).

Due to the demands of her PhD studies, Taif was only able to give her children a small amount of support, so their independence was helpful, and she encouraged it, believing it supported their learning. The tension between her desire to support her children with their Arabic and the demands of her studies demonstrated how external factors impacted her language management. Older siblings often aid younger family members with language-related assignments, serving as literacy mediators (Barron-Hauwaert, 2011; Kheirkhah & Cekaite, 2018). In Taif's family, Yusuf, as a socialisation agent, supported the HL maintenance (King, 2013). It also provided Yusuf with opportunities to practice and display his competence in Arabic (Gregory, 2001). Meanwhile, using her agency, Nada taught the societal language of English to her older brother.

At the outset of the family's time in the UK, Yusuf had struggled to speak English and to make friends, which impacted him negatively. This increased Taif's feelings of concern and guilt, as her children's lack of English meant that they were unable to socialise with their peers and to forge friendships. The emotional status of her children therefore affected her mental health, and as well as promoting her concerns regarding their issues with the English language, as she was unhappy with the degree of support she provided to her children regarding their Arabic while they were in the UK and wished she could do more. For instance, she taught them the Quran, its vocabulary and Tajweed, telling stories of prophet Mohammed in Standard Arabic, and selected useful Arabic programmes for them to watch. This feeling of guilt was strong at the beginning of the family's term of residence in the UK, but her children's rapid progress with English, and their enhanced confidence when they were able to communicate with their fellow students, as well as their involvement in the school community, helped to reduce her concerns.

It should be noted that Taif did not have unduly high expectations of her children's English development, and was satisfied with their language level, which meant that they were able to write and read in English, although not necessarily perfectly, believing that they did not need to be as good as native speakers, as they would be returning to their home country in due course. Furthermore, believing that language skills are a gift, she was unconcerned that her children would lose their English skills upon their return to Saudi Arabia. However, she wished to support her children's English learning while they were in the UK, for instance reading with them in English, and encouraging them to write paragraphs, proofreading these for them, as she wanted them to develop better English writing and reading abilities than speaking skills.

5.6.11 Theme 3: Technology reinforcing the use of Saudi and Arabic dialects

At home, Taif had both Arabic and English channels on her television, as she wished to have access to Saudi Arabic channels, television series, and even Saudi YouTubers and gamers, because she was keen for her children to be connected with the Saudi dialect.

This reflected her belief that spoken Arabic skills are important. She explained:

I have tried to have Arabic on at home as much as possible. It [the television] *is on*

Arabic channels all the time: Arabic or Saudi soaps, and we also listen to Saudis on YouTube, the games, the gamers. So, they [the children] *can absorb the Saudi dialect, not just the Arabic language in general. I mean, I'm so keen for them to understand the dialect, the meaning of the words in the Saudi dialect, you know.* (Line 236-240)

This demonstrated her eagerness for her children to acquire the Saudi dialect, Amiyah, as well as her desire that they understood all the Saudi dialects, particularly the main one, namely Najdi, even though it was not her Saudi dialect. However, the audio recording data showed that Taif watched English cartoons with Yazeed and Nada, sang English nursery rhymes, and even demonstrated an interest in teaching her children certain English and French words.

Taif used television programmes, YouTube, and other similar video platforms, as educational tools to develop her children's HL and to promote Saudi cultural values (Lanza & Lexander, 2019), in order to prevent a language shift (Curdt-Christiansen & Lanza, 2018). In a similar study, Said (2021, p.756) found that one out of two Arabic families living in the UK used certain Saudi YouTube channels to convey "socio-pragmatic knowledge of Arabic and by extension developing metalinguistic awareness", so that their children would be able to navigate and understand Saudi culture. However, it was not the case that the only forms of technology and media employed in Taif's home were in Arabic, not least because her children had active agency and displayed various preferences in their choice of viewing: Yusuf often watched programmes and YouTubers in Arabic, who used the Najdi dialect, and played English games, such as Fortnite, while Nada usually watched English YouTubers. Indeed, most of the programmes Nada watched during the audio recordings were in English, while Yusuf selected Arabic programmes. When I asked Taif why this was the case, she explained that there was no good content for girls in Arabic, while Yusef's *"focus is on football matches and games, such as Fortnite and this kind of stuff"* (Line 260-262). It may be the case, as indicated in this instance, that the practices of technology use among transnational families are not only formed by the family, but that the nature of technology itself also has a role in shaping the FLP (Palviainen & Kędra, 2020; Taipale, 2019), and can depend on a range of factors, such as the availability of resources, technical skills, parental and children's attitudes to the HL, and online games and

applications (Little, 2019). Moreover, as evidenced in the case study with Taif's family, attractive Arabic content on social media seemed to be of low quality, with limited content suitable for girls including the Arabic Saudi YouTubers '*Moshaya'a Family*' (Line 325-326), which Taif said the whole family often watched together.

5.6.12 Summary

According to the interview data, Taif believed that learning both English and Arabic was important. However, she believed that Arabic should be used at home, while English should be used at school. She was keen for her children to learn the Saudi dialect, or Amiyah, which is the version of Arabic that is used in everyday speech in Saudi Arabia. This was because she wanted her children to be able to communicate with the members of their extended family, and to fit in with Saudi society upon their return home. Although the practices of Taif's family members reflected this stance, Taif also exhibited an interest in teaching her children certain English and French words. In addition, Taif spoke English with her daughter, Nada, at home, although Nada spoke Arabic in the presence of her father and her older brother, Yusuf. This showed the influence of the father and the older brother on the language choices of the family members. Taif's language management largely reflected her belief in the importance of using Arabic at home, and she had hired an Arabic tutor to teach her children Arabic while they were living in the UK. However, her future plans exhibited a certain degree of contradiction with her beliefs, as she intended to enrol her children in an international school on their return home, in order to maintain their continued English language learning.

5.7 Lina's family

Lina and her family came to the UK in January 2017 in order for her to undertake a PhD in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), having attained a Master's degree in the US. She was 33 years old and came to the UK with two children: Heba (9.1 years old), and Anas (6.9 years old), along with her husband. Lina had worked as an English lecturer at a university in Saudi Arabia and spoke English fluently, with an IELTS score of 7.5. Her husband did not participate in the audio recordings and was not included in the analysis. Lina was expecting her third child at the time of the data collection, and two members of her extended family were with her, namely her sister,

Lujain, and her younger brother, Hassan, both of whom had come to the UK to study general English during the summer holiday. Compared to the other participants, Lina had gained previous language experiences while living in the USA. She had been accompanied there by her husband, and had taken advantage of support from her extended family to visit the UK while in the US, but retained pride in Arabic language and culture. This meant she made clear decisions about her children's Arabic learning from the outset. Lina had used English after moving to the UK to support her children's English language learning but had recently introduced an Arabic-only policy at home. Table 5.30 presents the background information about Lina's family members.

Table 5-30   Background information for Lina's family

Family members	Age	Education level	Language spoken	Age of Arrival (AOA)	Residence in the UK
Lina (mother)	33 Years	Currently studying PhD TESOL	English at the beginning; Arabic more recently		2 years and 7 months (since January 2017)
Heba (daughter)	9.1 Years	Fourth grade	Arabic	7 years	
Anas (son)	6.9 Years	First grade	Arabic	4 .1 years	
Husband	Ahmad		Arabic		

Heba was the oldest child in the family and was in the fourth grade at school. She was clever and active, and seemed to be more independent than her younger brother, Anas. Heba had lived with her family in the US before moving back to Saudi Arabia, subsequently travelling to the UK with her family when she was seven years old.

Despite her preference for Arabic, she spoke both Arabic and English fluently at home, Arabic with her mother, and English with her brother, Anas.

Anas was the youngest child and was in the second grade at school. He came to the UK at a young age (4.1 years), and is a funny, kind boy who had attended an Arabic nursery in Saudi Arabia before moving to the UK. He preferred speaking English, particularly with his sister, Heba, but also spoke Arabic very well. His mother reported that he responded to his mother in English *"90%* [of the time]*"* (Line 409).

Meanwhile, Lina's husband, Ali, held an MBA from a university in the USA, and had enrolled on a pre-sessional course in Leeds, planning to undertake a PhD. However, as he had been unable to find a suitable place to study that was close to his family's home city, he had abandoned this plan. He spoke English very well, with an IELTS score of 7.5.

Lina's extended family had visited the UK regularly. First, members of her husband's extended family spent two months in the UK during Lina's first year in the country, then members of Lina's extended family visited during the second year. This was followed by her sister and brothers visiting to study general English in the UK for a period of more than three months. Her mother planned to visit before Lina gave birth to her third child, and to stay with the family for a few months to take care of the other children. Lina explained [During] *the first year of our residence in the UK, my husband's family came as tourists* [visitors] *and stayed for about two months, and the year after, my family came as tourists* [visitors] *… and from the beginning of this year, from January, I've had my brother and my sisters* [here]; *both have graduated from university, but don't have a job yet, so they came and stayed for about six months. My brother stayed for four months, he was studying general English, and my sister completed six months of general English. So now my little brother, who is a student at a university in Saudi Arabia, is here, he came to the UK as soon as he had a holiday* [in Saudi Arabia] *in the middle of Ramadan, exactly a week ago, to study general English, and he is still here.* (Line, 336- 343)

In addition, Lina noted, *"and shortly before I give birth, my mother and sister will come and stay with me"* (Line 116-117).

5.7.1   Lina's family language ideologies

This section discusses the themes that emerged concerning Lina's family language

beliefs. As shown in Table 5.31, the first theme was the use of each language in the appropriate place: Arabic represented their Arabic and Islamic identity, and English had academic and future career advantages. The second theme concerned the perceived need to fit into Saudi community, both socially and academically, after returning to Saudi Arabia, which was a key force in the family's maintenance of their Arabic. Finally, the third theme concerned Lina's previous experiences and future expectations of her children's language learning.

Table 5-31   The themes of Lina's family's language beliefs

		Codes	**Frequency**
Theme 1	Using each language in the appropriate place	English is for future career -Friendship in school Arabic for education in SA, communication with extended families	17
Theme 2	The need to fit into Saudi society after return	Avoid first year struggle -avoid bullying in school	15
Theme 3	Past experience and future language plans	-using upbringing principles of grandparents	6
		Total	38

5.7.2   Theme 1: Using each language in the appropriate place

Lina linked the importance of a language to its use both socially and academically, and was proud that her children spoke English fluently, intending to encourage them to maintain it upon their return to Saudi Arabia, due to its academic and future career value. She explained

I am so pleased and proud of their level in English, and I hope they can maintain it. I don't want them to lose it when we go back to Saudi Arabia, because I am an English teacher and I know the importance of English in education in Saudi Arabia, particularly nowadays, and its importance in the work field. It's an advantage. Indeed, I am so keen that my children learn English. I am pleased that they know English, and I would like it to continue that way. (Line 172-177)

Meanwhile, she considered that Arabic was more important than English for social reasons in Saudi Arabia, as it is the language of communication with family and friends, and the language of the Islamic religion. She considered Arabic to be the main medium of communication with the members of her extended family in Saudi Arabia (Alzahrani, 2020), which was useful for her family's HL maintenance (Bahhari, 2020; Smith-Christmas, 2014; Takeuchi, 2006). Moreover, she believed that maintaining her children's Arabic would help them to make friends in Saudi schools, as it is the main medium of education and social communication in the country.

Although Lina recognised the academic value of English, she believed that the language would be an obstacle for her children in Saudi Arabia in social and psychological terms, noting, *"sure, it will help, and I want them to keep their English, to be honest, but psychologically and socially, it will be an obstacle at the beginning, and it will cause problems for them"* (Line 431 432). Since English is not the dominant language of society and public education in Saudi Arabia, Lina felt that she needed to prioritise Arabic, as it is the language of schooling and academic achievement in her home country (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020). Despite the fact that Saudi mothers residing in Saudi Arabia commonly believe that knowledge of English lends their children a special advantage that makes them stand out among their peers, Lina did not share this belief, explaining, *"Although the mothers of these children think that my children speaking English is an advantage, and they wish they could have the same opportunity, I don't see an advantage of a specific language over another, whether it's Arabic or English. I prefer to use each language in its place"* (Lines 191-194). This exhibited a belief that her children's strong agency in the UK would weaken their role in taking decisions about their language use at home when moving back to Saudi Arabia, subordinating them to their peers (Luykx, 2003).

Initially, Lina was happy with her children's progress in English, but later felt that speaking English with them at home would jeopardise their HL, Arabic, noting, *"gradually they spoke less and less Arabic"* and it *"started to disappear"*. Thus, after around six or eight months in the UK, she shifted the FLP from supporting English to supporting Arabic, explaining, *"I felt that their English had really improved, and at*

first, I was so happy to see this improvement [but] *gradually, they spoke less and less Arabic, and it even started to disappear"* (Line 20-22). The beginning of the language shift (Fishman, 2006) was therefore Lina's motivation for altering the FLP. Indeed, she expressed disapproval of her children speaking English at home: *"I hate this, it really annoys me"* (Line 28), noting, *"I've noticed in the last eight, nine months, and that's a red flag for me, that they're now only speaking English. They even ask me, I mean, they don't even know the Arabic word sometimes, and I don't like that"* (Line 24-26). She therefore altered her language use with her children and undertook strict actions to support their use of the Arabic language at home. Indeed, she repeated the term 'red flag' twice, namely an indicator for Lina that she needed to take action, continuing

For about eight or nine months, most of the language use was Arabic. Then for about six or seven months, there was a balance in the use of English and Arabic, and after that, English started to take over, and Arabic decreased. It was at this point that a red flag was raised in my mind to take action. (Line 75-77)

This language attrition on the part of their children was also noticed by their father, who supported the shift in language use at home. As Lina explained, *"Even my husband noticed that, and he felt we needed to find a* [different] *language policy"* (Line 122), adding *We noticed this problem at almost the same time. Honestly, he was the one who told me that we should decide on a plan of action and stick to it. He didn't want us to read stories sometimes, and other times not. It should be a fixed rule all the time. Exactly like the daily chores, for instance, cleaning hands after eating, they should talk Arabic to each other, and they should be reminded.* (Line 125-129)

Despite her perceived importance of English for her children's future career, Lina acknowledged that she had recently ceased her support of their English learning, relying on their school to play this role, while she spent more time teaching and supporting her children's Arabic to prepare them for the family's return to Saudi Arabia. This was because she believed that her children's reliance on English would be an obstacle for them psychologically, socially, and even academically in Saudi Arabia, elaborating:

I stopped supporting them in English, because there are already several sources of support in the community [in the UK]. *At the beginning, I supported my children in English, because they needed it. Now I never support them, except when they're doing*

their homework, artwork [and other school-related activities]. *But I don't sit and teach them the English language and its rules, because the schools here give them enough support.* (Line 393-397)

This exhibited her high degree of awareness of the external influence of public education policy, length of residence, society, and HL skills that had engendered a language shift (Bahhari, 2020) and caused her children to devalue their HL (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020). She therefore sought to balance their use of Arabic and English by supporting only Arabic learning at home, leaving her children's English to be supported by their UK school.

5.7.3   Theme 2: The need to fit into Saudi after return

In the first year of Lina's residence in the UK, she needed her children to fit into UK society and to fulfil their language needs, which meant that she had to use English and support her children their English language learning and use. Despite her previous experience of studying in the US, accompanied by her older daughter, Heba, her children only spoke Arabic when they first arrived in the UK: *"my children didn't speak any English… So, they came here with zero English. There was some struggling in the first six months"* (Line 10-14).

As Lina progressed with in her PhD programme and the time to return to Saudi Arabia drew nearer, she felt an urgent need to focus more on her children's Arabic learning than on their English, in order to prepare them for their return to their home country. As she explained, *"I realised that I was over halfway through my PhD study period and that we were going back to Saudi Arabia, and I didn't want to go through the same struggle* [as when we arrived in the UK]*"* (Line 29-31). Preparing her children to reintegrate into school in Saudi Arabia was therefore a driving force in maintaining their Arabic (Bahhari, 2020). In preparing her children for their return home, and seeking to avoid their social isolation, Lina noted:

Honestly, I don't like my children speaking English in Arabic society, because you know the nature of our society and what they may face; we will be isolated, because you know, English teaching in Saudi Arabia is not, is very weak, particularly for children of their age. So, they won't make friends with their cousins or children in the surrounding

community, like my aunties and their daughters. The English level of children their age is very, very, very weak. (Line 186-191)

She therefore emphasised the need for them to use the Arabic language in order to fit into Saudi society, since it is the language of socialisation in the country, and her children needed to be able to communicate with their extended family and to build friendships at their Saudi school

Because Arabic is the mother tongue and the language of religion and communication with the family, relatives, and others. It is the language of communication in school with friends, and the main language of education in Saudi Arabia. In school, lessons in English are not more than three a week and last for about 45 minutes each, but most of the subjects are in Arabic. (Line 245-249)

However, Lina was not unduly concerned about her children's Arabic learning, due to their young age, which meant they would make rapid progress with the language upon their return to Saudi Arabia, as young children often acquire language skills quickly. As she explained, *"I know from my studies that children are quick in their response to language changes. It is only a matter of time. Of course, we will face difficulties, but they'll get there in the end"* (Line 296-298). Nevertheless, she was concerned about encountering the same situation she underwent when the family first came to the UK, when she struggled to teach her children English, and was also worried that her children may be bullied when they returned to school in Saudi Arabia, because they did not speak Arabic properly, or were socially isolated. However, despite her concerns, she was aware that the nature of the community in her home country as one that does not speak English would be advantageous, as it would force her children to speak Arabic, *"because no one in my family of their age speaks English. Even in my husband's family, all the children of a similar age don't speak English"* (Line 279 -281).

5.7.4 Theme 3: Past experience and future language plans

Lina's previous experience of living abroad in the US, and the shared the experience of other sojourning student families (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009a) made her capable and

confident in raising her children bilingually (de Houwer, 1999), as well as promoting a clear FLP at an early stage. She planned at what points she would support her family's English and Arabic use, and the experience of her uncle's family of living abroad meant that she valued the importance of maintaining Arabic for her children. She noted

I was careful to focus on Arabic even before I travelled abroad for my PhD studies, because I saw people who returned from abroad, for example my uncle and his children, who are the same age as my children. I saw him when he and his family had left, and I saw him when they came back, how his children struggled and how difficult it was for them to catch up in Arabic. So I didn't want that to happen from the beginning. (Line 106-111)

She employed her parents' practice of often speaking to her children in Arabic to maintain their language skills, and also used her knowledge of child psychology and education and the skills she had learned while studying for her PhD in TESOL, observing, *"I have read a lot about child psychology and education, and I know any bad words* [used] *about a child's character or his/her abilities could affect them negatively. I don't want my children to go through this"* (Line 226-228). This meant that she felt responsible for maintaining her children's Arabic language skills, and she explained

I started feeling guilty, because I am the one who is responsible. I came here as a student and brought them with me. So I felt under pressure to take care of certain things, as I was the one who took them out of their comfort zone, away from their family and school. I had to take care of these three things, because I was the one who brought them here … I was responsible for their loss of Arabic and their interaction with the family [the extended family]. *I tried to keep this in my mind and that I had to do something. I always keep this in my mind.* (Line 228-234)

This previous experience and understanding was reflected in Lina's expectations of her children's linguistic ability and their educational development (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009b; Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020), and was linked to her involvement in her children's language development (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020). She felt guilty that she had brought the whole family to the UK and was concerned that her children would lose their HL as a result, considering herself responsible for any attrition that occurred in their Arabic, or even with any potential miscommunications with the

extended family in Saudi Arabia. She commented, *"there are some situations where this feeling is touching something deep down in my heart, and it is renewed every time"* (Line, 246-247). Despite her efforts to teach her children Arabic, she also continued to feel guilty that she did not follow a fixed routine in teaching the Saudi curriculum to her children, believing that there remained much to teach them. When asked if this affected her negatively, she replied, *"Very, very, very, very much. Sometimes, for example, when my parents and relatives contact us through Skype. My daughter asks me when we are going back and how much is left to finish your study, Mummy"* (Line 238-240). The conflict between parents' ideologies and their feelings of guilt and responsibility for the transmission of their HL to their children, and with enabling their children to follow the public education policy of the relevant country in which they reside were also discussed in previous studies (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016; Okita, 2002).

5.7.5   Lina's family language practices

This section discusses the key themes of Lina's language practices (Table 5-32), the first of which is her discourse strategies and her children's response, the second concerns the way in which her relatives' visits reinforced the use of Arabic, and the third concerns the way in which reading was employed as a language learning practice. Table 5-33 shows the instance rate of Lina's family language use, and Table 5-34 shows the rate of language use by each family member.

Table 5-32   Lina's FLP

		Codes	**Frequency**
Theme 1	Lina's family discourse strategies and her children's response	-Repetition -Minimal grasp Arabic -only -Children's using English in joking complaining	28
Theme 2	Relatives' visits reinforce the use of Arabic	-Regular annual holiday Relatives' visits	10
Theme 3	Reading as a language learning practice	-local library English and Arabic stories	3
		Total	

Table 5-33   Lina's family language use

English	Arabic	CS	Total
345 (18.72 %)	972 (52.76 %)	268 (14.54 %)	1842

Table 5-34   Language use distribution among Lina's family members

	Lina	**Heba**	**Anas**	**Lujain**	**Hassan**
Arabic	434 (44.7%)	169 (17.4%)	89 (9.2%)	247 (25.4%)	11 (1.1%)
English	5 (1.4 %)	106 (30.7 %)	216 (62.6%)	10 (2.9%)	0
CS	73 (27.2%)	93 (34. 7%)	62 (23.1%)	34 (12.7%)	0

As the tables demonstrate, Arabic was used by Lina's family members more than English or code-switching, which was the least used; Lina used the most Arabic, followed by Heba, and then Anas. Meanwhile, Anas demonstrated the highest percentage (62.6%) use of English, followed by Heba (30.7%), with Lina the lowest (1.5%). Finally, Heba demonstrated the highest percentage of CS (34.7%), followed by Lina (27.2%), then Anas (23.1%). Among the members of the extended family, Aunt Lujain used more Arabic (25.4%) than English and CS when she participated in three conversations with Lina's family, while Uncle Hassan only participated in one family conversation and only used Arabic (1.1%).

5.7.6   Theme 1: Lina's discourse strategies

After changing the FLP to support Arabic, Lina employed discourse strategies to reinforce Arabic for her children at home (Lanza, 2004). For example, she reported that she would point to her ear or mouth to indicate that her son or daughter needed to repeat their words in Arabic, utilising what Lanza (2004) called 'minimal grasp'. However, the audio recording data did not show any instances of this. One discourse strategy that Lina employed frequently in conversations with her children was adult repetition, namely repeating the same sentence used by the child in Arabic after they struggled to

do so themselves. The fifth conversation was an exemplar of this:

11 Heba: ya'ani nigdar nijareeb alheen? °

     % tra: *that means we can do the experiment now?*

12 Anas: Mama

     % tra: *mum*

13 Lina: na'am°

     % tra: *yes*

14 Anas: ***so we do experiment***

    Lina: nisawi tajroobah° ((clearing her throat))

     % tra: *let's do experiment* ((clearing her throat))

15 Anas: ((coughing))

16 Lina: esherab moyah°

Lina also explained that she followed other strategies that worked very well with her children, such as using Arabic when undertaking daily chores and activities at home, as the fifth conversation illustrated:

373 Lina: ((laughing)) yazahleeg ta'ali shili hathey ya mama ((sounds of foil and different stuff in the kitchen)) huteeha foog alfooron tayeb°

      % tra: it *slips come and carry this one sweetheart* ((sounds of foil and different stuff in the kitchen)) *put it over the oven okay*

374 Heba: ***okay I like to move it move it ****

      % tra: *okay I like to move it move it*

375 Lina: ANAS ta'al habibi °

      % tra: *ANAS come here my sweetheart*

376 Anas: waisho? °

% tra: *what's it?*

377 Lina: ta'al °

% tra: *come*

378 Anas: waisho? °

% tra: *what's it?*

379 Lina: ta'al habibi kamil kassak momkin towadi hatholi Heba °

% tra: *come sweetheart finish your glass of juice could you take these HEBA*

380 Heba: Huh

381 Lina: jeebi al manadeel wa al ***Dettol***°

% tra: *bring the tissue and **Dettol***

382 Heba: ***Dettol***

383 Lina: hathe wadah al matbakh khuthe ta'al hut kassak hina yala sheelum shukarn lik°

% tra: *this one take it take it to the kitchen take this take this come put the glass here okay now take them thank you*

384 Heba: ((singing)) ***I like to move it move it I like to move it move it*** *

385 Lina: yala sheeli hathe kamili kassik al moyah °

% tra: *come on take this one finish your glass of water*

However, she also often asked her children about their school day, which prompted them to use English. Interestingly, in the audio recordings, Lina primarily employed a 'move on' strategy to promote the use of both languages, which may engender a language shift. For example, in the third conversation, she asked Anas about his school day:

125 Lina: waish sawaito alyoom?] yala khalas ***the end*** ∆

% tra: *what did you do today?] well that's* **the end**

126   Lujain: ma katabt al *card*Δ

% tra: *you haven't written the* **card**

127   Lina: eyeh sah lazeem tikhalaseha alhain [wish sawaitoo alyoom Anas?
jeebi al *card* Heba Δ

% tra: *yes, that's right you should do it now [what did you today?*

(10:00)

128   Lujain: [ma jeebtiha al *card*] roohy jeebiha alhain yala=Δ

% tra: [*you didn't bring the card] come on go bring it now*

129   Lina: =Eyeh ma jeebitiha] °

% tra: *yes, you didn't bring it*]

130   Heba: wisho al sabah? °
% tra: *what do you mean by morning?*

131   Anas: ay wahdah? °

% tra: *which one?*

132   Lina: jeebi al a'albah al kabeerah al *card* al Kabeer Δ

% tra: *bring the big box and the big* **card**

133   Anas: wisho ay sabah? °

% tra: *what do mean which morning?*

134   Lina: alyoom aish sawaina fi al madrassah? °

% tra: *today what did you do in school?*

This conversation illustrated how external factors represented by British school policy influenced Lina's language choice (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016). Her children preferred to use English, for example employing it when complaining, repeating jokes, or chatting

together. They also helped their mother to pronounce certain English words, and to understand school-related materials. For example, sometimes her children corrected her pronunciation of 'p' and 'b'; in response, Lina reacted by laughing and being more careful with her English pronunciation, demonstrating that child agency can influence parental language practices (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020).

In contrast with her children, Lina was less confident with speaking everyday English, so the power moved to her children, who had better access to the various societal sectors of the country (Revis, 2019). They corrected her, which shifted the power to the children, made them dominant in the conversation, and established a space for them to use their preferred language of English. They also helped Lina to understand school-related vocabulary. The sixth conversation demonstrated the siblings' preferred use of English when interacting between themselves:

6 Anas: Heba Heba]*You said all of this you're going to say something **

  %tra: Heba *Heba]* **you said all of this you're going to say something**

7 Lina: eh sah al thultha'a nafs yoom rehlatik °

  %tra: *yes right Tuesday the same as your trip*

8 Anas: *what is it? **

  %tra: *what is it?*

9 Anas: Heba *you said don't tell everyone*[XXX**

  %tra: *Heba* **you said tell everyone [XX**

10 Heba: you *weren't listening* I *tell mama* hathe=Δ

  %tra: *wasn't listening tell mama this =*

11 Lujain: =suk albab °

  %tra: *close the door*

12 Heba: jaow *Chinese teachers al headteacher* ya'ani *one headteacher* wa *two teachers* thanyeen ya'ani *three teachers Chinese* fa jaow fi al madrassah wa umm a'alamona *one to ten* bi al *Chinese*=Δ

*Chinese teachers the **headteacher** came I mean one headteacher and two teachers two I mean three teachers they came in the school and taught us to count from one to ten in the Chinese=*

13   Lina: =bas faslokum wala kil al madrassah? °

      %tra: *only your class or all the school?*

14   Heba: la ya'ani fi almadrassah al thanyah ma'a ashan ba'ad ***they gonna see our learning English*** ba'adeen ***they gonna take it back to their country and [then teaching***△

      %tra: *no I mean in the school and the other school because they **they're going to see our learning** later **they're going to take it back to their country and [then teaching***

15   Lina: ya'almoonhum] °
            they teach them

16   Heba: yani ***we were very very lucky*** ashan ***they choose our class and class 8 or class nine*** atwaga'a ***class nine*** △

      %tra: *I mean **we were very very lucky** ashan **they chose our class and class eight or class nine** I think **class nine***

This extract demonstrates how the children questioned their parents' language use and decisions at home by employing mainstream English (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020). Lina was aware of her children's language preferences, and of their respective English abilities, as was clear in her questionnaire responses. However, her actual parental discourse strategies (PDS) contradicted her ideology of using only Arabic at home.

5.7.7   Theme 2: Relatives' visits enhance the use of Arabic

Most of Lina's relatives, including her children's cousins only spoke Arabic with her children, which re-enforced their use of the language during their holidays in Saudi Arabia, or when their extended family visited. Lina's extended family visited twice a year and on one occasion, stayed for five months (D-1), during which time they were

obliged to follow the family rule of speaking only Arabic with the children, as Lina explained, *"because they came when I started putting rules in place"* (Line 349). She mentioned that the extended family had visited regularly since their arrival in the UK: "[During] *the last six months, my sister stayed with me, and now my brother will stay for the whole summer, that's almost three months, and shortly before I give birth, my mother and sister will come and stay with me"* (Line 115-117).

Many of Lina's relatives, including her sister and brother, had visited the family many times and had spent a long period of six to seven months with the family, in order to study English. However, contradicting the FLP, the audio recording data captured a small number of instances in which Aunt Lujain employed English words, influenced by her niece and nephew, and on one occasion, Heba even taught her some French words (E-1-LN6).

5.7.8 Theme 3: Reading as a language learning practice

As Lina's children could not speak English when they arrived in the UK, she was keen to support them with their learning of the language, in order that they would not be socially isolated at school and would be able to make friends in the UK, as she explained in the interview (C-2-F6). Socialising in a meaningful context was a priority for Lina upon her arrival in the UK (Duranti et al., 2011). Some of the ways in which she supported her children's initial learning of English was by borrowing English stories from the local library, reading bedtime stories in English, and reading certain English words when they were at the supermarket. Later, she also read Arabic stories to improve her children's Arabic language, alternating between English and Arabic stories at bedtime, as reflected in her questionnaire responses (D-1). Both Heba and Anas also listened to Arabic stories every day.

5.7.9 Lina's family language management

This section discusses the key themes of Lina's language management. As shown in Table 5-35, the first theme is her Arabic home-schooling, the shortage of Arabic resources, and the support of Lina's relatives, and the second is the use of technology to reinforce Arabic.

Table 5-35 Lina's family language management

		Codes	Frequency
Theme 1	Arabic lessons at home, the shortage of Arabic resources, and the support of relatives	-Saudi curriculum Weekend Arabic schools -Shortage of Arabic materials	20
Theme 2	Using technology to reinforce the use of Arabic	Arabic and Quran learning websites	18
		Total	38

5.7.10 Theme 1: Arabic lessons at home, the shortage of Arabic resources, and the support of relatives

Once the family had been in the UK for two years, Lina sought a good Arabic school for her children, enrolling them at a Saudi school in Leeds, where they spent around five hours a week studying the Saudi curriculum and the Quran. Although Leeds was not their city of residence, Lina and her husband chose to enrol the children at this particular school because they did not consider that the more local institutions' Arabic teaching was of good quality. Lina discussed this decision, and the problems it involved in detail

About two years after we arrived in York, I was looking for an Arabic school in York, and the people here told me it was closed. When they reopened it, they said the quality of Arabic teaching wasn't good. So, we [as parents] *enrolled our children at the Arabic school in Leeds,* [which they attended] *every Sunday for about a year. It started at 8 o'clock or 9 o'clock until 3:30pm. There they studied a complete Arabic curriculum, the Quran, and prayers.*

The shortage of Arabic resources is reportedly a common problem for transnational Arabic families (Alzahrani, 2020; Said, 2021a), and to address this, Lina took out a monthly subscription to King Abdul-Aziz library in Riyadh, in order to receive Arabic children's stories from Arabic culture. She explained that she also *"asked my family* [her extended family, including her parents] *to send Saudi curriculum books for all subjects, which arrived on the first day of school"* (Line 92-98), and specifically asked them to send Saudi curriculum books for her daughter. This meant that she was able to

teach her children the Saudi curriculum at home. As she explained

I subscribed at the King Abdul-Aziz library in Riyadh, where they have children's reading clubs. They send you stories in Arabic, I don't know if you've heard about it, you can subscribe on a yearly or monthly basis, and they'll send you a package and a form to fill in with the name of your child, [their] age, interests, etc., and they then send you a story every month with some activities in Arabic. (Line 80-84)

This demonstrated the considerable efforts Lina made to obtain Arabic resources for her children, in an attempt to transmit the HL to them in a systematic way (Said, 2021a). It also indicated her "strong impact belief" (De Houwer, 1999) that inspired her involvement in managing her children's Arabic literacy. Proactive mothers with strong impact beliefs, who are involved in their children's language learning, increase the degree of their HL maintenance (De Houwer, 1999; Gomaa, 2011; Langager, 2010).

However, the teaching strategies Lina mentioned in the interviews contradicted her questionnaire responses (D-1), as on the questionnaire she claimed that her children never wrote or read in Arabic, while in the interview she explained that she taught them Arabic two to three times a week. Moreover, despite her efforts to provide the Arabic educational resources mentioned in the interview, Lina was dissatisfied with the amount of Arabic input she provided for her children. This contradiction may be due to an inconsistent effort, and the lack of a fixed routine for teaching Arabic, which Lina explained in the interview. The audio recordings did not capture any attempts by her to teach her children Arabic; rather, they captured her helping her children with their English homework and registering them for extra activities, such as swimming and coding club. This demonstrated the influence of external societal factors on the management strategies that evidently impacted Lina's language practices (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016).

Another issue was Lina's lack of consistency with teaching Arabic, and when asked if she was happy with the amount of support in Arabic she provided to her children, she responded that she was dissatisfied with the amount of the language her children received, because it was not usually taught at a fixed time, or following a fixed routine, explaining, *"it's not enough. I feel that I have to make a fixed time every day* [for teaching Arabic/ subjects in Arabic]" (Line 356-357), a point that was also reportedly

raised by her husband. Consistency in using a minority language at home helps children to acquire their HL (Kasuya, 1998), and the same is true of consistency in teaching and managing the HL. As Lina acknowledged:

Yes, yes, my husband noticed the same thing as me. We noticed this problem at almost the same time. Honestly, he was the one who told me that we should decide on a plan of action and stick to it. He didn't want us sometimes to read stories and other times not. It should be a fixed rule all the time. Exactly like the daily chores, for instance, cleaning hands after eating, they should talk Arabic to each other, and they should be reminded. (Line 125-129)

Her husband's involvement in decisions about language management at home enhanced the FLP; indeed, fathers in Saudi society are often responsible for making strategic decisions for the family, as they are considered to be the head of the family (Bahhari, 2020). Moreover, Lina had a plan for supporting her children's Arabic when the family returned to Saudi Arabia, explaining

I don't think that I will enrol my children in an international school, because that means they will still use English and their Arabic will still be weak. So we wouldn't be able to deal with the language problem quickly. That is why I have never really considered that. I haven't decided 100%, but I know that I don't want to do that. (Line 421-425) This differed from the views of the Saudi parents in the study conducted by Bahhari (2020), who considered international schools to represent a transitional stage for their children before they moved to a Saudi public school in Saudi Arabia. When explaining her view, Lina elaborated

I am the type of person who is very cautious, and I think things through very carefully. I planned exactly what I would do once we arrived [in the UK]. *I devised a schedule for submitting* [my thesis], *and what I would do in* [terms of] *Arabic. We would be here for a specific time, and I would find an Arabic teacher before school starts to give them some private lessons.* (Line 220-224)

She even planned to use strict measures, such as punishments and rewards, to enhance the Arabic language use at home: *"I could take more take extreme measures as a second step, which means putting punishment and reward* [in place] *and making a chart*

for whoever speaks English; we'll put X marks, and whoever speaks Arabic or memorises Sura from the Quran receives a reward" (Line 415-417).

5.7.11 Theme 2: Using technology to reinforce the use of Arabic

Lina also employed technology to teach her children the Quran, the Arabic alphabet, and Arabic songs. As she explained, *"I was also encouraging them to use Arabic-learning websites with songs and letters of the* [Arabic] *alphabet, as well as Quran websites. On the Quran ones, verses of the Quran are repeated daily"* (Line 167-169). In addition, she embedded digital technology in her family language management to reinforce their knowledge of their HL (Said, 2021a). The use of digital devices to develop literacy skills became common and popular during the COVID-19 crisis, proving to be highly effective for enhancing children's literacy skills (Said et al., 2021). The effectiveness of digital literacy is due to the fact that it can combine the sound of Arabic from an authentic native speaker with meaningful content (Kent et al., 2014). The use of it as a tool reduces some of the burden on parents by providing ready, organised content on different topics, including religion, Arabic, and easily accessible songs (Said, 2021b), transmitting not only the HL, but also the related cultural and religious values. Indeed, Androutsoppulos and Lexander (2021) found that Senegalese family members used specific forms of digital media to interact with Muslim communities to practice their Islamic literacy and skills, which are often associated with Arabic, as the language is crucial for understanding Islamic culture and principles.

Furthermore, practicing the Islamic religion enhances and encourages the acquisition of Arabic literacy skills, hence Arabic and the Islamic religion are mutually related (Bahhari, 2020).

However, certain contradictions were evident in the questionnaire data (D-1) regarding Lina's use of technology to manage her children's Arabic learning, as she mentioned that they used the computer, watched movies, and listened to stories in English every day. Indeed, the audio recordings captured instances in which the children sang songs from English movies. Meanwhile in addition to these activities, Anas and Heba often listened to stories in Arabic.

It was apparent that Lina involved her children in many activities. For example, they played board games together in their free time, cooked, and tidied the house, and she reported in the interview that she used the Arabic language during all these activities. She clearly recognised that using Arabic with her children when they were engaged in fun activities (Nakamura, 2016), such as games and everyday activities, would encourage them to speak Arabic. Members of the extended family were aware of the FLP rules during their visits, and were committed to them. However, the audio recordings captured a situation when, while the family members were playing a board game, they used certain English words. This may have been because the game was originally in English and describing an English word to the others was part of the game.

5.7.12 Summary

Although Lina had previous experience of living abroad, her FLP had undergone two distinct stages while she was living in the UK. In the first stage, her efforts were focused on teaching her children English, to enable them to settle into the UK and to be involved in their British school, as well as in the wider community. In the second stage, she shifted to supporting Arabic use and learning at home, feeling that her children's Arabic language was under threat of attrition. This shift was also due to the approach of the family's return to Saudi Arabia. Overall, Lina was strict with the rule regarding the sole use of the Arabic language at home, employing discourse strategies that promoted the language. Her FLP was aided by the support of her extended family and by her husband's involvement.

6 Discussions and conclusions

6.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the cross-case analysis, as well as the significance of my results to the academic field of FLP and recommendations for future research. Some assumptions of similarities with other transnational Arab families or other Saudi student families, were made albeit with caution. The cross-case analysis focuses on understanding specific phenomena, developing theories, and outlining the similarities and differences between the FLPs of the six families (Marshall & Rossman, 2014). Therefore this has the potential to offer the literature important information concerning these influences (Gustafsson, 2017).

The first section discusses the findings from the family backgrounds of the six families, including their language beliefs, practices and management, using data generated from multiple sources (Yin, 2018). These include firstly, previous relevant literature and theories concerning FLP; secondly, language socialisation (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984); thirdly, child agency (Fogle & King, 2013); and finally, the family language policy model (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). For this, I used matrices (Miles et al., 2018) to understand the families' various experiences. The second section discusses the study's limitations, recommendations, implications, and also contains my reflections.

6.2 Variation in FLP

My study identified a contrast between the language ideologies and practices of the participating families. Thus, while Layla was eager for her children to learn to speak English fluently, Lina decided from the outset to actively maintain her children's Arabic throughout their stay in the UK. These two approaches can be categorised as 'extremes' on a continuum of FLP, with the approach of some student families being closer to Layla, and others to Lina (see Figure 6-1).

All the Saudi student mothers in this study displayed a positive attitude towards their children's bilingualism but differed in how they valued Arabic maintenance as opposed to English learning. Although some parents described Arabic as the language of the family home, as well as their language of choice, the audio recording data revealed that

parents and children did not exclusively speak Arabic when at home. It is notable that these discrepancies between declared language ideologies and actual language practices are supported by previous research (Kopeliovich, 2010), and influenced by societal language.
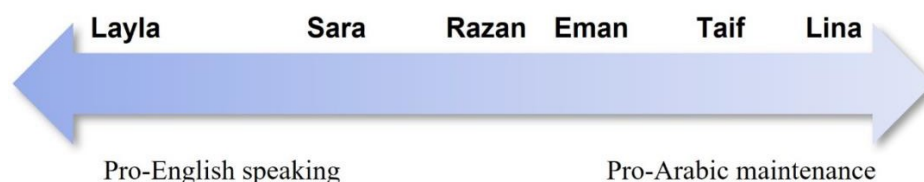
Figure 6-1   Student mothers' attitudes towards their children's Arabic and English learning

English is the majority language of the UK, as well as being a global means of communication. This determines the critical significance of the differing status of English and Arabic, as viewed by Saudi student sojourning families, and also influenced the degree to which the parents in this study employed the minority language at home with their children (Yamamoto, 2001). The linguistic hierarchy of languages, based on their commodification and values, has the potential to influence the parents' language agency in selecting which to use to ensure their children's language development, as well as which to abandon (Curdt-Christiansen & Wang, 2018). Bilingual families can prioritise the higher status language, because it affords the speakers a commensurately higher status (Gogonas & Kirsch, 2018), while at the same time discouraging low-status languages (Tang & Calafato, 2021). Such values, upon which parents base their language decisions, are often linked to the sociocultural or sociopolitical value of the languages constructed in social realities and ideologies (Curdt-Christiansen & Wang, 2018). This demonstrates that parental agency is influenced by societal ideologies concerning the variation in values and functions of languages, and so contributes to the linguistic hierarchy of languages (Curdt-Christiansen & Wang, 2018).

English is considered a high-status language due to its position as an international tongue, with considerable political and economic value. It is further enhanced by a number of educational and socio-political realities, both within the UK and globally. Moreover, it has linguistic capital linked to technology, economic factors and

knowledge and is often a prerequisite when seeking a job or pursuing an academic career (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). In the UK, Arabic is a minority language associated with cultural, social and religious values. This therefore also favours the use of English over Arabic between children at home in the UK, resulting in the Saudi student mothers needing to modify their FLPs and increase the domestic use of Arabic to maintain their children's bilingualism. The modification of their FLPs faces several challenges, due to being often renegotiated jointly with the children (Palviainen & Boyd, 2013b) who may resist or use the minority language at home. However, mothers' efforts to modify their FLPs to support Arabic becomes easier as the families return to their home country resulting in adjustments to the functions and values of the two languages. Thus, Arabic can be seen to gain a more functional value, as the majority language, including socially and for the purposes of education, school, and religious functions, while English is associated solely with economic and international values, including for advancing a career and as the language of technology.

6.3 Families' backgrounds

All the Saudi student families demonstrated similar familial structures and demographics, with different nuances in terms of children's ages, AOA, the presence of fathers or individual extended family members, language ability and preferences. These features exerted a significant impact on all three components of FLP, along with families' beliefs, practices, and management. On the other hand, as revealed by the questionnaires, they were similar in being sojourning student families, with the mothers coming to the UK to continue their higher education for a defined period of time. In addition, all six families were similar in having two or three children (D-1) and all speaking English fluently, with Arabic as their native language. All the participants stated in the interviews that they planned to move back to SA at the end of the scholarship programme (C-1), and that this was clearly established in advance of settling in the UK for their respective academic needs. This pattern of transnational movement also influenced their methods of acquiring English and transmitting Arabic to their children.

Most of the children in this study were school-aged, being between five and fourteen. However, they differed in their AOA and language level in both English and Arabic.

Furthermore, while the majority of children in all families preferred to use English and spoke in both languages, some used only English, while Hatim in Eman's family and Yusuf in Taif's family only used Arabic at home. This reveals the influence of external factors, transferred through schools, on the FLPs of Saudi student families (Luykx, 2005; Tuominen, 1999) . It should be considered that AOA and gender could play a significant role in children's language use and preference (Kroskrity, 2004; Urzúa & Gómez, 2008), indicating children who are older on arrival in the UK tend to be less accepting of English language and culture, and more willing to use Arabic at home (Schwartz, 2010). On the other hand, children's preference for English was influenced by their attendance at school and their lack of competence in Arabic. All of the children were found to use more Arabic during Arabic lessons and in the presence of their extended families.

The families also differed in the kinds of relatives accompanying them. Half (Lina, Taif and Sara) were accompanied by their husbands, of whom only Taif's husband spoke Arabic, with the others being fluent in both languages. Some, such as Razan, were accompanied by a grandparent, who only spoke Arabic. Layla and Eman were unaccompanied by relatives, although Eman had regular visits from her grandmother. All the families were granted annual visits home by the Saudi government, offering the children regular exposure to their cultural roots and, more importantly, experience of using Arabic for social interaction in SA (Bahhari, 2020a; Pauwels, 2005) (Appendix-D-1). Maintaining HL is therefore related to maintaining children's cohesive connection to their extended families, as a means of strengthening family bonds (Schwartz, 2010)

When it came to language use and experiences, Layla, Razan, Sara and Eman stated that they used both English and Arabic with their children, while Taif and Lina spoke only Arabic at home. Use of the minority language at home, and CS between English and Arabic, are well-known strategies among bilingual/ transnational families (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004). However, the findings from audio recordings highlighted that the family conversations revealed few instances where Taif and Lina used English with their children. All of the mothers codeswitched, particularly when they discussed the school day. This discrepancy between the declared language ideologies and language practices has also been identified in previous research (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016; Said, 2021a). Nevertheless, such FLP incongruence is common because of the influence of

external factors, e.g., the educational system of the outside community. Eman primarily used English with her children when discussing school topics, while Taif was influenced by English programmes and children's nursery rhymes. A considerable degree of past research has discussed the influence of school and school-aged children on the language choices of their parents (Spolsky, 2007, 2012; Tuominen, 1999).

Interestingly, all of the mothers reported using Arabic when teaching their children good manners, or the pragmatic use of Arabic terms to express their emotions. Some families considered HL to function as the language of praise and discipline, particularly as it was linked to the parents' emotions, and supported the families' cultural values (Pavlenko, 2004).

Furthermore, their language practices during the audio recordings were found to be in line with these claims. This can be explained that teaching manners carries the cultural values of HL and provokes emotions connected to L1. Previous research (Okita, 2002; Pavlenko, 2004; Said & Zhu, 2019; Tannenbaum, 2005) has highlighted the connection between emotions and HL, and how these can help in promoting the use and maintenance of HL. Similar findings were identified by Tannenbaum and Berkovich (2005), who concluded that a successful HLM is associated with the emotions enhanced in children by their parents through the use of L1. A good connection between children and parents leads positive emotions which extend to the L1 and increases children's positive attitudes towards learning and using HL while a detachment between children and parents leads to negative emotions and consequently negative attitudes towards HL and may increase children's resistance towards learning HL. Only few researchers (Fillmore, 2000; Okita, 2002; Tannenbaum, 2005) have investigated the influence of emotions on HLM, future research worth conducted on this issue.

6.4   Saudi student mothers' language use patterns

The general pattern of FLP of Saudi student families commenced on arrival in the UK as being supportive of the use of English, as the children needed to rapidly learn the language to integrate and for their academic success. However, towards the end of their residence, they tended to focus on the impending language needs of their children, including by speaking more Arabic, to assist them to reintegrate into Saudi schools and society (Bahhari, 2020), see Figure 6-2.

However, the families differed in their strategies for supporting their FLP and maintaining their HL when preparing for their return home. This variation in parental support for their children's language learning can be interpreted by the impact on their beliefs (de Houwer, 1999). For example, Layla's language learning strategies did not demonstrate a great degree of success in supporting her children's acquisition of Arabic. In the UK, she took a flexible approach, with both languages being used at home, while there were inconsistencies in her children's Arabic

literacy, due to their resistance to using or learning Arabic. However, after her return to Saudi Arabia (SA), Layla followed a stricter language policy, leading to the children being more accepting of Arabic, although there remained little improvement in their fluency.
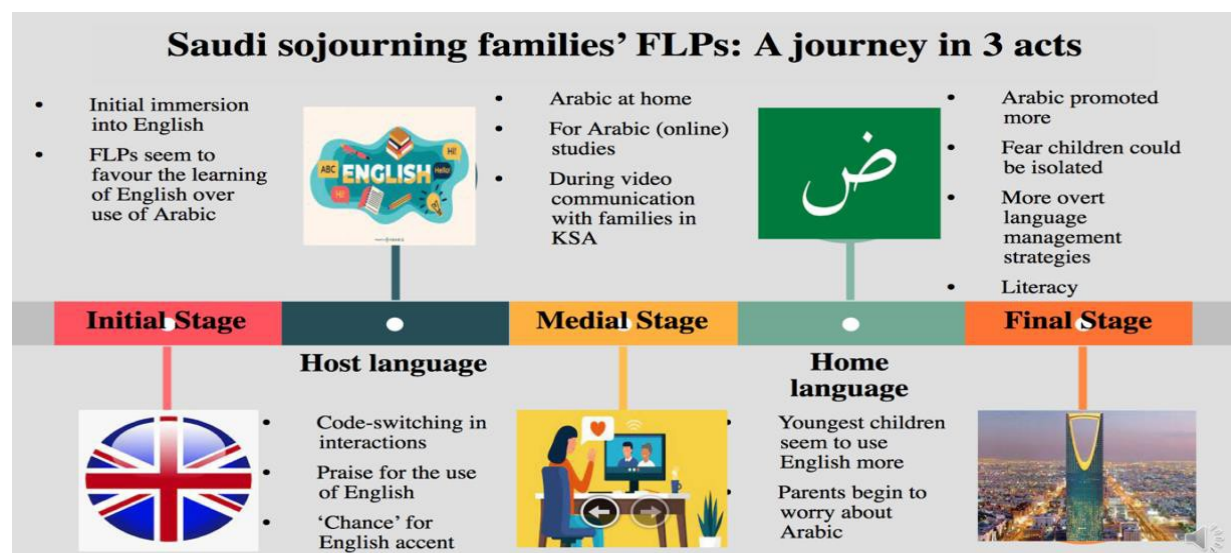
Figure 6-2   *The general pattern of the FLPs of Saudi student families (Said & Othman, 2021)*

Okita (2002) indicates that mothers in all families feel more responsible towards their children's language learning (Torsh, 2020; Piller & Gerber, 2018). This was also true of the mothers in this study, who took care to maintain their children's communication with their extended families. The language used to interact with children was also dominated by language management. However, all the mothers agreed on the importance of using Arabic with their children, relating it to their Arabic heritage and identity, religious obligations, communication with extended families back at home in SA, and most importantly, settling back into the home country.

Recent studies have revealed (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, 2014a; Curdt-Christiansen & Wang, 2018a; King, 2016) that FLP is not only shaped by parents but also by children's language agency (Fogle & King, 2013b), resulting from the interplay of multiple forces, both external and internal. Transnational parents, when they translocate to other countries with different cultures and languages, may encounter challenges balancing their children's HL and promoting the use of the language of the country in which they are residing. The children of these transnational families are exposed to different

experiences and unsurprisingly develop their own language practices and preferences accordingly (Hua & Wei, 2016b).

6.5 Families' language ideologies

The focus of the current research is to investigate the FLP of Saudi student families, including their language use during their everyday interactions. This involved examining parental language ideologies and attitudes to language. The first section highlights the language ideologies dominant in all six cases, as extracted from the interviews. The first research question aimed to: "*explore the Language ideologies that the Saudi student mothers hold with respect to their children's language learning*." Parental ideologies generally underpin language decisions concerning HL (Schwartz, 2010c) and can prove the driving force for the effort invested in learning one language over another (Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). The study found that all the mothers shared similar language ideologies concerning the importance of using the Arabic language with their children. They considered it representative of their Arabic and Islamic identities, as well as a medium of communication with extended families and relatives, and a necessary preparation to fit into Saudi society following their permanent return to SA. However, this study identified a variation in the mothers' language ideologies and attitudes towards bilingualism, along with the importance of English. These were found to relate to internal factors (i.e. past experiences and future expectations, a sense of belonging, children's academic achievements, and attitudes towards returning home) influencing their FLP and making it dynamic.

Mothers' ideologies are tabulated and compared to identify the most common themes of ideologies to least common across these six families. Table 6-1 shows the themes highlighting the reported language ideologies across the six families.

6.5.1 Importance of Arabic in fitting back into Saudi community after returning to SA

The most common theme amongst all families playing a critical role in maintaining the children's Arabic is the "***importance of Arabic in fitting back into the Saudi community after returning***". The student mothers placed great emphasise on the importance of maintaining Arabic, closely aligned with the desire to prepare their children socially, culturally and academically for their return to SA (Bahhari, 2020;

Table 6-1   Cross-case analysis of the Saudi student mothers' ideologies

Layla	Sara	Eman	Razan	Taif	Lina
Fitting in Saudi society reinforce the use of Arabic	Fitting in Saudi society reinforce the consistent use of Arabic	Fitting and understanding Saudi culture and English culture reinforce the use of both languages	Fitting in the Saudi community after returning to SA enhances the maintenance of Arabic.	Fitting in Saudi society reinforces the use of Arabic and Saudi dialect	Fitting in the Saudi community after return reinforces the maintenance of Arabic
Admiration of English language and culture and education system reinforces English use at home	The flow of communication with children is more important than the language used		English is important for children's academic achievement and better future careers.	Arabic to show children's Islamic and Arabic identity	Using each language in the appropriate place
Encouraging multi-faceted identities and multilingualism	Reinforcing bilingualism among the children	Culture and language are inextricable	Mixing both languages and Arabic as a representation of Arabic and Islamic identity	English at school, Arabic at home	Past experience and future plans

Langager, 2010; Alzahrani, 2020; Moore, 2016; Park & Sarkar, 2007). This increased the Saudi student mothers' motivation to use Arabic at home. Similar findings were reported by Bahhari (2020), whose investigation of Saudi student families' maintenance of the Arabic language in Australia confirmed that those planning to return to SA were more successful in maintaining their children's Arabic language.

As Arabic will be needed for children's education after return, the Saudi student mothers also saw that Arabic was associated with instrumental and economic value (Cabau, 2014). It is the medium of the public education system in SA, therefore, preparing their children academically and providing them with formal Arabic language learning while in the UK was essential. Previous studies among migrant families have similarly highlighted the need for HL to be maintained, including for the purposes of future employment in the home country (King & Fogle, 2006; Urzúa & Gómez, 2008). The status of both English and Arabic is dynamic, as the values associated with each was found to change through the process of families' transnationalism, resulting in the parents reconsidering the linguistic hierarchy of the two languages (Curdt-Christiansen & Wang, 2018).

Moreover, the support of the Saudi government, particularly in granting all families an annual visit home, enhanced the parents' awareness of the need to prepare children for their eventual return. This finding indicates that regular visits to the home country maintained the children's connection to their extended family, so enhancing HLM (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013b; Okita, 2002; Pauwels, 2005), as well as offering opportunities to socialise within the Arabic-speaking community and exposing them to their cultural roots (Hirsch & Lee, 2018). Similar findings were identified in Melo-Pfeifer's (2015) study, which demonstrated how a close connection between the Portuguese minority and their extended families created an effective association with HL. Furthermore, Said (2021b) concluded that the daily use of digital technology by multilingual families, in particular to talk with their extended families across the world, enhanced HL learning and use. In addition, Yousef and Taylor-Leech (2018) found that, during visits to their home country, some extended family members helped children in their Arabic literacy skills, so giving the family emotional

support and motivating them to be more involved in teaching their children Arabic literacy skills.

One interesting finding is that Saudi student mothers used Arabic for teaching their children discipline. This finding is consistent with that of Paugh (2011) and Smith- Christmas (2014) who found that parents often used their L1 to discipline their children. A possible explanation for this language use is that giving orders in L1 to their children is perceived as more effective (Pavlenko, 2004). However, this may influence negatively children's attitudes towards learning their L1 as parents' associate it with authority and strictness (Smith-Christmas, 2016), instead of fun and joy. Therefore, associating L1 with endearment expressions would encourage HLM (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020; Said & Zhu, 2019)

Spending summer holidays in SA help the children sometimes receive immediate feedback from their peers (Langager, 2010), in the form of teasing (Johnsen, 2020). Children's ability to communicate fluently in Arabic when in in SA, along with being familiar with Saudi manners, would help them to smoothly settle, both emotionally and socially, on their return to SA and avoid being alienated or facing any difficulties for example being teased. An unanticipated result was that mothers' feeling of responsibility to protect her children from being teased by their peers for their lack of fluency or using the wrong repertoire was a driving force for maintaining their children HL before return to SA.

6.5.2 Arabic and Islamic identity

One of the most significant language ideologies of the Saudi student mothers concerned the "*association between Arabic and religion*". This tended to be raised by mothers in their interviews, as shown in the audio recordings. The study indicated that religion has strong influence on most mothers' language ideologies about the importance of Arabic. some mothers explicitly explained to their children the importance of Arabic in terms of religious principles, or by showing them Islamic practices. For example, in the recordings, Razan can be heard encouraging her daughter to learn correct Arabic in order to recite the Quran. However, the significance is only raised when her older sister, Jana,

contributes to the conversation, explaining that she is 'Arabic'. Similarly, Eman viewed the Arabic language as the prerequisite to understanding Islamic principles, in particular due to it being the language of the Quran. The recording also demonstrated Lina showing her son, Anas, how to pray. The findings show that religion in Saudi transnational families increases their self-responsibility to HLM. In accordance with this result, previous studies (Alzahrani, 2020; Bahhari, 2020; Said, 2021b) have demonstrated that religion was a strong impetus and had great impact on transnational Arabic families' language decision at home to maintain their children's L1. However, the interchange between religion and motherhood is still underexplored (Said, 2021).

The connection between Arabic and religion is also connected to Arabic identity (Souza, 2016). However, it appeared that some children did not understand the link between learning Arabic and the Islamic religion and identity, particularly when this was not discussed explicitly by their mothers, as in the case of Rana, who was unable to understand her mother's association of Arabic with Islam. On the other hand, the children clearly realised the importance of Arabic in communicating with their extended families, as they could relate this to real situations.

6.5.3   Appreciation of bilingualism - believing in multi-faceted identities

Another important language ideology held by the Saudi students' mothers concerned the ***"Appreciation of Bilingualism - believing in multi-faceted identities"***. Some Saudi student's mothers reinforced the importance of remaining open to the culture of the host country and its language, with Layla believing in a multi-faceted, or fluid, identity.

The parents from all six families in this study demonstrated positive attitudes towards bilingualism, and were eager to maintain both languages, although they differed in the degree to which they maintained English. There was a clear influence from British culture, social life and school on the families, particularly with regard to their attitudes towards English, with all the mothers highlighting the importance of English as both linguistic and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1991). Other studies have mentioned parents' positive attitudes towards learning

English to navigate socio-political situations (Curdt- Christiansen, 2009) and access future economic and job opportunities (Barron- Hauwaert, 2004; Dumanig et al., 2013b). They also viewed English as an international language, offering their children access to academic achievement and successful future careers. However, they varied in their appreciation of English culture. Some families had a high tendency towards acculturation to the host country, as with Layla's family, while others had low level of acculturation, as was the case for Taif and Lina. Some mothers experienced difficulties acclimatising to life in the UK, while others found it relatively easy. The level of acculturation among the transnational families played a critical role in language shift (Baker, 2011; Schwartz, 2010b), as was very apparent in Layla's children.

However, parents' positive attitudes are an insufficient influence in terms of fostering and developing children's bilingualism, as this requires active involvement and commitment (Chatzidaki & Maligkoudi, 2013). In this study, Sara's commitment led to her being less worried about her children losing their heritage language. This view was enhanced by annual holidays to SA and visits by members of her extended family.

All the participants varied in their appreciation of English culture. Layla held a positive attitude towards both English language and culture, stating in her interview that she felt grateful for the educational support provided by her children's British school. She also held the UK educational system in high regard, particularly for allowing students to express their own ideas without restriction. This was demonstrated by Layla's report of an instance in which her daughter discussed emotional intimacy in a way that is considered acceptable in the UK but taboo in SA. An interesting finding is that the emotional and educational support the mothers received for their children's academic development from society may have influenced their attitudes towards the English language. However, some parents feared that English would be an obstacle upon their return to SA. In their research, Hua and Wei (2016) found that different generations of transnational multilingual families in the UK dealt with bilingualism and multilingualism differently according to their different experiences.

As language is considered a cultural and identity marker (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). The majority of the mothers in this study referred to themselves and their children as Arab; even those, like Sara's daughter Rami, who had been born in the UK. The only exception was Layla, who considered English her children's the first language.

However, children may have different opinions about their identities, which are influenced by the external surroundings and shaping their independent identities. Indeed, Farias and Asaba (2013) stated that a fluid identity resulted from globalisation and increased transnationalism. Parents' and children's contrasting identities can be ascribed to the varying socio-cultural experiences of the individual members of the same family. These are important aspects to consider within the field of FLP (Hua & Wei, 2016)

The study found that the public education system appeared to influence parental language choices at home, with some mothers, including Eman, using English to ensure their children's academic progress in British schools. This aligns with the mothers' language ideologies concerning the academic value to their children of English. School topics and activities, homework, teachers, or even friends, influence and promote the use of English among the mothers at home, particularly when children start school.

Previous studies have concluded that schools are a critical factor shaping families' language management strategies (Spolsky, 2012), while other external factors affect children's attitudes towards language practices (Baquedano-López & Kattan, 2008), including promoting bilingualism by allowing access to the minority language (Slavkov, 2017). Similarly, Curdt-Christiansen (2014) found English being used as the dominant language among Chinese families in Singapore, due to the educational and socio-political context. A possible explanation for this finding is that children may have different experiences than their parents, and therefore serve as mediators between the societal community and the home domain, bringing home societal language. An implication of this result is the possibility of turning to schools during vacations to promote the minority language. Increasing collaboration between schools and transnational

parents may help teachers understand the importance of minority languages, and enable parents to participate in school activities, thereby enhancing the quality of the relationships between home and school (Chavkin, 2000; Curdt-Christiansen, 2020; Shin, 2014). However, it remains problematic to draw a connection between the educational environment, including school and nursery, and the language policies of transnational families.

6.5.4   Importance of clear communication

Another important recurrent theme across the six families concerns the importance of clear communication between family members. HLM is considered by parents in many previous researches to be a medium of communication to keep a cohesive family relationship (de Houwer, 1999b; Okita, 2002; Pavlenko, 2004b; Tannenbaum, 2012), What is surprising is that Saudi student mothers did not consider HL the only medium to keep cohesive relationship with children but also English can serve the same goal. The study shows that some mothers stressed the importance of clear communications between the family members to maintain a cohesive relationship, regardless of the language used. This finding is similar to that of King and Logan-Terry (2008) who found that bilingual mothers used the move on strategy and switch to the majority language when talking to their children for affectionate reasons. Similarly, Pan (1995) found that bilingual mothers were influenced by their children's language use for the reason of accommodation. Furthermore, Fogle (2012) also found that transnational parents when decide about their FLP, they considered how to create an emotional bond with their children. However, in contrast to earlier findings, this resulted in mothers using English at home, despite their preference for Arabic, in order to maintain the connection with their children. This caused tensions between parents' desires to promote the use of HL at home and raise their children bilingually and following their children's language choice to build an emotional bond (Fogle, 2012). The Saudi student mothers provided many examples where mothers switch to English to keep the flow of communication with their children. This could be due to the mothers' ability and high level of competence in the second language, so it was easier to them to accommodate to their children's language needs who lack the ability to

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speak the HL by accepting speaking and negotiating topics in the second language. This was specifically present in mother-to-younger children's communications. For instance, Razan, Taif, Layla and Eman spoke with their younger children in English more than the older ones.

The study also found that context has a great impact on the parents' and children's language use (Lanza, 2007a; Lomeu Gomes, 2020). The topic of school, English homework and activities in the families' conversation provoke the use of English among both Saudi student mothers and their children. This may be interpreted by their children active agency and the mothers' desires for their children to achieve academic progress in schools (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020; Fogle, 2012), hence they used English when talking about school.

The study found that having clear communications with children in which parents express explicitly their decision about the language use at home is very effective in maintaining HL (Spolsky, 2007a). Some Saudi student mothers found that explaining to their children explicitly their decision about language choice at home make their commitment easier as their children became aware of the language used at home and may work as supporter for the FLP, therefore the child agency would work in line with parents' language ideologies (Fogle & King, 2013).

6.6 Families' language practices

The following section discusses the dominant themes arising from the language practices observed in the daily conversations between the Saudi student mothers and their children and contrast them with the mothers' declared ideologies. This answers the second question, which aims to "*identify the language practices in Saudi student families, and to what extent are these practices in line with mother's language ideologies during their interaction with their children to reinforce their language beliefs*". This study is of the view that language practices and management are shaped by the language beliefs held by each family (King, 2000; King et al., 2008).

Table 6-2   *Cross-case analysis of the Saudi student families' language practices*

	Layla	Sara	Eman	Razan	Taif	Lina
Theme 1	Family members' discourse strategies	Sara's discourse strategy to reinforce bilingualism	Eman's family discourse strategies	Razan's family discourse strategies	Discourse strategies of Taif's family members	Lina's family discourse strategies
Theme 2	Social media and digital technology reinforce the use of English	Limited use of technology	Using technology in both languages influence Eman's children in their language choice	Technology is a language learning practice.	Annual visits to SA and communicating with extended families	Relatives' visits reinforce the use of Arabic.
Theme 3	British Schools influence the children's language choices	Past experience forming clear FLP and future	The relative visit is a two-faced advantage	Extended families' visits and summer and spring holidays in SA		Reading is a language learning practice.
Theme 4		Reading is a language learning practice.				

Table 6-2 shows the themes tabulated and compared, in order to identify the most and least common themes of language practices across these six families, some of which enhance the mothers' declared ideologies.

6.6.1   The bilingual strategies adopted by mothers

Bilingual parents often used certain strategies in their interactions with their children. Previous research (Döpke, 1992; Lanza, 2004) has identified several strategies: move on, codeswitching, repetition and minimal grasp (Lanza, 2004). The importance of these strategies suggests whether parents-children interactions represent a monolingual interactional context or a bilingual interactional context, which would help in understanding the pattern of communications amongst the Saudi student family members. Consequently this is how their daily interactions contribute to the shaping of their FLPs. The study found that the move on strategy was the most common bilingual strategy used by all the mothers with their children. In all the families' conversations, the mothers did not force their children to speak in their HL, i.e. Arabic. For example, Layla on the pro-English-speaking end of the continuum and Lina on the pro-Arabic speaking end both clearly used move-on strategies with their children (see figure 6.1). All mothers allowed their children to reply in English even if they were communicating with them in Arabic. The use of move on strategy can be aligned with some of the mothers' reported language ideologies which is having clear communication and maintaining a cohesive relationship between family members regardless of the language being used. However, in transnational families using the move on strategy could promote the use of the majority language at home at the expense of losing Arabic. It found that using a move on strategy and codeswitching in the transnational context could lead to losing HL (King & Logan-Terry, 2008).

Code switching was also a common bilingual strategy used by all mothers, including those who claimed to use Arabic only at home. The study shows that Saudi student mothers code-switched when interacting with their children, especially when discussing school activities and homework. Similar findings have been reported in Curdt- Christiansen's study (2013) that children influence

their parents' language choice when they switch to English during discussion of their homework with their bilingual parents. Through the mother-child negotiations, the study shows a clear indication that the mothers were the ones who codeswitch to the children's language choice, English (Caldas, 2012; Parada, 2013; Revis, 2019). This is inconsistent with previous studies (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013; King & Logan-Terry, 2008). A possible interpretation of that might be that mothers' desire to accommodate to their children's language needs and form an emotional bond (Fogle, 2013; Gafaranga, 2010) by encouraging children to speak and engaging in the interactions (King & Logan-Terry, 2008) regardless of the language used. For example, Razan's elder daughter Jana was very good in Arabic when she arrived in the UK, but weak in English. Therefore, Razan used English more as she thought her daughter needed to improve her English for her academic needs.

The study shows that using move on and CS strategies indicate that an incongruence in some of Saudi student mothers' declared language ideologies and their actual language practices; and between their desires to raise their children bilingually and using a bilingual strategy that is ineffective in enhancing bilingualism among children, because parents do not encourage them to use target language (King & Logan-Terry, 2008; Lanza, 2004). This can be interpreted as parents sometimes use specific patterns of language choice without 250 realising that these are influenced by the topic, along with the children's language choice and any resistance towards its use. This may lead to language practices conflicting with parents' language ideologies. The child agency could play a role in influencing their mothers to switch to the majority language. Many studies reported the same results (Canagarajah, 2008; Fogle & King, 2013; Luykx, 2005; Revis, 2019). This finding is similar to Lanza's (2004) study, which found that, despite the parents' declaration of using OPOL at home, they codeswitch when involved in the conversation with their children.

The incongruence between the mothers' declared language ideologies and their actual language practices was also influenced by their children's language agency (Fogle, 2012). Fogle (2012) noted that children as active socialisers play a critical role in shaping FLP. The majority of the children in this study used

English, in line with their own language preferences, but contradicting that of their parents. It was through negotiating their language preferences with their mothers' language strategies that they could establish a pattern of language use (Smith-Christmas, 2021a) that is linked to their language preference, English, and consequently reshaping their mothers' language practices. The study shows that children's social interactions outside the home, especially in school and with friends, exert a considerable influence on their language use and attitudes, which often enhances the use of the majority language in the home (Fogle, 2012). However, the differences in language preferences between parents and children can lead to conflict, resulting in FLP being reconstructed by both parents and children (King et al., 2008; Palviainen & Boyd, 2013). Pauwels (2008) asserted that school-age children are particularly prone to language shift if the school only uses English, with previous research highlighting a shift from the home language in response to pressures to assimilate from the dominant group (Caldas, 2006; Hornberger, 2002; Zhang, 2004).

The findings from the audio recordings revealed that, in many situations, the children chose the language used for communication at home. This agency was recognised by the mothers and can be attributed to language socialisation processes extending beyond the home to children's participation in school and the community (Duff, 2014). For instance, Sara and Layla, reported their awareness of the influence of their children's agency in determining the family's use of English. This influence led Sara to experience difficulties in committing to her FLP, resulting in accepting the use of English at home. Layla's children also resisted speaking Arabic. Resistance to using Arabic in these families was an example of children's language agency. The study found that children's agencies also appeared in the Saudi families in the form of sociocultural and linguistic mediators (Revis, 2019). The mothers reported many instances where their children corrected their pronunciation, as in Lina and Eman, or explained the meaning of some new vocabulary in everyday English or teaching their Arabic-only speaking parent to speak some words in English, as in Taif's family. The finding of the study indicates the powerful and different forms of agencies children adopt in transnational families.

The study shows that the interaction between siblings also influences parental language choice. In all the families, the siblings' interactions took place primarily in English, with some codeswitching, according to the children's preference, while older siblings were found to be influential on the language use of younger children (Caldas & Caron-Caldas, 2000). For example, In Lina's family, Heba was more open to using English with her younger sibling, Anas. Similarly, Marwa used English with her younger siblings, Hisham and Rami. This finding is consistent with Kheirkhah and Cekaite (2018) who reported that, during siblings' interactions in an Iranian immigrant family in Sweden, children used Swedish with each other which may lead to language shift. They also reported the different role siblings perform like providing language instructions to each other. However, not all siblings' interactions enhance the use of majority language at home. In the case of Taif, Yusuf, her older son, preferred to use Arabic even enforced his younger sibling, Nada, to use Arabic. He became a factor that reinforced the use of Arabic at home and to communicate within the family. Yusuf's attitudes can be interpreted by his different language experiences and his AOA (Kheirkhah & Cekaite, 2018).

They also reported that different siblings go through different language experiences in the host country, which made them form their different identities and language preferences. Moreover, studies have identified that older children are expected to be more engaged with parents, and so have greater potential to use the minority language than younger siblings (Barron-Hauwaert, 2011b). Similar findings in Parada's (2013) work who found that Spanish mothers in USA used their minority language with their eldest children, while using the majority language with younger children in responding to their language preferences and linguistic needs. Therefore, children go through different language experiences, and this is reflected in their language practices and preferences at home. Previous research has stressed the importance of the impact of siblings on family language practices and home language management (Baker, 2011; Schwartz, 2010), There are contradictory conceptions about the directions of the influence of the sibling interaction. Previous studies have shown that the older children are expected to be more

engaged with parents, and the potential to use the minority language is higher than younger siblings (Barron-Hauwaert, 2011). Spolsky (2009) stated that older children used the majority language at home with the family members and particularly their siblings. However, when older children entered the school, the chances to use the majority language with their siblings increased (Döpke, 1992). In this situation, children could contribute to language shifts in these families (Kheirkhah & Cekaite, 2018). Older siblings also play the role of the teacher. They sometimes teach the younger ones words in Arabic, like Mawra, Sara's elder daughter, trying to teach Hisham some words in Arabic. The social circle of children's friends also influenced the development of their discourse. For instance, Rahaf, Eman's daughter, had more English native speaker friends than her brother, Hatim, who had Arabic native speaker friends. Hence, Rahaf had more chances to speak English with her friends than Hatim. The children also interacted in English with their Saudi friends in the UK, potentially due to their ongoing exposure to English in school and their social environment (Fogle, 2013; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011).

6.6.2   Reading is a language learning practice.

Another common theme presented in relation to these six families is reading as a language learning practice, particular reading with children in both languages. The study also shows that when children read with their mothers in Arabic it is often associated with formal learning and Saudi curriculum books, while reading in English was associated with both formal learning and reading for leisure as extracurricular stories. This finding was consistent with Curdt-Christiansen and Morgia (2018) who found differences between three ethnic groups in the UK regarding the provision of the literacy resources, and their involvement in reading in HL with their children which were influenced to a great degree by their parental agency and the parents' language ideologies of the values of their HL. Saudi student mothers' parental agency and the Arabic cultural values, where reading was limited to Arabic homework, the Quran, and their past strict upbringing principles parents used to could play a role in the limited of their involvement in reading more in Arabic with their children.

Most of the children preferred reading in English, possibly influenced by reading English stories at school. When they first arrived, the mothers also wished their children to read English, in order to assure their academic development in British schools. On the other hand, reading in Arabic was limited and generally took place only during the weekends. Thus, schools can be seen as an external factor influencing Saudi student families' reading preferences and practice (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016). On the other hand, the children in more than one instance resisted reading in Arabic. The audio recordings demonstrate that these Saudi student families tended to read in English for enjoyment and leisure, with the children being competent and independent. Arabic, on the other hand was reserved for Arabic homework, or reading the Quran or the Saudi curriculum. Moreover, the mothers employed formal methods of reading Arabic, acquired from their parents and their own educational experiences. This limited the children's enjoyment when learning, and consequently their willingness to read in Arabic and learn the language. This finding is consistent with that of Kopeliovich (2010), who found that mothers' implementation of strict rules with their children requiring them to use the HL at home was ineffective. Similarly, Alzahrani (2020) reported that Arabic bilingual families in the USA encountered resistance from their children with regard to reading in Arabic, because doing so was always associated with formal learning, whereas they read English books independently and for leisure purposes. This study indicates that lack of enjoyment when reading Arabic books may cause children to prefer to read English rather than Arabic.

6.6.3 Annual visits to SA, communication with extended families and relatives' visits

As noted above, all six families took annual holidays in SA, including visits to extended family, which proved critical for maintaining their children's fluency in Arabic and familiarity with Arabic culture (Pauwels, 2005; Curdt-Christiansen, 2013a; Okita, 2002). This practice is in line with the mothers' language ideologies about the importance of keeping a cohesive relationship with the extended families back in SA. This finding also supports the finding of other studies. For example, Langager (2010) who found that the children in

transnational Japanese families improve their academic skills in Japanese during their summer holiday in Japan as they receive immediate feedback from their peers. In addition, a study by Bahhari (2020) found that Saudi student families in Australia benefited from a summer holiday visit to SA to immerse their children in the Saudi community and extended families. Moreover, children easily acquire the register of their peers. Sara, Lina and Razan noted that they considered the annual visit to SA as an indicator to identify their children's level in Arabic, including their fluency in speaking with their peers and cousins, enabling the mothers to adjust the Arabic lessons for their children on returning to the UK.

Some of the Saudi student families also received visits from their families during their residence in the UK, which helped to reinforce the Arabic language and culture and provided a meaningful context of communication in the language for their children (Hua & Wei, 2016c). However, this depended on the English competence of the visitor, with the children conversing in Arabic with those who only spoke Arabic and codeswitching with those with some knowledge of English. This finding supports previous work (Braun, 2012; Lee, 2021) During Eman's family conversations, her children used Arabic in the presence of their grandmother (who only speaks Arabic) and codeswitched in English in the presence of their cousins during their visit to the family in the UK.

6.6.4   Summary of the language practices themes

All of the above practices were frequently used by the Saudi student families, including bilingual strategies, holiday and relatives' visits and reading practices were common practices in Saudi student families. The patterns of language use were often co-constructed by family members, children and mothers through their daily negotiations, with the children's agency playing a critical role, alongside the external environment and extended families (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). Overall, this study found a level of incongruence between the bilingual strategies of some Saudi student mothers and their language ideologies. The most common bilingual strategies used by mothers were move on and

codeswitching, promoting the use of English in the home domain, and so resulting in a transnational context to language shift. Reading for leisure was identified as enhancing the use of English, with Arabic being associated with formal learning and strict principles.

The study found that literacy practices associated with leisure resulted in improved language outcomes for the children; while the families' visits to SA, and visits from extended family to the UK, provided a rich atmosphere for the children to use the Arabic language and understand Arabic culture, congruent with mothers' language ideology of maintaining the Arabic language

6.7 Saudi student mothers' language management

The following section discusses the dominant language management strategies used by the Saudi student mothers in this study, and whose importance lies in their ability to be used by parents to modify their children's language practices and ideologies (Spolsky, 2009). Therefore, this section answers the third question in this study, which sought to: "*identify the language management strategies used by Saudi student mothers to align their family language practices with their ideologies, and how their children respond to these strategies*".

Table 6-3 highlights the themes tabulated and compared, in order to identify the most and least common themes of language management strategies across these six families, as obtained from the interviews, audio recordings.

6.7.1 Arabic home-schooling

The most common management strategy in all families was "***Arabic schooling at home***". The study found that Saudi student mothers provided Arabic home-schooling to modify their children's language practices and enhance their parental language ideologies about the importance of formal Arabic for education in SA after return.

Table 6-3   Cross-analysis of Saudi student mothers' language management strategies

Layla	Sara	Eman	Razan	Taif	Lina
Closing Saudi schools and shortage of Arabic resources	Consistent early Arabic home schooling	Early intensive Arabic and religion lessons and children resistance	Teaching Arabic is mother's responsibility	Arabic lessons are a strategy to reduce the pressure of Taif's responsibility.	Arabic lessons at home & shortage of Arabic resources
Layla's role in managing the language use at home	Challenges in teaching Arabic and children's resistance	Eman's past education and future expectations	Children's resistance to learning Arabic	Technology reinforced the use of Arabic Saudi dialects.	Using technology to reinforce the use of Arabic
Children's resistance to using Arabic at home/ shortage of educational support for teaching Arabic	Sara's Arabic teaching strategies		Past experience and key person advice	past educational experiences and future expectations	

Formal language education and teaching children literacy skills proves to lead to higher language maintenance among children than learning only oral skills (Al-Sahafi & Barkhuizen, 2006). The mothers took sole responsibility and commitment in providing Arabic literacy resources and materials to their children. Similar findings in Said (2021) found that Arabic families in the UK put much effort in providing Arabic literacy to their children despite the challenges they faced in affording Arabic materials and teaching two versions of Arabic MSA and everyday Arabic.

Their efforts influence their children's language practices in the home domain. Razan enrolled her daughter, Jana, in formal Arabic lessons after noticing Jana's increased use of English and decrease in using the Arabic language. For example, Sara, who seemed to be more committed, was more satisfied with her efforts in teaching Arabic. Similarly, Lina started enacting a strict rule of speaking Arabic at home besides putting more effort to obtain Arabic resources from SA to teach her children Arabic after her children display signs of language shift.

However, as children and parents are influenced by broader economic and social factors (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016), tensions may arise, and parents' language management strategies may contradict their language ideologies. For example, Eman had to make a decision to let her son, Hatim, quit Arabic lessons to prepare for more urgent needs in the UK, i.e. his academic progress in GCSEs. The planning to enrol children in international schools in SA, as reported by Taif, Eman, Razan and Layla, show the alignment between language management strategies and parents' language ideologies of the importance of English as linguistic capital.

The study found that Saudi student mothers varied in their parental agency or 'impact beliefs' (de Houwer, 1999b), which may reflect their varied aspirations for their children's future (Curdt-Christiansen & Wang, 2018). Parental agency was a very influential factor for parents to be involved in the language management of their children through providing rich linguistic materials for HL. The higher the parents' impact belief, the more the parents were involved in

language literacy. For instance, Eman was not satisfied with the private Arabic lessons her children enrolled in and so started teaching Quran to her children and making them understand Islamic principles by herself. Thus, her strong impact belief made her follow a language management strategy that aligned with her language ideologies where she stated that Arabic is necessary to read the Quran and show Islamic identity

The mothers faced many challenges in providing formal Arabic teaching for their children. One of these challenges; the difficulty in finding Saudi weekend schools which provide the formal Arabic lessons and Saudi curriculum books after the Saudi government stopped funding these schools. The shortage of Arabic literacy materials was one of the challenges mothers faced mainly due to the schools' closure (Alzahrani, 2020; Said, 2021a). They expressed their dissatisfaction and the mothers took the complete responsibility of managing language teaching of their children by finding alternative Arabic materials and resources. This was done by either by providing Arabic home schooling themselves at the weekends or hiring a private Arabic tutor for their children with other Arabic children. However, the time allocated, and the form of home-schooling varied among the families, depending on the resources available, time and financial ability.

The study shows that consistency in teaching Arabic was another challenge Saudi student mothers faced due to their busy schedules as PhD students, lack of support and Arabic materials, and their children's resistance. The lack of consistency in teaching Arabic was expressed by some mothers, for instance, despite hiring a private tutor for teaching her children Arabic to increase their consistency in providing Arabic lessons; Layla was inconsistent due to her limited time and multiple tasks. This was also expressed by Lina, and both mothers were highly dissatisfied with the efforts they provided in teaching Arabic due to a lack of consistency. On the contrary, Sara was very consistent in giving Arabic lessons to her children, and this helped in developing her children's literacy skills and increased her feeling of satisfaction. The study found that the amount of support mothers received from the available network around them increased the consistency of providing Arabic learning, and

consequently their feelings of satisfaction. However, being consistent under the influence of child agency and external forces represented by school seems unrealistic and may lead to negative results and future disappointment (Okita, 2002).

Another challenge that student mothers faced in teaching Arabic is the need to handle both versions of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Amiyah. Some mothers find it very important to teach their children MSA as a medium of communication in Saudi schools and use it in writing and reading. The gap between formal Arabic learned in school and everyday Arabic used at home (Said, 2021a, 2021b; Spolsky, 2012), meant mothers and children faced difficulty in learning MSA as it is only used in formal situations. For example, Eman, who was aware of the education system back in SA, focused on teaching MSA to her children as it was important for writing. Similarly, Sara also stressed the importance of making her children understand daily speech and simple versions of Arabic. Taif highlighted the challenge of teaching her children MSA. However, it hard to claim that MSA hinders Arabic children's language development in their HL, further research in this field is needed.

6.7.2 Children's language resistance

However, some children may comply with their parents' language use and even enhance the use of HL, as in Taif's family. This finding is consistent with Said (2021) who found that children used their agency to support their mothers in teaching their younger siblings their minority language.

The study found that children's resistance has great impact on Saudi student mothers' language management strategies and the degree of their involvement in managing their children's languages. Children's agency in the form of resistance of non-compliance is a vital factor in maintaining home language (Fogle, 2012; Smith-Christmas, 2021)

The Saudi student families considered their children's resistance to learning Arabic as a hurdle in HL managing language at home. The majority of children resisted their mothers' efforts in teaching Arabic within the home while living in

the UK because Arabic is not the societal language, and meant additional work. Children preferred English over Arabic because it was the language of socialising with the wider community in the UK, including their peers (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984; Revis, 2019). On the contrary, parents could not apply this to Arabic while living in the UK, as the children hardly found a meaningful context to use Arabic. Even when children mingle with their Arabic peers in the UK, all children speak with each other in English. This finding is consistent with previous studies. For example, Gafaranga (2010) found that children of bilingual families in Belgium showed resistance to speak the minority language, Kinyarawanda. On the contrary they kept responding to their parents in the majority language French and even influenced their parents by switching to French.

The study also indicates the conflicts Saudi student mothers experience trying to balance the need to keep up with the school requirements through helping their children by improving their English language and at the same time maintaining their Arabic language and identity. However, the influence of societal forces on family language management increased through the children's agency (Fogle & King, 2013; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984) which considered a window for the societal forces to enter the home domain, and through the children-parent negotiations of the language preferences and strategies at home (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020) that FLP shaped. In a transnational context, children become more active agent than parents, as they often have better access to certain linguistic resources through school while their parents have less access to the same resources. This gives children a powerful agency in providing linguistic information and socialising their parents into new language skills (Fogle & King, 2013; Luykx, 2005). The parents-children dynamics and conflicts were captured in Razan's family's conversations whose children resisted learning and reading Arabic and considered it as an additional load of homework. Similarly, Eman stated in the interview how her children feel pressured when doing Arabic homework. Thus, the study suggests that the children prioritise English as it is the language of school and societal community and resist Arabic, finding Arabic homework extra dull work. This

observation is aligned with previous research where it was discussed that children also play an agentive role in construction FLP and shaping language beliefs of their own, specifically, school-aged children who are often in the process of forming their own beliefs of language and language users (Morren López, 2012; Palviainen & Boyd, 2013).

Children's resistance could contribute to the contradiction between parents' declared language ideologies and their actual language practices. It is through the language management strategies and formal education in HL that parents implement at home they may enhance their language ideologies and transmit L1 to their children (Baker, 2011).

Saudi student mothers manage some language management strategies to enhance Arabic language and identity among their children, and provide meaningful context for using Arabic, for instance, socialising with other Arabs in the UK, annual holiday to SA, virtual communication with extended families (Barkhuizen, 2006; Said, 2021b; Schwartz, 2010). Saudi student mothers provided different literacy activities and teaching strategies and materials to entice children to learn Arabic. These strategies proved to influence children's language preference and reduced their resistance to Arabic. For instance, Sara tried to use more visual aids like a board for explaining Arabic stories and words. She also used a timer to create a competition in Arabic lessons between her children to make them more involved. Sara stated in her interview her children's resistance towards Arabic decreased by being consistent in providing regular Arabic lessons, which reflected positively on her feeling of satisfaction.

Surprisingly, the explicit discussion with children and increasing their awareness about parental language ideologies and importance of HL was one the strategies mothers used to reduce children's resistance and increase their willingness to learn Arabic. For example, Sara explained to her daughter, Marwa, the language practices expected at home, and the topics of Arabic lessons planned to be learned which makes Marwa easily comply with her mothers' language practices and ideologies. Thus, the study found that not only the mother's HL language knowledge ensures the consistency of HL literacy (Said, 2021a) but

also children's HL knowledge helps in reducing their resistance to learn HL and co-operate with parents in ensuring consistency HL literacy.

Although children resisted using Arabic, there were some occasions when children's agency comply with Saudi student mothers' declared ideologies (Smith-Christmas, 2021). For example, In Layla's family conversation, she encouraged her children to use Arabic terms pragmatically, such as 'thank you' or saying 'blessing you' in Arabic, and they were glad to repeat after her, and Layla responded with a satisfactory reaction.

Moreover, children's AOA plays a very important role; the older the children when arriving in the UK, the more resistant to the societal language and more associated with their HL (Schwartz, 2010). This was observed in the case of Yusuf, Taif's older son, who was supportive of using Arabic in family and was proud of his Arabic identity and culture.

6.7.3 Employing technology to reinforce Arabic use and culture.

The families' language practices were also developed by social media, games, TV, YouTube and other digital technologies. The majority of the children consumed social media, TV and video games in English. Sara, Layla, Razan and Eman reported that their children preferred English programmes to those in Arabic, sometimes even resisting watching Arabic programmes. The study reveals that children employed their own agency when determining their preferred language when it came to their digital experience, which also contradicted their mothers' wish to enhance the use of the Arabic language at home. When using digital technology, mothers revealed an incongruence between their daily language practices and language management strategies. This was demonstrated in Taif's family. Despite her declaration that she only uses Arabic in the home, the family conversations revealed many instances of her children watching TV programmes in English. Her elder son, Yusuf, watched Saudi YouTube channels, which Taif felt helped to improve his understanding of Saudi culture, Arabic manners, and dialects and values. However, her daughter, Nada, preferred English YouTube channels, possibly due to the lack of Saudi YouTube programmes designed to be attractive to girls,

and she enjoyed learning and singing English nursery rhymes to her younger brother, Yazeed. The mothers were involved in their children's digital choices, but the children appeared to control the language employed. For instance, Layla was often heard watching English television, while on one occasion Razan allowed her children to use their English YouTube channels without any intervention. Some mothers, such as Layla, referred to the reason for the children's lack of interest in Arabic programmes as the attractiveness of digital programmes in English, and the poor quality of those in Arabic, although others did state that their children enjoyed Arabic content.

The study also reported that the parents' conscious decisions when selecting the type of digital programs their children watch would be more helpful in achieving their language ideologies. Saudi student mothers when managing the digital practices at home can be divided into two types: Some families (such as those of Layla, Taif and Eman) were recorded watching English TV channels during family conversations and imposed no restrictions. By contrast, Lina and Sara had strict rules for selecting digital programmes to support their HL, including Arabic educational websites to help their children learn Arabic, read the Quran and learn the Arabic alphabet. They also set specific times and rules for their children with regard to watching TV or other social media. This is demonstrated by one of Lina's family conversations, in which she refused to give her son, Anas, permission to use his iPad and to buy him a Fortnite game.

As with many families, the mothers in this study made intentional and unintentional use of digital technology for the purpose of teaching their children Arabic (McDougall et al., 2018). However, some mothers showed a greater measure of control over the use of technology at home. Lina reported using technology to teach her children the Quran, the Arabic alphabet and songs, favouring Arabic-learning websites with songs and letters as well as Quran websites. She also enforced some restrictions on the use of technology, as was captured during the family's conversations. For example when Lina refused to allow Anas to use his iPad. Other mothers showed inconsistent use of digital technology for supporting the HL. For instance, Taif used digital devices to support the Saudi dialect by watching Saudi YouTubers, but at the same time

she also watched English TV programmes, thereby undermining her language policy of speaking only Arabic at home. However, the most common use of digital devices among the Saudi student mothers was for teaching their children the Quran. This can be explained by the fact that the Quran requires accurate pronunciation, which was facilitated by the oral input provided via these digital devices. Similarly, Said (2021b) found that Arabic families in the UK used digital devices to facilitate their children's acquisition of Arabic literacy and oral skills.

Previous studies have found that transnational families benefit from digital technology and social media, particularly Skype, which has created an online context for communicating with extended family members and maintaining transnational networks (Androutsopoulos & Lexander, 2021; Said, 2021b; Bahhari, 2020), so helping to maintain HL (Said, 2021b). The Saudi student mothers in the current research also reported their use of digital communication to maintain a cohesive relationship with extended families, with Jana, Razan's daughter, recorded contacting her auntie in SA to chat with her in Arabic.

This study concludes that there remains a need for additional research into the influence of different social media and technologies on children's language learning and transnational families' communications and practices (King & Lanza, 2019; Palviainen & Kędra, 2020).

6.7.4   Past experiences and future expectations

This study found that the Saudi student mothers' former experiences and future expectations contributed to shaping their language ideologies (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009b; Hua & Wei, 2016) as well as their decisions concerning their children's language learning. The Saudi student mothers in this study were assisted by their previous educational experiences, as well as those of friends and relatives, to draw up a clear plan and establish language management strategies (King et al., 2008; Nakamura, 2016). Parental aspirations can also dedicate their future plans to their children's language development, particularly in light of their eventual return to SA. This aligns with the findings reported in a number of previous studies (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; King & Fogle, 2006;

Okita, 2002; Yamamoto, 1995; King et al., 2008).

The study found that Saudi mothers' previous experiences may influence their decisions about maintaining or abandoning a specific language (Schwartz, 2010). Some parents may have negative experiences that impede their learning of the minority language. One of the mothers, Layla, had a negative prior educational experience, which was associated with L1, and made her language ideologies and attitudes towards Arabic negative while also encouraging her to admire the English culture and British educational system.

These results reflect those of Tannenbaum (2005), who found that some immigrant parents abandoned the use of their L1 with their children as a way of detaching themselves from past negative experiences in their home country. Some mothers benefitted from their language experiences and linguistic knowledge while living abroad for their master's degrees, as was the case for Sara and Lina, and others from other families' language experiences. Both types of mothers' attitudes towards language ideologies were clearly influenced by their previous language knowledge and educational experiences.

The Saudi student mothers reported many examples of learning lessons from the experience of their friends' or relatives with regard to maintaining the HL while living abroad. For example, Layla benefited from the advice provided by an older student to encourage her children to listen to the Quran at bedtime in order to enhance their Arabic language, along with memorising short suras from the Quran. Furthermore, Eman had help from former Saudi student mothers with enrolling her children in private Arabic lessons. Moreover, Lina reported that she benefited from her uncle's experience as a returnee when planning for her own return to SA. This finding is inconsistent with that of King and Fogle (2006), who found that parents' decisions about raising their children bilingually depend mainly on their personal experiences obtained from various bilingual resources and previous experiences that led them to build a positive concept about bilingual parenting. Similar findings reported in Curdt-Christiansen (2009) suggest that the high expectations and past experiences of Chinese parents in Québec played a critical role in supporting their children's

multilingual learning of French, English and Chinese as they consider learning these languages vital to their children's social development.

However, the study found that advice from schools and educators impacted the mothers' language management at home and could have exerted a negative influence on the children's HL. Razan and Eman followed this advice, with Eman suspending Arabic lessons for her son, Hatim, to allow him to focus on preparing for his GCSEs. Razan followed the advice of a nursery teacher to cease using Arabic with her younger daughter to address the issue of her speech delay. This is consistent with Bezcioglu- Göktolga and Yagmur (2018) who found that the aspirations of Turkish parents in the Netherlands and teachers' advice differ from teachers' expectations about parents' role in language use they used with their children at home. Alzahrani (2020) found that Arabic families in the USA needed to reconsider their language management strategies at home in light of school requirements. However, the role of schools in supporting minority languages remains unclear. Shin (2002) found discussions about parents' decisions regarding the choice of school, but not of schools' efforts to help minority languages (Schecter and Bayley, 1997; Shin, 2014). The connection between school/nursery and family language policy remains inconclusive and requires further research.

The Saudi student mothers' ideologies and aspirations regarding the benefits of bilingualism for their children influence their future language management. This led them to reconsider their future plans to adapt to a language policy that will suit their family after return. Most of the mothers planned to enrol their children in international schools upon their return to SA to keep the use of both languages and maintain a similar education to the British education system. This corresponds with the Saudi student mothers' intention to '*encourage bilingualism*' and "*appreciation of the English language."* On the other hand, Lina planned to enrol her children in a Saudi public school, which was aligned with her desire that her children be able to use the appropriate language for each context. The study found that parents' language expectations and aspirations for their children's future academic achievement were significant factors in shaping FLPs and determining their language management strategies. Similar findings

were reported by Curdt-Christiansen and Wang (2018), who found that Chinese parents' strong aspirations for their children's future influence their agency and strengthen their beliefs (de Houwer, 1999) leading them to manage their children's language development by providing a rich linguistic environment. In addition, Bahhari (2020) reported that some Saudi sojourning parents in Australia was less concerned about their children's HLM, as they intended to enrol their children in international schools, where the medium of education is English to support the transitional stage during which their children's Arabic language is developing.

6.8 Research limitations

One of the limitations of this research is that the findings from this sample cannot be generalised to other bi/multilingual sojourning families, due to these Saudi student mothers representing a very specific entity. However, the study indicates the importance of taking into consideration the type of transnational families, as this has an impact on parents' language attitudes, as well as the strictness of employing language management strategies serving parents' language ideologies.

A second limitation is that the mothers themselves selected and recorded the conversations. Although this strategy ensured privacy for the families, and ensured they were during their conversations, it is not possible to guarantee that the recordings covered all the family activities and practices. However, they were lengthy and included all family members, with children, contributing to the spontaneous action and reactions of the families' conversations. In addition, it should be recognised that it is impossible to determine whether the mothers changed their responses during the interviews or audio recordings for the purposes of social desirability. Nevertheless, this is an aspect of a qualitative study, which recognises that the role of the researchers is necessarily subjective.

A third limitation concerns my existing relationship with some participants. However, I included as many families as possible to reduce any bias in the analysis of their data and I found it an advantage when forming a strong relationship built on reciprocal respect. It was difficult recruiting Saudi student

families, as the audio recordings were considered an intrusion into their privacy. However, I reassured the mothers that they could record when they chose, particularly those wishing to avoid sensitive topics or unsure whether to including the fathers in the conversations (Timraz et al., 2017).

A fourth limitation is the withdrawal of some participants following their initial agreement. However, I understand that this was due to the time and effort expected of the families participating in my study, and the potential impact on their studies.

A fifth limitation concerns the differences between the structures of the families, the children's age and language levels, and other variables. However, this was expected and differences in rich data reflect a more realistic view of the phenomena. Moreover, it may help in understanding how such differences impact on FLP.

A final limitation relates to this being a multiple-case study, alongside the fact that the rich data provided by the six families was challenging to organise and present.

However, I feel this wealth of data has the advantage of extending my opportunities to understand as many different experiences as possible, including those of children and their growing identities (Bhabha, 2012). Moreover, rich data provides in-depth analysis, specific themes, and patterns that may lead to further research.

6.9 Recommendations for future research

This study examined language beliefs, practices, and management of six Saudi student families residing in the UK. Although the families shared a common background, they demonstrated subtle differences in their family structures. All have a minimum of two to three children, aged between five and ten, which can help understand the siblings' interactions and how these influence FLP. However, I feel that a focus on other age groups, and particularly teenagers, would further contribute to an understanding of FLP.

When it comes to future work, I suggest focusing on how technology and differing forms of media help shape FLP. Such a study would require a qualitative method to yield rich results.

1. **The father's role in shaping FLP**. This was outside the scope of my own study, due to my limited personal access to the families, as well as various cultural barriers. The father's role in FLP has been largely overlooked in previous research, possibly due to cultural values and the traditional roles assigned to fathers, i.e. economic support.

2. **FLP after returning to SA**. Many researchers have examined the changes in FLP after the sojourning families returned to their country. As seen in this study, some families have already set a language policy in advance of their return, and it would be beneficial to establish whether they follow the same predefined plan, or amend it, along with identifying the factors contributing to these changes. Such research would normally take place over a period of time and would so require a longitudinal study.

3. **Children's beliefs, resistance, and role in FLP**. Most current FLP studies focus on parents' beliefs and very few address the role of children (Schwartz, 2010; Fogle & King, 2013; Luykx, 2003). Such an investigation could be undertaken by interviewing parents and children, alongside audio recording their daily conversations.

6.10 Significance and implications

This study offers implications for sojourning mothers, as well as the educational sector, arising mainly from the interviews and audio recording of family conversations.

6.10.1 Theoretical Implications for parents

After much consideration, I have concluded that the practices of the parents in this study did not always reflect their beliefs. For example, although some of the Saudi student mothers believed in speaking only Arabic at home, they admitted that this policy was problematic to fully implement. Most mothers were aware of this aspect (Chatzidaki & Maligkoudi, 2013; Schwartz, 2008) but were overwhelmed with juggling their multiple tasks, including their higher studies. In the current study, the mothers showed individual responses to the challenges and tensions they faced. In addition, children were found to contribute to this

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tension through their agencies in form of resistance, or their negotiations with parents in relation to language preferences, practices and strategies, particularly as they were influenced by the societal community, which contradicted their FLPs.

This study identified inevitable tensions between parents, the community and the home language, along with pressures to simultaneously remain connect with their traditions and extended families and the host country. Furthermore, the parents were required to deal with the tensions arising from the dynamics between family members and their language preferences and agencies, which tend to be common in a transnational or immigrant context. I therefore consider that these tensions should form an aspect of understanding the negotiations of language practices between bi/multilingual family members. This is particularly significant as these negotiations, undertaken in various circumstances, helped parents to find more realistic language practice management strategies and to compromise when it came to their own ideal of a correct strategy.

The agency of both children and parents was also found to be influenced by various factors (i.e. education system, peers, friends, community and social gatherings). It was further impacted by a change of environment, which was identified as playing a highly critical role in altering the trajectory of agency for both children and mothers. For example, the children's agency changed from being active when in the host country (i.e. by resisting parents' FLP in maintaining HL, and showing more obedience), to being more in line with parents' FLP on their return to SA.

The current study provides in-depth and rich information concerning the dynamics of siblings' language preferences and agency, including how older siblings (who often receive more significant bilingual input from parents and the societal community) can determine the language use of younger children during their daily interactions, and can therefore support language socialisation at home (Fogle & King, 2013). In addition, this was found to increase as younger siblings entered the educational system, so underlining the shift towards the societal language. The number of siblings and their communication, which mostly took

place in English, was found to also contribute to children's agency in supporting the majority language in the domestic domain.

Interestingly, some of the children in this research demonstrated a tendency to learn and speak Arabic regardless of the language used by their siblings, showing that a child's individual personality is significant, particularly as a willingness to learn the minority language also encouraged the mothers to provide additional input. These dynamics have been underexplored in previous studies, which indicates a need for further research.

Most of the mothers in this study demonstrated considerable flexibility in accommodating their children's needs. However, they generally failed to explain their own language preferences, as well as the importance of Arabic for the family.

This study has demonstrated that the mother's role is critical in maintaining HL for children at home. However, it also highlighted that busy mothers need to juggle many responsibilities whilst maintaining their children's HL. It is therefore vital that the concept of being a good mother (i.e. one who takes sole responsibility) found in various cultures, including Arabic, is transformed. I consider it vital for other family's members to become involved in supporting mothers in an effective manner. In addition, parental responsibility should involve both parents, including when it comes to deciding and implementing their FLPs, so ensuring they are more effective and exert a stronger influence on their children.

Additional support for mothers, economically, socially, educationally and spiritually, will therefore increase their motivation and commitment to maintaining HL while residing abroad. The majority of the mothers in this study were found to be highly effective at preparing Arabic resources for their children, but tended to be inconsistent when it came to their use. This was largely due to their own busy schedules, combined with the children's resistance to learning Arabic. The study thus emphasises the need the set up strong networks, in order to provide bi/multilingual families with the support they require.

6.10.2 Pedagogical implications

Most of the mothers expressed their disappointment at the closure of the local Saudi weekend schools, although they had also been dissatisfied with the quality of teaching, due to the reliance on volunteers. This indicates that Saudi families sojourning in the UK would benefit from a more tailored Saudi curriculum for their children, in particular the use of online learning, which has proved to be successful in SA during the Covid-19 pandemic.

In addition, this study concludes that British schools need to be aware of the diversity of the backgrounds of their minority students, including recognising the importance of minority languages and using them during school activities, i.e. a diversity day for students to display their culture and language. The study also recommends that schools should encourage students from the same language background to support each other, both socially and academically. Furthermore, parents' evenings could be an excellent opportunity for the school to support bilingual parents, including offering advice from experts and information concerning trusted educational websites, or to set up forums for bilingual parents to exchange experiences.

Finally, this study suggests that Saudi policymakers in the field of education should take account of the relevant research relating to sojourning student families. For example, they could use Japanese transition programmes to prepare Saudi children returning to SA from a period overseas academically, socially, and emotionally before they enter (or re-enter) Saudi mainstream education.

7 Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

By adopting Splosky's (2004) theoretical model of language policy, Curdt-Christiansen's (2018) interdisciplinary framework of FLP, and the concept of child agency (Fogle & King, 2013; Luykx, 2003), this study sought to better understand the FLP of Saudi student sojourning families living in the UK, how the language socialisation processes were jointly co-constructed among the family members, particularly by the parents and children, and how these processes impacted their FLP. Specifically, this study explored Saudi student mothers' language ideologies regarding their home and societal language. It also investigated the ways in which the family members' daily interactions, including those of the children and extended family members, formed their language practices, a process that can sometimes cause tensions within the home domain, as each family member has different language preferences and practices. The role of children as active agents with the potential to contribute to these tensions was also considered. Finally, the study explored the language management strategies that the mothers used in handling these tensions, and in aligning between their language ideologies and language practices when confronted with their children's resistance, including considering the role of child agency in forming the FLP of Saudi student families.

7.2 Summary of the findings

This section summarises the findings produced by triangulating the multiple data sets obtained by the study, and from the cross-case analysis of the six study cases involved. The summaries are presented according to the study's research questions.

7.2.1 Research question 1: What are language ideologies do Saudi student mothers hold concerning their children's language learning?

This study found that the mothers involved demonstrated individual responses to the challenges they faced in language management in a transnational context. Their children were found to contribute to these challenges through their

resistance to their mother's management, or by introducing different societal practices and strategies that sometimes contradicted those of their mother. It was through the parent-child negotiations of these strategies that their FLP was formed.

Another interesting finding concerned the role of the older sibling, and how the societal community, represented by the children's school, shifted their language to the majority language, and how this influence became stronger as each sibling interacted with the outside community. In transnational families, children tend to have different language proficiencies, due to the degree of their willingness to learn a certain language, which is influenced greatly by their mother's reactions.

This study demonstrated that the parental language ideologies influenced the parents' decisions regarding the family's language practices and language management strategies, and that they associated different values with each language involved. For example, Arabic was associated with Arabic identity, Islamic religion, and communication with the extended family in Saudi Arabia, while English was considered to possess economic and educational value (Bourdieu, 1991) in the community in which they currently resided. A clear understanding of the global dominance of English, and the long-term benefits of English language competence, was highlighted by all mothers in this study. The impact of English as an international lingua franca therefore contributed to shaping the FLP.

Maintaining a cohesive relationship between the children and with the extended family, particularly the grandparents, was found to be the key motivating factor for the parents to maintain their children's Arabic language skills. Previous studies also emphasised the importance of heritage language maintenance (HLM) for family cohesion (Fillmore, 2000). The parents in the present study were aware of the negative impact of their children losing their Arabic language on their connection with the extended family in Saudi Arabia. Ensuring the continued connection with the home country was considered to be necessary as it would facilitate the family's transnational stage, and support the children's future employment, education, and other opportunities in their home country.

The Saudi student mothers showed flexibility in dealing with their children's negotiations for their language preferences. They did not seek to force their children to speak Arabic, which may have been due to their inclination to accommodate their children's language needs, as they may lack certain knowledge of specific Arabic vocabulary, and as they sought to create an emotional bond with their children.

However, this practice represents an obstacle to maintaining their children's home language.

The findings also suggested that the family members' daily interactions influenced the mothers' implicit language ideologies, although this would not be reflected in the children's language practices and would only be highlighted if the mothers discussed the importance of Arabic with their children explicitly, thereby raising their awareness of the matter. The study therefore demonstrated the importance of clear, open communications between parents and children for raising their awareness of the HL.

7.2.2   Research question 2: What are the language practices (Arabic-English or code- switching) in families, and to what extent are they in line with mothers' ideologies?

The second research question examined the language practices of the Saudi student mothers' family members. All the members of the families concerned varied in their language practices, and in the amount of Arabic or English they used at home, which was captured via the audio recorded conversations. The mothers predominantly used Arabic, or code-switched between Arabic and English, while the children predominately used English, but varied their language practice in their responses to their mother, with some responding in Arabic, while others employed English.

The majority of the siblings in the Saudi student families spoke with each other in English, suggesting that the children's agency became more powerful in school-aged children, who bring English home, as an influence of the external forces of the societal community, such as the education system, and the children's peers and friends. The study found that the impact of peers on the

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children's language use and preferences was significant in shifting their language to the majority language. The findings therefore indicated some incongruences between the parents' language ideologies and the family members' language practices, to which the children contributed through their child agency (Luykx, 2005). This highlighted the linguistic conflict between the home as a private domain, and school as a public domain (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013). However, the findings also suggested that some of the older children contradicted this general trend and were more willing to learn Arabic than their younger siblings.

The study's findings demonstrated the importance of considering the type of transitional family, which in the case of this study was sojourning student families, when investigating their FLP. The nature of a family's life, transnational connections, and the movement of the family members between Saudi Arabia and the UK created opportunities for the children's exposure to Arabic culture and use of the Arabic language, and the regular visits to Saudi Arabia during summer holidays enhanced the use of the Arabic language at home. As the participants were sojourning families, the study found that the need for re-adaptation, linguistically and socially, for the families' permanent return to Saudi Arabia, was a highly motivating factor for the mothers in maintaining Arabic for their children, and for retaining cohesive relations with the extended family members.

The findings also suggested that technology provided the parents with creative language practices that balanced their language ideologies within the circumstances of their context. The distance between these individuals and their home country, and their beliefs regarding the significance of retaining connections with the extended family, were found to be important for family cohesion, and made them dependent on digital communication tools for maintaining immediate contact with both the extended family members and for maintaining their HL.

Finally, the study indicated that it was the parents within this transnational context who were responsible for transmitting their HL to their children, as there

were few opportunities available for their children to use/learn Arabic at their UK schools.

7.2.3 Research question 3: What management strategies do mothers use to align family practices with their ideologies and how children respond.

This study found that all the mothers involved attempted to maintain the Arabic language at home by providing their children with reading materials in the language, and by promoting Arabic use at home by investing in Arabic home-schooling and the Saudi weekend school for their children. However, consistency in providing formal Arabic learning was a challenge, and some of the mothers were forced to cease their children's attendance at the Saudi weekend school, because government funding stopped, or due to the perceived poor quality of the Arabic teaching, the shortage of Arabic resources, or because of their children's urgent language needs, which meant it was necessary to prioritise their British school requirements over learning Arabic. The study found that consistency in providing HL support to the children reflected on the mothers' feelings of satisfaction, and on the willingness of their children to learn the HL. It also indicated that the amount of familial support that the transnational families received from the fathers, extended family, and friends contributed to the consistency of their children's HL learning and maintenance.

Moreover, the study found that the mothers demonstrated cognisance of the challenges they and their children faced in implanting formal Arabic learning, and the use of MSA for this purpose, and sought to balance the promotion of informal Arabic for social interactions at home, and that of MSA that would be necessary for the children's education when they returned to Saudi Arabia. However, the study also indicated that the additional workload of learning Arabic may have a negative effect on the children's willingness to learn Arabic, and on the mothers' motivation to maintain their Arabic, which may hinder the children's progress in learning the language.

Meanwhile, the study found that the advice provided by educators to bilingual parents regarding their children's language use at home influenced the parents' decision regarding their language use and FLP. For example, on the advice of an

educator that she use only one language with her younger daughter, one mother decided to prioritise using English over Arabic.

The children of these families also employed Arabic at their school, and one mother shared her daughter's positive experience of helping another Arabic student to understand English. She thereby worked as a language broker, assisting the teachers in conveying messages to the newcomer Arabic student until they settled at school, suggesting that the schools in the host country could have a critical role in promoting the use of the minority language, and in raising awareness of bi/multilingualism.

The mothers in this study inevitably demonstrated various individual responses to the challenges and tensions they faced between the community language and the HL. Their children, through their agency, contributed significantly to these challenges via their resistance, or via negotiations with their parents for their language preferences, practices, and strategies that were influenced by the societal community, and which may contradict those of their parents. Through these negotiations in different circumstances, the parents attempted to achieve a feasible, realistic language practice and management strategies to compromise the ideal language strategies they targeted. The study suggested that these different tensions within the home domain should be incorporated in understanding the negotiations of language practices between parents and children in bi/multilingual families, and when considering how these tensions shape or reshape FLP.

In summary, this study found that the participants' FLP was co-constructed through both the tensions that arose from the family members' negotiations for their individual and shared language ideologies, and through the influence of external forces. Child agency played a critical role in introducing these tensions to the home, as the children had their own language preferences and practices that sometimes differed from those of their parents. This finding indicated certain incongruences between the parents' language ideologies and the family members' language practices, to which the children contributed via their child agency (Luykx, 2005). In this transnational context, the parents' efforts to

manage the languages used at home for the purpose of their children's language learning were not consistent and showed certain incongruences between their declared language ideologies and language practices. The children's active agency in determining their language preferences, choices, and practices had the potential to constitute an obstacle in promoting the use of Arabic at home, a matter the parents sought to address through their language management strategies. The children's agency in these transnational families led the parents to be more flexible in their approach to the language used, facilitating a pattern of language use, such as mixing English and Arabic, which was convenient for both the parents and the children.

7.3   Contributions and implications

This study's findings, namely those resulting from the interviews with the mothers and the audio recordings of the families' conversations, provided implications for sojourning mothers and bilingual parents of minority groups, as well as making theoretical contributions and offering pedagogical implications for schools and governors in the education sector, as discussed below.

7.3.1   Theoretical contributions

This study contributed to the understanding of minority groups' FLP in general, and of sojourning families in particular, a group that is often overlooked in the research field of minority groups' FLP, as only a few previous studies investigated this matter in the context of the impact of the language of Japanese children and Korean children on the sojourning family (Langager, 2010). The rationale for choosing Saudi student sojourning families for the present study was to ensure their representation as a minority transnational group that may have different language experiences and backgrounds that influence their language attitudes and contribute to forming FLPs. As a family's pattern of transnationalism is specific, it may impact their FLP differently from that of other minority groups, therefore determining the type of transnational family concerned is important for understanding the impact of the parents' attitudes towards language practices and management strategies, for example, how maintaining connections with a strong network in the home country ensures the

maintenance of the HL.

This study was conducted within the current direction of FLP research, which has shifted from focusing on the outcomes of FLP to examining how family members' daily interactions and negotiations shaped their FLP (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013). The study also provided insights into the interplay between the power relations in FLP of sojourning student families and between minority and majority languages, which may explain why many sojourning student families decide to either maintain or abandon the minority language when residing in the host country.

The findings highlighted the importance of understanding the tensions arising from the interplay between the external forces of the societal community, and the internal forces within the home domain for revealing the dynamics of the family members' language preferences and practices, particularly those of the children, as they generate perceptions and actions that are simultaneously formed and forming. These dynamics should be considered when investigating the parent-child negotiations of transnational families for their language practices and preferences, and how these negotiations influence the formation of their FLP. Parents' language ideologies are generally associated with their traditions and cultural values, while children may form alternative language preferences and practices through their different experiences in the host country. It is therefore necessary to examine both the children's and the parents' language practices and management in light of the influence of the societal forces at play (Fogle & King, 2013).

Although previous research has discussed the dynamics of siblings' language preferences, the present study provided more detailed descriptions of these dynamics, and specifically the ways in which older siblings influence their younger siblings. This study also provided in-depth, rich information about siblings' dynamics in language preferences, namely how older siblings can determine their younger siblings' language use during their daily interactions. Older siblings often receive the most bilingual input from their parents and the societal community. However, over time, and when the children enter school in

the host country, older siblings can enhance the use of the societal language and influence their siblings; the more siblings attend school, the greater the shift to the societal language. However, this study suggested that some older children contradict this general trend, as some of the children in the study were more willing to learn Arabic than their younger siblings.

Meanwhile, some of the children learned and spoke Arabic, regardless of the language use of their siblings, and this study found that a child's personality and their mother's reactions played a role in determining the child's language preferences. The willingness of a child to learn the minority language encouraged their mother to provide more minority language input. This dynamic is currently underexplored and requires further research. Nevertheless, the findings of this study suggested that some children of transnational families may have significantly different language proficiency levels, due to their initial inclination to learn certain languages, and how their mother responds to their willingness to do so.

7.3.2   Pedagogical implications

Most of the mothers in this study expressed disappointment with the closure of a local Saudi weekend school with volunteer student teachers but were also dissatisfied with the quality of teaching at the schools. This implied that Saudi sojourning families in the UK would benefit from a tailored, well-planned Saudi curriculum for their children via online learning, as proved to be successful in Saudi Arabia during the Covid-19 pandemic.

Saudi policymakers should refer to the relevant research concerning sojourning student families, and for instance might employ the Japanese form of transition programmes to prepare Saudi children returnees academically, socially, and emotionally before they join mainstream education. This study emphasised the need to consider mothers' views of the type of support they receive in managing their children's language. Moreover, British schools should be aware of the diversity of minority students' backgrounds and enhance the importance of minority language utility in school through school activities. For example, by introducing a diversity day for students to display their culture and language and

encouraging students from the same language background to support each other socially and academically. The efforts of parents alone may not be sufficient without the educational and emotional support of schools, and parents' evenings present an opportunity for the school to lend this support by, for instance, providing bilingual parents with advice from experts or trusted educational websites, or introducing bilingual parents' forums where they can share their experiences.

In addition, the mothers of transnational families who face tensions between external and internal forces, and who experience pressure in determining the language used at home, would benefit from sharing these tensions through networking and co-parenting, and with educators and extended family members; indeed, this study emphasised the need for bi/multilingual families to have networks to provide the support needed.

7.4   Significance

This study contributed to the field of FLP by extending current knowledge to transnational families benefitting from the networks available to manage their language policy when abroad. It also provided insights into the challenges that sojourning families face when determining their FLP. Notably, Saudi sojourning families come from a monolingual national language education policy context. This study was novel because it involved a little-studied type of sojourning family, namely the student family, thereby contributing to the understanding of how small sojourning minority groups create new networks to maintain their HL, and to address their children's different language proficiencies.

The study also contributed to the understanding of children's beliefs, resistance, and role in FLP. Most previous FLP studies focused on parents' beliefs, and few addressed children's role in FLP (Fogle & King, 2013; Luykx, 2003; Schwartz, 2010). This study therefore contributed to the field of FLP research by exploring the daily interactions and negotiations within Saudi student families in a transnational context, and how such negotiations may hinder or transmit the HL. The findings illuminated how the contradictions in language ideologies between parents and children affect their language practices and management, and how

children co-construct the FLP through their children's agencies as a result of the external and internal forces they encounter.

7.5 Limitations of the study

Despite the rich data generated by this study, there were certain important limitations involved in the investigation of Saudi student sojourning families' FLPs that may inform future studies in this field. The small sample size of the study was specific in its entity and context, therefore the results cannot be generalised to other student sojourning families or bi/multilingual families, who may differ in terms of their family structure, country of residence, the purpose of their transnationalism, linguistic background, and differing experiences, and therefore different FLP. The study highlighted the importance of considering the type of transnational family concerned, and the purpose of their transnationalism, because this can impact the parents' language attitudes and their strictness in employing language management strategies, along with the parents' language ideologies.

A further limitation of this study was the limited timeframe involved; additional longitudinal studies would provide further insightful information into FLP. In addition, the study was also limited by its design, which was a multiple-case study, and by the number of families involved, namely six, as, while this provided rich data, it was challenging to organise and present in the analysis. Nevertheless, the rich data obtained broadened the understanding of many different experiences, including that of children and their developing identities (Bhabha, 1994), as well as providing material that enabled the production of an in-depth analysis, specific themes, and patterns that can engender further research.

In addition, only mothers participated in the interviews of this study, as it sought to explore their ideologies, and to gain information about the language experiences of Saudi student families in the UK. Focus group interviews with other family members, such as fathers, children, and other extended family members, may provide greater insights into their language views, and their role in shaping the FLP. In order to reduce this limitation, the study included other

family members in the at-home conversation audio recordings. Another limitation was that the data from these audio recordings was not able to reflect the actual practices and language management strategies, as the mothers controlled the recordings and may have been selective. The use of multiple data sets would help in triangulation and increase the data's validity.

7.6 Future directions for research/recommendation for future research

This study highlighted the need for further research examining sojourning families in different contexts, especially those in which the language of the host country has a less powerful status. Building on the findings of this study, future studies might explore how sojourning student families in different countries with a less-prestigious-status language manage the dynamics of their language preferences and practices. Future research might also consider children's beliefs, resistance, and roles in constructing FLP, as most existing FLP studies focused on those of parents (Schwartz, 2010; Fogle & King, 2013; Luykx, 2003). This might be addressed by interviewing parents and children and conducting audio recordings of their daily conversations.

Further research is also required to better understand the impact of mainstream schools in the UK, and the actual interactions between parents and teachers, on shaping sojourning transnational families' FLP. In addition, there is also a need for further research that examines the impact of the tensions between micro and macro forces on returnee families on reshaping and adjusting their FLP, and the role that child agency plays in this process. Many previous FLP studies addressed the matter of how FLP changes once sojourning families return to their country. As evidenced by the present study, some families establish a language policy in advance of their return, and it would be interesting to explore whether they follow this predefined plan, or amend it, and what factors contribute to these changes. A longitudinal study of this type would yield important results.

Future work might focus more on how technology and different media forms help to shape language practices in transnational families. Such a study would

require qualitative methods to yield rich results.

Finally, all the cases in this study lacked actual data from the fathers, due to the limited access to the families, and the cultural barriers involved. The father's role in FLP is often overlooked, due to the cultural values present, and to the traditional role assigned to fathers, such as being the providers of food and money for the family; consequently, only a few studies have addressed this issue. Therefore, in order to further the findings of this study, the father's role in shaping the FLP should be investigated.

8 Appendices

8.1   Appendix (A)

Information Page

Family Language Policies of Saudi Student Families in the UK: Challenges & Opportunities Regarding their Children's Bilingualism

Dear Parent

Maha Salem Othman is currently carrying out a research project about Family **'Language Policies of Saudi Student Families in the UK: Challenges & Opportunities Regarding their Children's Bilingualism.'** I would like to invite you and your children/ family to take part in this research project.

Before agreeing to take part, please read this information sheet carefully and let us know if anything is unclear or you would like further information.

Purpose of the study
The study is interested in language learning of English and Arabic among family members and looking how families support their kids' language learning during living in the UK.

What would this mean for you and your children/ family?

Your participation will be needed for five months, during which I will ask you to submit two monthly audio-recordings of conversations between you and your family and an audit form for a period of 4 months. After that in the fifth month, I will ask you to fill in a questionnaire and taking part in an interview with me. You are free to record your conversations with your child(ren)/family at home at the appropriate time for the following activities (lunch time, homework time, playtime, bedtime stories). This data will be useful for my research, I do not need you to prepare especially for it, just record when you want to. You are selected because you are a Saudi family living in the UK for the purposes of university study/work and you will return to Saudi Arabia soon.

If you have any queries or wish to clarify anything about the study, please feel free to contact me by email at: msho500@york.ac.uk or my supervisor by email at: fatma.said@york.ac.uk.

Participation is voluntary
Participation is optional. If you do decide to take part, you will be given a copy of this information sheet for your records and will be asked to complete a participant information form. If you change your mind at any point during the study, you will be able to withdraw your participation without having to provide a reason. Withdrawal can take place up to two weeks after the first data collection period (month 1 of the study). After that, it will be difficult for me to withdraw your data because I would have anonymised it and I will not know which data belongs to you.

Processing of your data

Family Language Policies of Saudi Student Families in the UK: Challenges & Opportunities Regarding their Children's Bilingualism

Consent Form

Please tick each box if you are happy to take part in this research.

I confirm that I have read and understood the information given to me about the above named research project and I understand that this will involve my children/family taking part as described above. ☐

I understand that the purpose of the research is to understand how the Saudi student families' support their kids in language learning (Arabic/English) while living in the UK ☐

I understand that data will be stored securely on a password-protected computer and only Maha Othman and Dr Fatma Said will have access to any identifiable data. ☐

I understand that my children's/family's identity will be protected by use of a pseudonym ☐

I understand that participation in this study is voluntary ☐

I understand that my data will not be identifiable and the data may be used …. ☐

    in publications that are mainly read by university academics ☐

    in presentations that are mainly attended by university academics ☐

    in publications that are mainly read by the public ☐

    in presentations that are mainly attended by the public ☐

I understand that my pseudonymised data could be used for future analysis or other purposes [e.g. research and teaching purposes] ☐

I understand that I can withdraw my data at any point during data collection and up to one month of starting the data collection after data is collected. ☐

I understand that my pseudonymised data can be stored indefinitely and used in the future for research purposes ☐

NAME_____

SIGNATURE_____

DATE_____

8.2 Appendix B

Researcher information: Name: Maha Salem Othman   Email: Msho500@york.ac.uk

Please contact me if you have any queries.
Thank you for all your help.

RECORDING REPORT FORM

Name of main respondent, and relationship to children (e.g. mother):
Email:
Phone number:

Number of participants who took part in the recordings:
Did the same participants take part in both recordings (please answer Yes or No):

First names and ages of children, and whether they took part in both recordings (please answer Yes or No):

Child 1 First name: Age (years & months):   Took part in both recordings:
Child 2 First name: Age (years & months):   Took part in both recordings:
Child 3 First name: Age (years & months):   Took part in both recordings:

First names of other family members who took part in the recordings, their relationship to the children (e.g. father/aunt/grandmother), and whether they took part in both recordings (please answer Yes or No):

Participant 1 First name: Relationship to the children: Took part in both recordings:
Participant 2 First name: Relationship to the children: Took part in both recordings:
Participant 3 First name: Relationship to the children: Took part in both recordings:

1

Please fill in the table below. You can expand the boxes as much as you need to give your responses. If you would like to make any further comments, please do so after the table.

	Date of the recording	Activity during the recording	Start and end of recording	Place where recording was made	First names of all participants (and any other names/ nicknames used in the recordings)
Recording 1			Start: End:		
Recording 2			Start: End:		
	Difficulties with recording	What were family members doing immediately before the recording?	What language(s) was/were being used immediately before the recording?	What did family members do immediately after the recording?	What language(s) was/were used immediately after the recording?
Recording 1					

2

8.3   Appendix C

Appendix C Families' background information forms

Table 1 Mothers' demographics

Mothers' demographics	Number of children	Presence of husband	Level of English	Qualification	Residence in the UK
Layla	Three	without	6	Education Management	Five years
Sara	Three	with	6.5	Linguistics	Four years
Razan	Two	without	7	Information System	Five years
Eman	Three	without	6	Biology	More than five years
Taif	Three	with	7	English Literature	Two years
Lina	Two	with	7.5	TESOL	Three years

Table 2 Family companions' demographics

Families' companions' demographics	Other adults at home	Language spoken	Language spoken with children
Layla	Nanny	Native English	English
Sara	Husband	Fluent English	Arabic usually
Razan	Grandfather	Arabic	Arabic always
Eman	None	none	none
Taif	Husband	Arabic only	Arabic always
Lina	Husband	very fluent	Arabic usually

Table 3 Children's demographics

Children's demographics	Mothers	Gender	Age	AOA	Level of English	Level of Arabic
Hajar	Layla	Female	More than ten years	Six years	Fluent	Fluent
Huda		Female	Eight years	Three years	Fluent	Not fluent
Fahd		Male	Five years	Less than three years	Fluent	Not fluent
Marwa	Sara	Female	Nine years	Five years	Fluent	Fluent
Hisham		Male	Six years	Less than three years	Fluent	Fluent
Rami		Male	Less than three years		Not fluent	Not fluent
Jana	Razan	Female	Nine years	Four years	Fluent	Fluent
Rana		Female	Five years	Less than three years	Fluent	Not fluent
Rahaf	Eman	Female	Nine years	Five years	Fluent	Fluent
Hatim		Male	Nine years	More than ten years	Fluent	Fluent
Rasheed		Male	More than ten years	More than ten years	Fluent	Fluent
Yusuf	Taif	Male	Nine years	Seven years	Not fluent	Fluent
Nada		Female	Eight years	Six years	Fluent	Fluent
Yazeed		Male	Less than three years	Less than three years	Not fluent	Not fluent
Heba	Lina	Female	Nine years	Seven years	Fluent	Fluent
Anas		Male	Six years	Four years	Fluent	Fluent

Table 4 Mothers' attitudes and feelings towards language use at home

Qs	Layla	Sara	Razan	Eman	Taif	Lina
Which language do you feel is important for your children to learn?	Both	Both	Both	Both	English	Both
How important is it for your children to speak ARABIC fluently?	Quite importa nt	Quite important	Very important	Quite importa nt	Very importan t	Very importan t
How important is it for your children to write ARABIC fluently?	Very importa nt	Quite important	Quite important	Quite importa nt	Quite importan t	Very importan t
How important is it for your children to read ARABIC fluently?	Very importa nt	Very important	Very important	Quite importa nt	Quite importan t	Very importan t
How important is it for your children to speak ENGLISH fluently?	Very importa nt	Quite important	Quite important	Quite importa nt	Neither importan t nor unimport ant	Very importan t
How important is it for your children to write ENGLISH fluently?	Very importa nt	Quite important	Quite important	Quite importa nt	Quite importan t	Very importan t
How important is it for your children to read ENGLISH fluently?	Very importa nt	Quite important	Quite important	Quite importa nt	Quite importan t	Very importan t

Table 5 Children's language preferences from their mothers' perceptions

Qs	Layla	Sara	Razan	Eman	Taif	Lina
Eldest Child - TV programmes	Both	Both	Both	Both	Arabic	Both
Eldest Child - Songs	Both	English	Both	Both	Arabic	Both
Eldest Child - Writing	Both	English	English	Both	Arabic	English
Eldest Child - Chatting with family members	Both	Both	Both	Both	Arabic	English
Eldest Child - Chatting with friends	Both	English	English	English	Arabic	English
Child 2 - TV programmes	English	Both	English	Both	English	Both
Child 2 - Songs	English	English	English	Both	English	Both
Child 2 - Writing	English	-	English	Both	English	English
Child 2 - Chatting with family members	English	Both	English	Both	English	English
Child 2 - Chatting with friends	English	English	English	English	English	English
Child 3 - TV programmes	English	Both	-	English	Both	-
Child 3 – Songs	English	Both	-	English	Both	-
Child 3 - Writing	English	-	-	English	Both	-
Child 3 - Chatting with family members	English	English	-	Both	Both	-
Child 3 - Chatting with friends	English	-	-	English	Both	-

8.4 Appendix D

Appendix E-2

Transcriptions conventions

(Adapted from Doing Conversational Analysis (Appendix), by P. ten Have, 1999, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.)

dh	ض
gh	غ
a'a	ع
kh	خ
h	ح
%tra	*English translation*
Bold	*Indicates switching from Arabic to English in the conversation*
[	*A single left bracket indicates the point of overlap onset*
]	*A single right bracket indicates the point at which an utterance part terminates vis-à-vis another*
=	*Equals signs, one at the end of one line and one at the beginning of a next, indicate no 'gap' between the two lines*
(.)	*A dot in parentheses indicates a tiny "gap" within or between utterances*
::	*Colons indicate prolongation of the immediately prior sound; multiple colons indicate a more prolonged sound*
Word	*Underscoring indicates some form of stress, via pitch, and/or amplitude*
WORD	*Uppercase indicates especially loud sounds relative to the surrounding talk*
XXX	*Indicates the transcriber's inability to hear what was said*
(( ))	*Double parentheses indicate the transcriber's descriptions rather than transcriptions*
Black font	original Arabic dialogue
Blue italic font	English translation
sic.	Incorrect grammar

°	indicates Arabic turn
*	Indicates English turn
Δ	indicates turn with CS

Appendix E: a sample of how initial codes were generated

This appendix details the sample codes as assigned to one interview and one audio recording, one audit form and one background questionnaire. Each group of themes related to one element of family language policy. Each category of data was analysed separately. Each component of FLP was assigned a colour so the codes could be traced back to a specific theme related to a single component of FLP across all four sets of data.

Language beliefs = Yellow highlight.   **Language practices** = purple highlight
  Language management = green highlight

Braun and Clarke (2006) thematic analysis stage two: generating initial codes
 (Codes of Layla's interview)

Snippet of Quotes	Codes
'I'm worried not because of their identity and all that stuff, I believe in identity, I believe that we can't force our children to stick to their basic identity. I can see that in my children, and it's true of all children who have lived in two different countries. You can't restrict children to just one identity only.'	-Open to dual identity, two languages and cultures -Negative attitudes towards monolingualism
my children speak English as their first language and Arabic as their second language, although it should be the other way around!	English is considered the first language
I feel that English has such a strong sense of logic,' & 'I feel that because of belongingness, they ask me in Arabic and speak Arabic, but the basic logic is British, and this for me is a good point, not bad.'	English is a language of logic, it offers an advantage
the children who speak two languages or more, or in fact those who speak English specifically, their characters are stronger and politer than those who speak only Arabic, '	English is stronger than Arabic Bilingualism is an advantage
'But what really worries me is bullying. Because they don't speak Arabic properly, they might become targets for bullying..'	Worries about children's lack of competence in Arabic
'I feel very tired because I need to do many things, because the education system isn't supportive and a lot of things are missing.'	Pressure to take responsibility for teaching her children Arabic
'Since returning to Saudi Arabia, I've become stricter with the children and force them to speak Arabic.'	Pressure to speak in Arabic with children in Saudi Arabia

'Actually, I use a mix of English and Arabic. '	Mother's interactions with children -Sibling interaction
'at home we didn't talk Arabic, because when they came back from school the children spoke English amongst themselves, and I was having difficulty communicating with them in Arabic.'	Chatting with peers Language use in school
'but there are no Arabic cartoons on Netflix, and now every house has got Netflix.'	Shortage of Arabic programs on TV
'Arabic-language programming for children is not of good quality, for example, my daughter likes watching programs on Netflix'	Low quality of Arabic program on TV
'we really need some guidance after closing Saudi schools, and even Arabic programs administered by the Saudi government, to protect/maintain the Arabic language, because whatever you do, whether you're a mother or a father, you won't be able to control the use of language at home'	-Closing Saudi schools -Shortage of Arabic programs and resources -Lack of support in Arabic maintenance
'No one has offered me any support.'	
' I decided , on my own as a mother , to , I'm doing it on my own . I 've started a daily schedule: the children read improve their Arabic a story every day and summarise it, and then memorise a verse of the Quran'	-Using a schedule -Reading Arabic stories -Memorising the Quran
'the challenges of learning Arabic are not only to do with pronunciation, but also vocabulary.	Arabic vocabulary is a challenge
When they came back from school the children spoke English amongst themselves, and I was having difficulty communicating with them in Arabic. I tried to force them, like other families did, to speak Arabic, but honestly, I couldn't do that,	-Children are resistant to using Arabic
'In fact, the challenges of learning Arabic are not only to do with pronunciation, but also vocabulary. They don't have the vocabulary'	- Challenges using Arabic vocabulary

This table presents sample codes that are assigned to a single audio recording. Each group of themes as related to one element of family language policy was assigned a colour, so that the codes could be traced back to a specific theme related to one component of FLP.

Sample of Layla family' s conversation

Snippet quotes	Codes
Hajar: **algebra]** = *	Influence of British schools
Huda: =**no she was like she was like oh you have to do a practice** ((she speaks like her teacher)) **but we have like many years [ahead of us and then we can do it like after one year:: ***	Siblings chatting in English
Hajar: **you only have one year ***	Siblings chat in English
Huda**: I know:: ***	Siblings chat in English
Hajar: **you have only a little bit Huda ***	Siblings use English
Huda: **I know but (.) I don't know why because I'm super bad at maths ***	
Layla: **why? ***	Children influence their mother's language choice
Huda: ((giggle)) **I do not [know ***	Siblings chat in English
Hajar: **it's actually] really hard even I find it hard*** (line 113 – 121)	Siblings chat in English

Layla's family audit form

Please fill in the table below. You can expand the boxes as much as you need to give your responses. If you would like to make any further comments, please do so after the table.

	Date of the recording	Activity during the recording	Start and end of recording	Place where recording was made	First names of all participants (and any other names/ nicknames used in the recordings)
Recording 1	1/04/2019	Having dinner	Start:4:00pm End: 4:30 pm	home	Layla- Mother Hajar, Huda & Fahd.
Recording 2	22/04/2019	Sitting together for tea	Start:12 End:12:30	Living room	Mother, Layla, Hajar, Huda & Fahd.
	Difficulties with recording	What were family members doing immediately before the recording?	What language(s) was/were being used immediately before the recording?	What did family members do immediately after the recording?	What language(s) was/were used immediately after the recording?

2

	Date of the recording	Activity during the recording	Start and end of recording	Place where recording was made	First names of all participants (and any other names/ nicknames used in the recordings)
Recording 1	none	Watching TV	Mixed	Playing	Mixed
Recording 2	none	Video games in English	Mixed	Having lunch	Mixed

Any further comments:

Codes of Layla's family Audit form

Information from audit forms	Codes
Family members' used a mixture of English and Arabic	Discourse strategies
Watching TV Video games in English	Technology reinforcing use of English

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Layla's background forms

Q62.
Which language do you feel is important for your children to learn?

- ○ Arabic
- ○ English
- ● both
- ○ none
- ○ I do not know

Q63. How important is it for your children to speak ENGLISH fluently?

- ● Extremely important
- ○ Very important
- ○ Neither important nor unimportant
- ○ Slightly important
- ○ Not at all important

Q64.
How important is it for your children to speak ARABIC fluently?

- ○ Extremely important
- ● Very important
- ○ Neither important nor unimportant
- ○ Slightly important
- ○ Not at all important

Q65. How important is it for your children to write ENGLISH fluently?

- ● Extremely important
- ○ Very important
- ○ Neither important nor unimportant
- ○ Slightly important
- ○ Not at all important

Q19. What language(s) do you speak with your child/children?

ENG = English   AR = Arabic

	ENG never/AR always	ENG rarely/AR usually	ENG and AR are equal	ENG usually/AR rarely	ENG almost always/AR almost never
Child1	○	◉	○	○	○
Child 2	○	◉	○	○	○
Child 3	◉	○	○	○	○

Q20.

What language(s) does your child/children speak with you?

ENG = English AR = Arabic

	ENG never/AR always	ENG rarely/AR usually	ENG and AR are equal	ENG usually/AR rarely	ENG almost always/AR almost never
Child1	◉	○	○	○	○
child 2	◉	○	○	○	○
child 3	◉	○	○	○	○

Q45. What school(s) does the child/children currently attend?

◉ British state schools

○ Arabic schools

○ Other type of schools [   ]

Q46. Does the child/children attend an Arabic-medium school?

○ Yes

◉ No

Q47. Does the child/children have lessons in Arabic language?

◉ Yes

○ No

Q48. If yes, how often do they have Arabic lesson per week?

◉ Once a week

○ Twice a week

○ Other [   ]

Codes of Layla family's background form

Information from background forms	Codes
Which language do you feel important for your children to learn? ==Both==	Encouraging bilingualism
How important is I for your children to speak English fluently? ==Extremely important==	English is extremely important
How important for you children to speak Arabic fluently? ==Very important==	Arabic is very important
How important for your children to write fluently? ==Extremely important==	English is extremely important
How Important for your children to write Arabic fluently? ==Extremely important==	Arabic is extremely important
What languages do you speak with your children? ==English never== ==Arabic always== What languages do your children speak with you? ==English never== ==Arabic always==	Arabic is always used among family members
Do the children attend an Arabic-medium school? ==No==	Unavailable at Arabic schools
Do the children have lessons in Arabic language? ==Yes==	Arabic private lessons at home
If yes, how often do they have Arabic lesson per week? ==Once a week==	Regular Arabic lessons

Appendix E-1: sample of search for themes

Braun and Clarke Thematic Analysis stage three: Searching for themes

This appendix presents samples of the third stage of thematic analysis: searching for themes. Samples showing searching for themes for the interview, audio recording, audit form and background questionnaire of one case study (Layla). Sample codes that are assigned to potential themes are colour coded and can therefore be traced back to the original data sources. A sample of potential themes is presented below showing each sample associated with its code(s).

Codes	Themes
-Open to dual identity, two languages and cultures	Encouraging multi-faceted identity and multilingualism
-Negative attitudes towards monolingualism	
-Encouraging bilingualism	
English is first language	
Arabic is very important in speaking	
English language of logic, an advantage	Admiration of English language and culture
English is stronger than Arabic	
Bilingualism is an advantage	
-English is extremely important in speaking	
Worries about children's lack of competence in Arabic.	Arabic is important to fit back into the Saudi community
Pressures to take the responsibility of teaching her children Arabic	
Returning to SA reinforce the use of Arabic	
Mother's interaction with children	Family members' discourse strategies
-Sibling interaction	
Family members' used a mixture of English and Arabic	
Chatting with peers	The influence of British school
Language use at school	
Lack of Arabic cartoons on Netflix	Social media and digital technology reinforcing the use of English
Poor quality Arabic program for children	
Watching TV in English	
Video games in English	
-Closing Saudi schools	Closing Saudi schools and a shortage of Arabic programs
-shortage of Arabic programs and resources	
lack of support in Arabic maintenance	
-Using schedule	Layla's role in managing the language use at home
-Reading Arabic stories	
-memorising Quran	
Arabic vocabulary is a challenge	

-Children resistance to use Arabic - Challenges to use Arabic vocabulary	Children's resistance to using Arabic at home

Language beliefs = Yellow highlight.   **Language practices** = purple highlight
   Language management = green highlight

Appendix E-3: Sample of reviewing themes

The appendix presents samples of the fourth stage of the thematic analysis; Reviewing themes. Sample of reviewed themes for the data set: interview, audio recording, audit form and background form are included. Excel spreadsheets were initially used at this stage to present the reviewed themes and associated codes. Mind maps in NVivo were then used to rearrange, modify and present reviewed themes. Number of codes were added and calculated manually.

1. Reviewing themes of Layla family's FLP in Excel sheet

Encouraging multi-faceted identity and multilingualism	1. Open to learning two languages and cultures	a. Open to dual identity	
	2. Arabic beliefs	a. Negative attitudes towards Arabic culture	a. Language barriers
			b. Need to develop through using logic and critical thinking
			c. Not an international language
			d. Conservative and conventional culture
			e. Has taboo topics
		b. Arabic is an emotional belongingness language	
		c. Negative attitudes towards monolingualism	
3. Admiring British culture, school education system & progress in knowledge		a. Considering English as her children's native language	
		b. English is logical language	a. Layla's children use the logic way of thinking
		c. English is language of knowledge	
		d. English is an advantage for Layla's children	
		e. English is easier for new generation	
		f. English is the	a. English a tool to convey

		language of freedom in speech	Layla's ideas
		g. English is stronger than Arabic	a. language of majority in the UK b.large information in internet is in English
	1.Language expectations about her children's need and ability influence Layla's family language	h. Layla perceived about her children's language culture and preferences	
The need to fit in the Saudi community when return to Saudi Arabia is a driving force to maintain Arabic	Layla's worries and pressure to take responsibility herself for her children's language learning	a. Tired of the many responsibilities on her shoulders	Teaching Arabic is her responsibility
		b. Layla's PhD studies limited her ability to support her children's language learning	Providing basic care for her children
		c. Satisfied with her parenting responsibilities	
	a. English is preferred for her children, Hajar uses CS and Huda prefers English		
Family members discourse strategies		a. Children's resistance	
		b. Layla used CS at home	a. Praise her children b. Tell her children off
		c. Peers and siblings' interactions	
Social media, games YouTube, songs and other technology reinforce the use of English		a. Lack of Arabic programs on Netflix and Arabic games	a. Poor content of new children's Arabic programs and songs b. Older Arabic programs were of high quality
		b. listening to Quran before children sleeping	a. Saudi friend's advice
		c. Layla's children watch YouTube and TV programs in English	
British community, school activities		a. The influence of British school	

		a. Layla worries of her children's language learning	a. Avoid bullying at school
returning to Saudi Arabia		b. Being in SA enhance Arabic learning	b. Increased children's willingness to learn Arabic
		c. Communicating with peers in SA	
		d. Layla used more Arabic at home	
		e. Most Saudi student returnees CS into English in SA	
		f. Saudi community criticises parents who speak English with their children	
Home school & closing Saudi schools			
		a. Hiring an Arabic teacher	
		b. Inconsistency when teaching Arabic	
		Inconsistencies in Arabic lessons	
		d. Children resistance to use Arabic at home	
		e. Late intervention to teach Arabic	a. Children's age influenced Layla's language teaching effort
Layla's role in managing the language use at home	Layla's teaching strategies	a. Arabic vocabulary is a challenge	
		b. Explain difficult English words in Arabic	
		c. Layla used CS in teaching her children Arabic	
		d. Future plan to improve Arabic	a. Reading Arabic story every day b. read Quran Everyday
the lack of educational support in teaching Arabic		a. Shortage of Arabic resources and the role of Saudi government abroad	

|		b. Receiving support for her children's education from British state school	
		c. Lack of support in teaching children Arabic	

Frequency table of Layla's FLP codes:

Layla's FLP and interpretations of the codes assigned to each theme

Layla's family language policy	Concept	Number of codes mentioned
Admiration of English Language and culture	Whenever the participants expressed the importance of English as a good skill, knowledge is beneficial economically and internationally.	32
Encouraging multi-faceted identity and multilingualism	Whenever participant showed negative attitudes towards monolingualism and positive attitudes towards bilingualism and dual identity.	19
Arabic is important to fit back into Saudi community in SA.	Whenever the participant expressed the importance of Arabic to the family upon return to Saudi Arabia	16
Family discourse strategies	Whenever the participants showed and expressed different uses of languages: codeswitching between English and Arabic, English with siblings, using Arabic and any other parental discourse strategies.	12
Social media and digital technology reinforcing the use of English	Whenever the participants showed or expressed their language use by family members in YouTube, TV in English without mother's intervention. On the other hand when the mother discussed the low quality of Arabic programs.	8
British schools influence on the children's language choices	Whenever the participant expressed the influence of British school on children's language use or mentioned the school activities	3
Closing Saudi schools and shortage in Arabic resources	Whenever the participants expressed the challenge of closing Saudi schools, lack of Arabic resources and challenges with consistency.	10
Layla's role in managing the language use at home	Other strategies the mother followed to assist her in teaching her children Arabic for instance reading Quran and teaching Arabic vocabulary.	6
Children's resistance to using Arabic at home and the mother's reaction	Whenever the participant expressed her inability to force her children to learn Arabic or read the Quran.	5

Language beliefs = yellow highlight **Language practices** = purple highlight
**Language management** = green highlight

2. Review of Layla's FLP in the form of a mind map
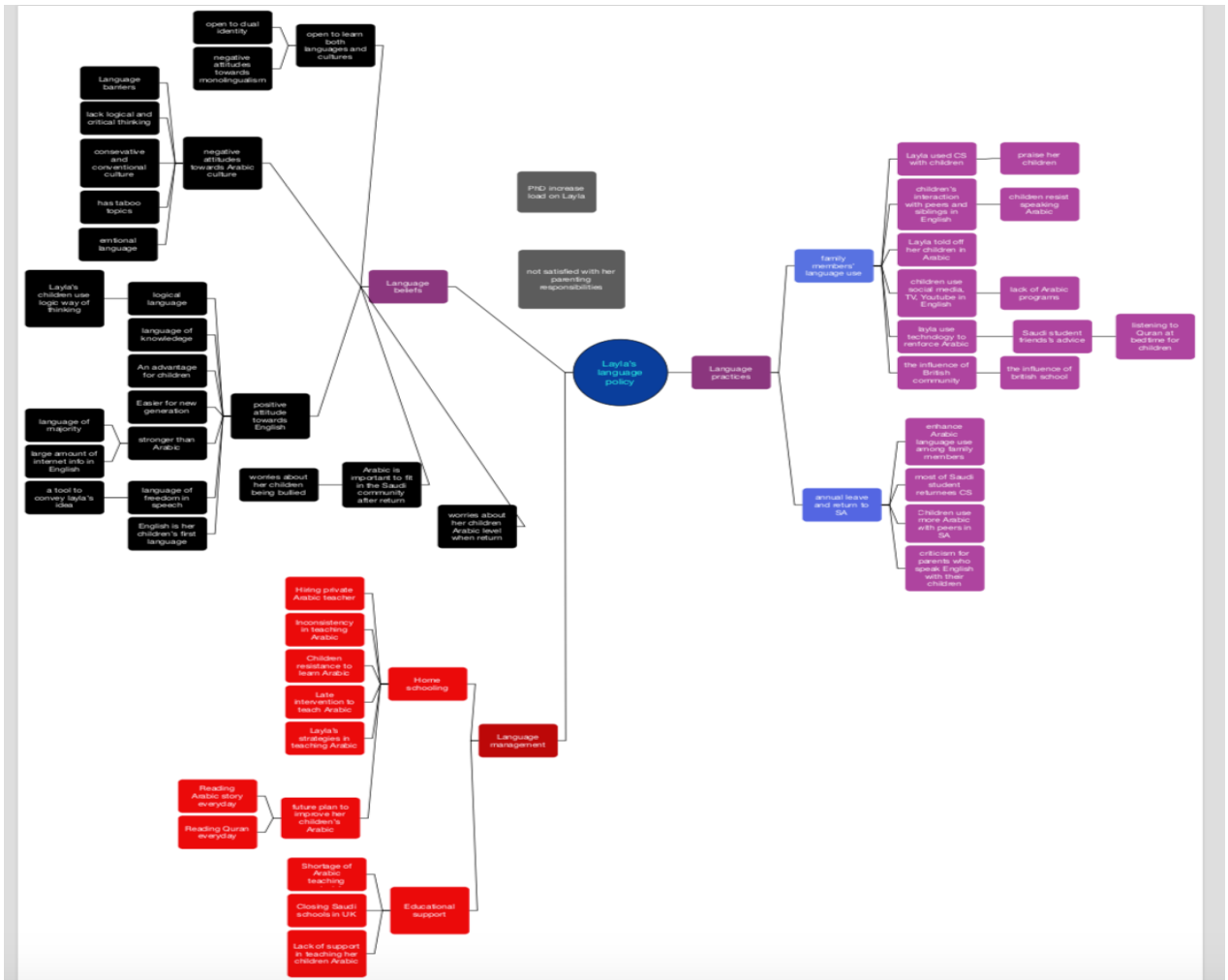
Appendix E-4: Sample of defining and naming themes

Braun and Clarke Thematic Analysis stage five: defining and naming themes

This appendix presents a sample of one theme defined and named as Layla's language beliefs. These samples depict how I continued to further refine themes before assigning clear names to each theme using the mind map.
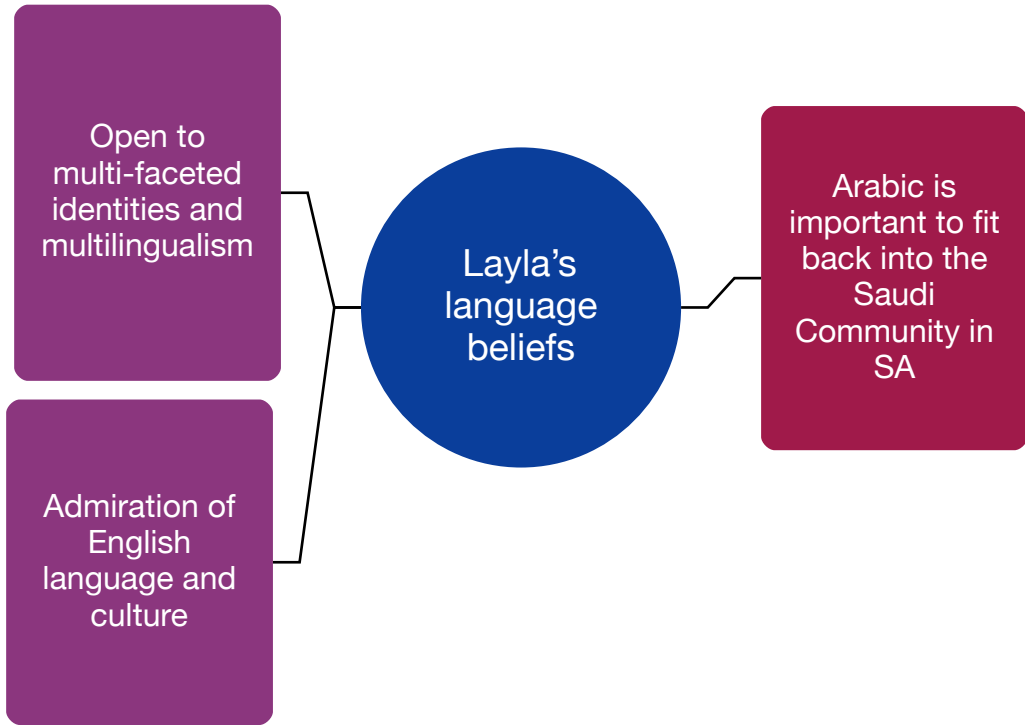
9 List of Abbreviations

ALEQ	Alberta Language Environment Questionnaire
AOA	Age of Arrival
BA	Bachelor of Art
CS	Code Switching
FLP	Family Language Policy
GCSE	General Secondary Education Certificate
GrandF	Grandfather
GrandM	Grandmother
HL	Home Language
HLA	Heritage language anxiety
HLM	Home language maintenance
HLs	Heritage languages
ICT	Information and communication technology
IELTS	International English Language Testing System
KASP	King Abdullah Scholarship Programme
L1	First language
L2	Second language
LS	Language Socialisation
Lx	Languages other than L1 and L2
MLA	Majority language Anxiety
mL@H	Minority Language-at-Home
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
OPOL	One Parent One Language

PDS	Parental discourse strategies
SA	Saudi Arabia
SE	Saudi Economy
SELEP	Saudi English Education Policies
TESOL	Teaching English Speakers of Other Languages
TOEFL	Test of English as a Foreign Language
UIS	Institute for Statistics
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
US	United States

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