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HERITAGE LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE, LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION, AND  
FAMILY LANGUAGE POLICY: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC CASE STUDY OF A  
TRILINGUAL FAMILY

A Dissertation Presented

by

Rosiane Barcelos de Oliveira

To be submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies,

University of Massachusetts Boston,

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

May 2024

Applied Linguistic Program

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## ABSTRACT

# HERITAGE LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE, LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION, AND FAMILY LANGUAGE POLICY: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC CASE STUDY OF A TRILINGUAL FAMILY

May 2024

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Today, about 350 languages are spoken and signed in the United States, many of which are heritage languages (HL). A HL is a language to which a speaker has an ethnic, historical, or sentimental connection. This dissertation reports on an ethnographic case study on the language and literacy socialization practices of one trilingual family (English, Spanish, Portuguese) in their efforts to maintain Portuguese as their HL. The analysis of data focuses on three themes: (1) HLM activities during their religious practices; (2) the emotions connected to HLM; and (3) the family's HLM practices when they travel to Brazil.

Through a qualitative analysis of participant observation fieldnotes, interviews, and video recorded interactions as the family engages in heritage language socialization practices at home, in their community, and during travel to visit extended family in Brazil, I examine

specific discourse strategies employed by the family in their maintenance efforts, giving attention to the linguistic, cultural, and religious ideologies that influence their communicative strategies.

The findings expand knowledge and increase awareness on the topic of language socialization, cultural assimilation, and family language policy (FLP) in connection with HLM since family language negotiation strategies exert an undeniable impact on the outcome of HLM. Finally, this contribution also highlights the need for HL families, and all involved in HLM to recognize the emotions, attitudes, and language ideologies of heritage language speakers to fully harness their knowledge and aspirations.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to a number of people who, to different degrees, made this dissertation possible. First, I would like to thank my mother, who represented an important reason for us to want to maintain Portuguese alive for our descendants in the United States; she intuitively knew a lot about the importance of maintaining a language – “*É a nossa raiz*” (It’s our root), she said. As I write this, I realize that some of the ideas presented in this dissertation and some of its writings were done at my mother’s bedside both in hospitals and at home in Brazil while she was sick. She left us too soon.

I am indebted to the Santos-Gomez family for their patience in allowing me to be a researcher among them. I thank Flavia in particular; she is committed to maintaining Portuguese as a heritage language. In my moments of doubt regarding the outcome of our HLM efforts at home, she reminded me that “*nós estamos plantando uma semente*” (we are planting a seed). I know that seeds take time to grow until they become trees to give us shade. HLM is such a seed.

I am immensely grateful to my friend Vera de Lima, her trust in this project and her encouragement to me were unwavering.

I am grateful to Professor Avary Carhill-Poza and Professor Corinne Etienne for their belief in my proposal to research a heritage language from the early stages when it was just an idea. Professor Carhill-Poza, thank you for your continuous guidance when it started to be more than an idea. I want to thank Professor Shulamit Kopeliovich for accepting my invitation to be a part of this project – your Happylingual framework first showed me that silliness in language holds great value; then it validates my own work.

Finally, I am deeply grateful to Professor Jennifer Sclafani. Her down-to-earth approach to academia and remarkable ability to “see beyond” the text, and to provoke critical thinking will, I hope, keep on inspiring me. Her joyful attitude kept me hopeful that I had something to say about heritage language through this dissertation. And I could not go without acknowledging her patience with my too-frequent shortcomings.

My deepest hope is that I will utilize what I have learned about language, about what languages do for us, and about the seriousness of maintaining languages alive to make my knowledge – and life – useful to others.

*A Deus toda glória.*



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# CHAPTER 1

## RESEARCH PROBLEMS AND QUESTIONS

### **1.1. Introduction**

My initial interest in heritage language maintenance (henceforth HLM) arose from my personal experiences as a member of a linguistic minority group. As a member of the Portuguese-speaking community on Cape Cod, Massachusetts, I have been afforded an insider's perspective into not only the processes of HLM but also the subjective experiences and conflicts that families experience in maintaining a heritage language in an English-dominant American community setting. I have witnessed firsthand both the inquisitiveness and anxiety of my friends and community members regarding the maintenance of Portuguese as their children's heritage language (henceforth HL). In my experience, I have come to understand the important role that HL transmitters' attitudes and personal experiences play in the communicative practices, linguistic choices, and language planning decisions of heritage language speakers, and especially the interplay between the affective stances, identities, and relationships that guide the HLM practices of family members.

When families immigrate to another country, they also cross "cultural, emotional, and behavioral boundaries" (Stavans & Ashkenazi, 2020, p. 3). Consequently, their lives and

roles change. Their language, usually a dominant one in the departing country, becomes a heritage language in the host country. Therefore, the involvement of parents in the maintenance of their HLs is a “complex and complicated phenomenon” (Brown, 2011, p. 36), which requires home language policies and planning, and conscious effort.

This study takes an ethnographic case-study approach to investigate the interplay of how these factors play out in one trilingual (Portuguese, Spanish, and English) family, the Santos-Gomez family (a full description of the family is presented in Chapter 3), by focusing on the language and literacy socialization practices they engage in within the family, in their community, and when they travel to visit extended family in Brazil. Through extended participant observation, interviews, and qualitative discourse analysis of audio/video recorded family interactions, this study seeks to answer these central research questions:

- 1) What discourse strategies are employed by the Santos-Gomez family in language and literacy socialization practices?
- 2) What linguistic, cultural, or religious ideologies influence these practices?
- 3) What are the explicit language planning initiatives made by family members with regard to the children’s HLs and English?
- 4) What is the family language policy that is instantiated through these practices, ideologies, and planning initiatives?

I proceed in this chapter by defining the central concepts and research frameworks that form the backbone of this study, including a definition of heritage language (2), family language policy (3), and HL as a human right (4). I conclude by highlighting the contribution

of this study to our understanding of the factors and processes of heritage language maintenance (5).

## 1.2. Defining Heritage Language

*Herança* (heritage), in Portuguese, implies, among other things, a gift - monetary or an estate - someone receives after the passing of another person, typically a relative. Therefore, *herança* primarily brings to mind the words *gift* and *death*. In terms of inheritance, as in HLM, death and gift are antagonistic words. For one, language must be alive to be passed on. The heritage language must be earned and not simply received as a gift because its maintenance takes work from the giver as well as from the receiver. Precisely the types of efforts that are put forward by HL families to maintain a HL alive have been a solid area of research in linguistics.

Though a relatively new subfield of applied linguistics, HLM research has been gaining attention in the last decade (Gravilidou & Mitits, 2019), in part due to its intrinsically sociocultural ramifications. HL practices are complex and entangled with social factors of identity formation, language socialization, and cultural and ethnic associations. In the words of He (2010), HL is sociocultural in nature “insofar as it is defined in terms of a group of people who speak it” (p. 66).

Scholars have not reached a consensus about a scientific definition of HL speakers. Terms such as *mother tongue*, *community language*, and *native language* are used in the U.S.

context interchangeably for HL, though their typologies may vary slightly. Cummins (2005) said that in the United States, HL refers to the languages of immigrant, refugee, and indigenous groups. Braun & Cline (2014) defined HL as one or more languages that the parents acquired as native languages in the society in which they were living when they were young (p. 3). For Lohndal, Rothman, & Westergaard (2016), a heritage speaker is “someone who has (at least) two linguistic systems in the mind, which typically alternate in dominance over the lifespan” (p. 12). Shifting the definition from a cognitive perspective to a more transnational perspective, Carvalhinhos (2019) defines HL as a language resulting from hybrid nationality and different cultures (p. 11). Similarly, Boruchowski (2019) has defined HL as a language that is used with restrictions – limited to a social group or the home setting – and that coexists with other language(s) that circulate in other sectors, institutions, and media in the society where the family lives (p. 24).

Garcia (2011) offers a typology for the understanding of HML that challenges the idea of *maintenance* of a language. She proposes the *sustainability* typology because, for her, maintenance denotes the conservation of an original form (e.g., keeping a language in its ‘original’ form before its contact with other languages). The idea of sustainability, however, points to the future because the definition of sustainability holds in its essence the “grappling with social, economic, and environmental conditions by which systems remain diverse and productive” (p. 7). Garcia’s new conceptualization - heritage language sustainability - can offer families a different perspective in their aspirations and efforts towards maintaining Portuguese as an HL in the U.S., in part because it may aid parents in seeing the language as the living, moving, and adapting *organism* that it is – an organism that both fosters and

embraces adaptations in order to survive. This sociolinguistic perspective of language may even take some pressure off HL parents as they strive to maintain their HLs, contributing, therefore, to a more positive linguistic ambiance at the homes of HL speakers.

Despite these different orientations, some characteristics of heritage languages are universal. For example, they are minority languages coexisting with a dominant language. They are used with restrictions (e.g., solely in the home or within the minority community), and they are usually threatened by the possibility of being forgotten. The definitions of HL presented above offer us a range of ways in which to understand HL. Families' interest in maintaining their HLs may reflect Fishman's (1996) notion that a heritage language is a language that "represents a way of life" and a language that speakers relate to in a moral and sacred sort of way (p. 79). Given the nature of this study, I will adopt Valdés's (2001) encompassing definition of HL as a "language to which speakers have a historical and personal connection."

"Heritage language maintenance" (HLM) is a term used to describe the linguistic ideologies, planning, and management developed and adopted by families, community groups, and schools to transmit and preserve a minority language. HLM, therefore, is the effort put forward mostly by parents in the form of family language policies (see below), to keep the HL alive and thriving. As a heritage language is maintained, so is the "way of life" represented by and enacted through it. This "way of life" enactment can be manifested through the symbolism brought forth by the use of the language. For example, in his study of

Spanish as a HL in Vancouver, Guardado (2014) found that for most of his participants, Spanish is also a symbol for their music, laughter, storytelling – a meaning-making organism.

### **1.3. Family Language Policy**

Families play an important role in heritage language maintenance (see Purkarthofer, 2020; Melo-Pfeifer, 2015; Braun & Cline 2014; Schwartz & Verschik 2013; Schwartz et al., 2011 and Brown, 2010). Families develop their policies to exercise an active role in HLM for their children. King and Fogle (2017) defined these family language policies (henceforth FLP) “as explicit and overt language planning within the home among family members” (p. 315).

In addition to referring to specific family policies, FLP is an interdisciplinary field that draws from anthropology (particularly language socialization) and sociolinguistics (discourse analysis principally), as well as traditional psychological approaches to understanding bilingualism (King & Fogle, 2013). In contrast to earlier top-down approaches to language policy, according to Spolsky (2012), FLP represents a bottom-up approach to language policy that focuses on decision-making, language use, and choice within the intimate context of the home. For Spolsky, the standard model [top-down process] had to acknowledge the “significance of other language policy domains”, like the family [bottom-up process], as a “competing force” in language policy. This acknowledgment culminated with the addition of the family as a “relevant domain to language policy” (pp. 3, 4).

From the perspective of FLP, families are seen as dynamic systems that constantly enact language ideologies and adapt their language policies to accommodate linguistic demands.

For some scholars of the field of FLP like Pillai, Soh, & Kajita (2014), the family policies operating within the family domain are so significant that they “can determine if a heritage language continues to be spoken within the family” (p. 75). For the family in my study, their domestic efforts in maintaining Portuguese are their sole means of maintenance since there are no other realms for the use of Portuguese in their community at large aside from their initiatives at home. Thus, their FLP ideologies and management strategies can be crucial in securing Portuguese for now and in posterity.

But who are these HL families? Globalization, unprecedented levels of migration worldwide, geographical displacement, and voluntary family migration in search of ‘better life’ opportunities (e.g., safety, job opportunities, better education) are changing how the world’s linguistic diversity is weaved within homes. As Kasstan, Auer, & Samons (2018) have noted “[m]igration brings people into situations where languages other than their native tongues are dominant” (p. 387). For migrant families, who go through a cascade of new life situations (e.g., linguistic and cultural) in the receiving country, the maintenance of their heritage language, once a majority language, and the culture, becomes enormously difficult (Fishman, 2011). For example, immigrant parents may be committed to the maintenance of their HLs, while they are cognizant that if their children do not learn English, they “cannot climb the American social ladder” (Brown, 2011, p. 31). This paradoxical reality contributes to the emergence of conflicts for parents and children as families try to maintain their HLs. This study aims to investigate how these processes play out in the socialization procedures of HL speakers and the outcome of HLM.

For a broader understanding of these new family dynamics, researchers from many



strands of applied linguistics have been investigating the familial language dynamics brought to the fore by transnational families. Such dynamics are revealed by these families' own language practices and aspirations. Families may work to strengthen or regain a sense of ethnic identity otherwise lost in the process of adaptation to a dominant community. For example, in Smith-Christmas, Bergroth, & Göktolga's (2019) study, one of the participants, Jenny, a Gaelic immigrant mother in Scotland seemed to have regained her sense of Gaelic identity by facilitating that her children speak it.

Despite families' important role in maintaining a heritage language, (see Melo-Pfeifer, 2015; Schwartz, 2010 and Spolsky, 2007) families have little to no institutional support and oftentimes no encouragement from the receiving society in their HLM efforts (see Guardado, 2002 and Filmore, 1991). Furthermore, in the context of the U.S., families are under the tremendous challenge of downplaying English within the family domain to maintain their HL for their children (see Schwartz & Verschik, 2013). Parents therefore understand that they must strive to continue speaking to their children in their heritage languages.

This decision to carry on the heritage language requires conscious effort, and the seemingly simple task of solely speaking the 'native' language at home may be a challenging task to embrace. Oftentimes parents can feel overwhelmed by the societal demands to speak the dominant language. This scenario is particularly true for new immigrant parents who do not yet have sufficient English proficiency to maintain currency with linguistic needs of everyday life (e.g., doctor's appointments, children's school matters, utility companies' phone calls, parents' jobs matters). A contradiction may then unfold: parents become

dependent on their children's English skills at the same time that the parents have decided to 'solely speak the HL at home.' As Ochs (1993) has stated, "(r)ather than children being dependent on parents, parents find themselves dependent on children, who become mediators for their parents as they interact with the local environment" (p. 287). For example, in her recent research on immigrant families and language in healthcare, Dominic (2023) found that children are usually the interpreters in healthcare settings for family members with limited English proficiency.

As researchers expand the knowledge and understanding of FLP interconnections with HLM, it becomes increasingly evident that although these two fields are discrete, they interplay with one another. The stipulation and practices of the language policies in the home oftentimes represent the first step into HL transmission and survival.

#### **1.4. Heritage Languages: A Human Right**

Language is a human right. Whether it is a majority language or a minority one, every human being has the right to speak their language. To refuse an individual the dignity of speaking their home language or to cause negative emotions in a person for speaking a home language (e.g., shame, embarrassment, sense of failure for not speaking the majority language) is a human rights violation.

Scholars and advocates for linguistic human rights, Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1985) claim that there is a clear connection between ideologies of monolingualism with racism, namely linguisticism, at the core of linguistic impositions.

Although their research and advocacy aim primarily at the maintenance of language in educational settings, a lot of their knowledge can be applied in other domains of HLM projects more broadly, like for example in the community at large and in the homes. For one thing, the embracing of linguistic freedom as a human right strengthens HL parents in their HLM endeavors. Further, when we look at the seriousness and implications of understanding linguistic autonomy as a human right, one question comes to mind: Who could speakers of minority languages turn to if this self-evident linguistic human right is violated?

Formal answers can be obtained at the State level since the United Nations must reaffirm and protect the “civil and political rights concerning the rights of persons belonging to ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities,” (General Assembly resolution 47/135 of 18 December 1992). In 2003 the United Nations commissioned a special *rapporteur* in charge of promoting the implementation of the Minorities Declaration [Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, 1992]. The report warned that “globally, many minority languages are under threat of disappearance or significant decline” due to the dominance of national or international languages. Topping the list of nine main concerns presented by the *rapporteur* were (1) threats to the existence of minority languages and linguistic minorities; (2) recognition of minority languages and linguistic rights; and (3) the use of minority languages in public life.

Moreover, Fishman (1994), an early advocate of HLM, argued that what is at the center of the loss of a language is peoples’ loss of their culture itself because culture, he said, is expressed through that language. For him “love and nurturance” are given to an individual through language, creating, in return, a sense of responsibility of the individual toward the

language (Fishman, 1996, p. 83). Thus, when a language is taken away, its cultural symbols and rituals disappear along with it, including greetings, stories, laws, literature, music, anecdotes, and sayings. Some scholars have gone as far as arguing that denying children access to education in their mother tongue is tantamount to linguistic genocide, according to the United Nations' definition of genocide. This posture highlights the centrality of language to one's sense of self and culture (Phillipson and Skuttnab-Kangas, 1995).

Furthermore, when a language dies, or its use is not passed on to the next generation, the things that represent a way of existing in the world also die with it. When people lose a language, they lose along with it 'something' that nurtured and offered them a sense of identity and belonging to a community of kin, which they need for survival.

In the context of the United States, according to Zeigler & Camarota (2019), based on data from the U.S. Census Bureau from 2018, 67.3 million U.S. residents speak a language other than English at home, representing over 350 different languages. The Census Bureau data collected from 2009 to 2013 showed that around 693,469 people speak Portuguese nationwide – the central heritage language in this research. Moreover, in 2020, Portuguese was included as a language of choice for responders to answer the Census questionnaire.

### **1.5. Case for Portuguese as a HL in the United States**

Portuguese is not a minority language – it is spoken by over 258 million people (including natives and non-natives), and it is an official language in ten countries and territories, including Brazil, Mozambique, Angola, Portugal, Guinea-Bissau, East Timor, Equatorial Guinea, Macau, Cape Verde, and São Tomé and Príncipe. However, in the context

of the flow of Brazilian immigration to the United States, Portuguese has become a minority language.

According to the Heritage Languages in America website (2016), Portuguese is considered an ‘official’ heritage language in the U.S., represented in the Alliance’s Heritage Language Database. While Brazilian families living in the U.S strive to maintain Portuguese as their HL, it is common for families to seek external support for their HLM efforts (e.g., registering children in HL schools), and funding to implement HLM initiatives is an “ongoing challenge for community-based HL organizations” (Alliance’s Heritage Language Database). Schwartz (2010) said that it is not uncommon for parents to look for external control for their FLP as a means to support their socio-linguistic environment because the choice of bilingual education represents an important link between HLM intention and its actual outcome.

In Florida, where the focus family of this research resides, there are over 87,000 speakers of Portuguese, according to data from the Consulate General of Brazil in Miami. The consulate created the *Fundação Vamos Falar Português* (VLP) [Let’s Speak Portuguese Foundation], to disseminate the Portuguese language and Brazilian culture to children between the ages of 2 to 15 of all nationalities. The foundation curriculum is based on thematic subjects related to the Brazilian culture including oral practices, writing, and reading, all in the Portuguese language.

The program is sponsored by companies that acknowledge the importance of promoting Brazil abroad. Portuguese classes are free of charge. According to the consulate website, 460

children attend classes every Saturday and over 200 are on a waiting list to start attending classes in one of the five units around the greater Miami area. Classes last one hour.

The Florida Department of Education reported that there are over 265,000 English Language Learners (ELL) statewide, ranking third in the ELL population nationwide. Although Spanish is the major native language of ELL students, there are more than 300 languages altogether, but the department does not specify the number of Portuguese speakers statewide. As stated in the department's website, the bureau is responsible for ensuring that ELL students receive comprehensive instruction by monitoring schools and districts for compliance with state and federal rules and regulations.

Florida is one of the states that has English as its official language, although the U.S. has no official language. In recent years, however, there have been debates around the question of whether or not English should be appointed as the U.S. official language. The English-only movement is the result of such debates. The primary purpose of the movement "is to make English the official language of the United States either through an amendment to the U.S. Constitution, through state legislation, or through repeal of laws and regulations permitting public business to be conducted in a language other than English" (American Psychological Association, 1991).

Contrary to 'English-only' ideologies, Pinellas County schools, in Florida - the school district of the focus family of this research, have implemented the World Languages Department with a mission to "collaborate to use best practices and standards to facilitate students' success in the global community." According to the department website, all

students of the county learn more than one language and are aware of and value other cultures. At the present moment, however, no information regarding the teaching of Portuguese as a HL in the Pinellas District specifically could be found.

### **1.6. Portuguese: from Nationalist Language to Heritage Language**

Given the context and focus on Portuguese as a HL in this research, it is worth noting an ironic fact - if at present, Portuguese becomes a HL in the U.S. in need of support and policies defending its survival, throughout Brazilian history, Portuguese has been used as a tool of oppression in military-dictatorial governments that have tried to impose Portuguese as the sole language of Brazil, creating unjust rules, consequently inflicting emotional pain and fear in several peoples, including its native populations.

For a given period during the military dictatorship in Brazil (1964-1985), the government created a law determining that all foreign language use was prohibited even within the homes of immigrant families. It is worthwhile noting that during the period from 1886 to 1914 alone, almost three million individuals immigrated to Brazil to *fazer a America* [Make America] (Bueno, 2003, p. 264). Brazil's geographic and linguistic map is delineated by, among other peoples, African people brought to Brazil as slaves, Arabs, Dutch, Germans, Japanese, and Jewish, and indeed the native indigenous people. The great migration wave that marked the turn of the twentieth century placed Brazil as one of the top three countries in terms of the number of received immigrants, along with the U.S. and Canada. This vast diversity of peoples greatly shaped Brazil's cultural and linguistic landscapes.

Despite Brazil's rich linguistic inheritance, and contrary to the *de facto* linguistic behavior of the nation, heavy-handed governments have historically established and perpetuated monolithic linguistic ideals. Well-intentioned but ill-informed historians and scholars have praised the incredible linguistic feat that a country the size of Brazil (3.288 million m<sup>2</sup> and 209.5 million inhabitants [2018]) speaks a single language, Portuguese. Although the various other languages were vigorous and embedded in Brazil's linguistic reality, the official historical documents simply did not acknowledge them, in an attempt to promote the idealized notion that Brazil spoke one language.

This idealized notion continued throughout the country's history. For example, during the military dictatorship, it was established that all tomb engravings in languages other than Portuguese should be erased. Brazilian-German descendant author Lya Luft remembers the 'terror' of being prohibited from speaking her heritage language at home. "Em casa falávamos alemão, mas em seguida tive que falar português porque o alemão foi proibido" [At home we spoke German, but then we had to speak Portuguese because German was prohibite"] (Luft, December 25, 2004; "A cultura alemã me influenciou muito". Website: Made for Minds). Looking at these examples, it is possible to see that in the case of Brazil, speakers were threatened for exercising what should be the most fundamental element of the human experience, the seemingly intrinsic right to speak their heritage languages and through it access and manifest their cultures and ethnic affiliations, particularly at home.



## 1.7. Implications and Contributions of My Study

In the last ten years, the topic of FLP has continued to gain considerable attention and has expanded to cover additional areas of FLP, like for example parental linguistic decisions and what roles different languages play in people's everyday lives; the effects of FLP decisions on the outcome of language choice and use and families management of different languages to fulfill social and emotional needs are additional areas of inquiry that came to the fore within FLP research in the last decade. As was briefly laid out, these recent studies critically investigate sociolinguistic and sociocultural aspects of FLP (see Curdt-Christiansen and Palviaine, 2023, for a comprehensive list).

An example of the currency of FLP studies is Wilson's (2020) research among French heritage speakers in the UK to gauge their feelings toward French as their HL. Data showed that some of the participants displayed "little enthusiasm towards [their mother] efforts to promote French [...]. Curiously, however, was that Wilson found that despite the children's negative perception of their mother's language management, they declare[d] feeling happy to be able to talk to their extended family when they travel to France. These results help to illustrate the complexity of FLP ideologies and practices.

Additional studies are needed to expand knowledge and increase awareness and understanding since family language negotiation strategies seem to have a significant, perhaps even undeniable impact on the outcome of HLM. Sevinç (2020) points to the importance of "transnational families to develop not only linguistic competence but also stimulate positive emotions necessary to overcome negative emotions (e.g., anxiety, shame,

disappointment) about home language development” (p. 90), as families negotiate their language policies.

Indeed, I have witnessed expressions of conflicted emotions as families negotiate their language practices. For example, in my past experiences with the focal family of this ethnographic case study, the mother told me of a conversation she had with her husband, where she addressed her concern regarding the risk of their son associating Portuguese and Spanish with negative emotions such as frustration, irritation, and annoyance, which could compromise HLM success. She mentioned that often she resorts to humor and playfulness to balance the risk of their son’s negative associations to their HLs.

The mother felt that this could likely happen if she and her husband are not careful to avoid such feelings in their persistent and at times tiring efforts to maintain Portuguese and Spanish as their son’s heritage languages. These conflicts have indeed been documented in the HLM literature. For example, Wilson (2020) in her case study of HLM reported on a bilingual child’s feeling of resentment for her mother refusing to respond when the child talked to her in English (p. 127). Kopeliovich (2019) has also alluded to her own concerns about her children associating their HL with negative emotions if she “forced” them to speak the language.

The mother’s insights sparked my curiosity to look further at whether negative emotions indeed weighed heavily when parents endeavor to maintain a HL. Knowing the family intimately, I am familiar with their overarching humorous attitudes and there might be more positive emotions and pride in HLM than the research has uncovered.

Thus, research in the area of language socialization, FLP, and HLM may promote awareness and expand parents' knowledge, equipping them with tools that could prove helpful as they create, manage, and negotiate FLP, which could consequently increase the chances of HLM success. Indeed, I am familiar with accounts from friends who did not want to speak Portuguese as their HL but developed an interest in it during their adolescence. This happens, in part, because children who are exposed to positive emotions in connection to their HLs have their linguistic perspective increased as time passes Sevinç (2020).

As a caregiver in an HL family myself, I had a vantage point to conduct this study because of my own experience in the context of HLM. Some of the innovative aspects this study proposed included the fact that the family I researched is a trilingual family that speaks Portuguese as one of their HLs. The study also proposed the investigation of children's agency in FLP - a growing area of research. The research constituted an in-depth study of a trilingual family language planning in the context of the United States. The study was innovative also in the sense that the family and I traveled together to Brazil, which afforded me the chance to observe them in interaction with extended family and friends; interview the grandparents, and collect field notes on their FLP expansion into the extended family in one of their home countries.

Additionally, considering that I am a speaker of Portuguese, I have a good grasp of Spanish, and that I had the opportunity to submerge myself in the linguistic and cultural reality of my research's participants, my study proved important and effective in advancing the field on the proposed area of HLM, language socialization, and FLP in a trilingual family because it fills some of the gaps in HLM literature. For example, this is the only full-length

study of a trilingual HL family and the only one that digs in depth into how religious rituals, emotions and humor, and FLP arrangements during their trip to Brazil are negotiated in everyday interaction among three generations in an extended (i.e. not just traditional nuclear) family. Finally, it is important to highlight that the field of family language policy has evolved in the last ten years to welcome additional themes of inquiry within the domain of sociolinguistics, including the influence of emotions in FLP (Sevinç and Mirvahedi, 2023). While FLP still addresses established questions about the importance of maintaining a HL and how are HLM practices enacted via FLP, it critically looks at how languages are shaped by the status of a minority language in contrast to a majority language.

Scholars have recently noted that the field of FLP has entered a new stage particularly now with heightened political tension worldwide and multiple wars, forcing more families out of their countries and into exile, further changing our linguistic biodiversity. Researchers have also highlighted the need for fresh theoretical lenses and “different types of data” to help answer the recurring questions regarding the relationship between language and power (Curdt-Christiansen and Palviainen, 2023, p. 380).

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### **2.1. Literature Review**

An array of themes is being researched in HLM. For example, recently, scholars have tried to gauge what it means to obtain successful outcomes in HLM. Researchers in the field of HL also have conducted numerous studies on HLM and its interplay with school language policies. Children's agency in FLP planning and development have also become an area of interest in HLM. Other emergent themes in this body of literature include attention to the interplay of HL and HL speakers' identity formation and language socialization processes. The influence of emotions on HLM projects is a topic that has gained particular attention lately.

Kopeliovich (2019) asserted that the project to maintain HLs needs "three vital vitamins: creativity, community, and humor." Kopeliovich is the mother of four children who are growing up trilingual; her work represents one example of past HLM research conducted on one's own family. Her family speaks Hebrew, Russian, and English and they live in Israel. She has made her and her husband's experience of maintaining her children's HLs her academic pursuit. She has collected data from her own experience with HLM in her family

for many years. Her data include various artifacts, such as videos and drawings. She also collected fieldnotes from her observations. Kopeliovich saved portions of conversations she has had with her husband about their language policies. She noted her children's various linguistic mix-ups that accounted for laughs in the household and became a new lexicon for them. Later, Kopeliovich's data became the foundation for a great number of her HLM publications.

However, as the following review of the literature indicates, the impact of families' language negotiation strategies in everyday HL activities and daily routines on HLM, and what they mean to secure language survival, has not been adequately studied. Considering this gap, in this review of literature, I first offer an overview of Fishman's reversing language shift (2); I discuss language socialization (3); and then I present some conceptualizations of success in HL (4). Next, I highlight some definitions of HLM success (5); then I discuss aspects of sociolinguistic approaches to HL (6). Finally, I present some ethnographic approaches to investigate FLP (7) and I speak of the need to increase awareness of the role that parents' language policies and language negotiation strategies play in HLM (8). I conclude by reinstating the research questions.

I begin with Fishman's conceptualization of language maintenance, which has been largely acknowledged in the field of bilingualism as a great influence in the investigation of HLM for research and practice. Throughout his career, Fishman has written extensively on multilingualism, minority language education, language and religion, and heritage language maintenance. I now proceed to look at Fishman's (1991) discussion of reversing language shift, a model for HL studies broadly recognized in the field of HLM and FLP.

## 2.2. Reversing Language Shift

Convinced of the role that family and the community play in HL, Fishman (1991) created the reversing language shift (RLS) model. Simply put, RLS is the process of creating and performing language policies to prevent the ethnic language from being overtaken by the dominant language. For Fishman, there is no doubt that family and community are the strongest players in RLS. In reflecting on his life-long work on RLS and language revival, Fishman (1991) concluded that:

The favorable outcomes of the Hebrew, Catalan, and Quebec French [some of his influential studies] cases did not begin with work, media or government [...]; they began with the acquisition of a firm family-neighborhood-community base or, better yet (in the Catalan and Quebec French cases), with the fact that such a base had never widely been lost from the outset (p. 373).

Efforts to maintain the HL primarily take the form of using the ethnic language in the home. Moreover, the intergenerational use and transmission of the heritage language represents, for Fishman (1991, 1996, 2001), the most important vehicle for HL survival. However, RLS is difficult to attain because it involves effort from the speakers of the HL to “rebuild and defend their cultures” (1991, p. 34). As Yate & Terracshke (2013) have stated, “heritage language maintenance does not just happen by itself” (p. 105). One example of this effort, according to Fishman (1991) is the creation of cultural spaces by families.

These physical and non-physical spaces are domains where “the aura of right and wrong, of morality, decency and propriety” is passed on to secure their ethnic language survival (p.

30). In this cultural safeguarding of ‘place’, views and attitudes may not signify the same thing from person to person, and attitudes and beliefs may change from period to period within a culture. Although Fishman proposes this idea of “cultural spaces” in the abstract, the actual day-to-day practices that create these spaces are left underspecified.

However, Fishman reminds us of the cruciality of these spaces; without them, “consistency and coherence the culture itself can have no intergenerational continuity” (p. 30). For example, the religious practices of the family, the storytelling customs, and the reading of books must be defended as channels of language and culture transmission. By maintaining these spaces, the family and community act as the “natural boundary” to assure what Fishman termed the “cultural [and linguistic] democracy”, where the value of moral equality and the legitimacy of minority cultures are preserved (p. 40). Fishman takes a macro sociolinguistic approach to view language shift, and what is needed is a micro-interactional understanding of how this unfolds in real-time in a variety of family contexts.

### **2.3. Language Socialization**

Children are socialized to use language within their community. This process is called language socialization (Ochs and Schieffelin, 2007). The theory of language socialization combines discourse and ethnographic methodology to investigate the social and cultural structures underlying young children’s language engagement processes via semiotic forms. Richard & Schmidt (2013) define semiotic forms as the “analyses of signs and signals used for communication” (e.g., visual, auditory, tactile, olfactory, or gustatory).



Language socialization also studies young children's engagement in their communities, with special attention to language ideologies and practices. In this sense, language socialization can be viewed as a process by which children *utilize language* as a 'mechanism' to gain a sense of belonging, becoming full participants in their communities. The process of language socialization develops *through* the use of language while also *to* use the language (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986b as cited in Ochs and Schieffelin, 2011, emphasis mine). Furthermore, recent scholarship acknowledges socialization as a lifetime process that "transpires across households, schools, [...] among other environments" (p. 2). In fact, the field has expanded to include heritage language socialization. This leaves open the possibility that language socialization is not just a downward process, with parents socializing children, but a bidirectional process, in which children are agentive beings whose actions contribute to the dynamic understanding of the value of the HL and cultural space within the family. It is only through microanalysis of family engagement in HL activities that we can illuminate language socialization as a lifelong process.

According to Ochs and Schieffelin (2011), a language socialization approach promotes an updated version of linguistic variation. This update accounts for the use of grammatical forms by young children as being culturally reflexive. That is to say that the process of children's socialization is connected to local visions of how to think, feel, and know, involving the children's cultural competencies within their local community. Moreover, Ochs & Schieffelin (2011) asserted that when children become "speakers of the language; they also become speakers of cultures" (p. 8). For HL learners, due to their exposure to more than one language, the process of language socialization is multi-

reproduced, consequently expanding their linguistic and cultural capital, and fomenting a complex system of linguistic and cultural associations and competency.

He (2010) reviewed a selective body of research conducted from a social constructivist stance and a correlational paradigm and utilized the data from several researchers to foster discussions of the implications of the sociocultural complexity associated with HL learning for research and practice. He concludes that:

[It] is grounded in the learner's participation in social practice and continuous adaptation to the unfolding, multiple activities and identities that constitute the social and communicative worlds that he or she inhabits [and] that language acquisition is facilitated when an individual has positive attitudes toward the language and feels positively about their ethnic group (p. 71).

This statement reinforces findings from other studies which have indicated that in homes where parents hold a positive attitude toward their languages and identities, children will have a better chance to learn and enjoy their HLs. However, despite the incontrovertible importance of positive family attitudes for HL success, the vast majority of studies investigating attitudes have focused primarily on negative attitudes. In this study, I propose a shift in orientation to examine not just the negative feelings of anxiety and shame that have featured centrally in previous research, but to focus on positive attitudes like joy and pride as they are displayed discursively, both in the home and in the broader community where the HL enjoys less prestige.

## 2.4. HLM Success

In studies of bilingualism, children's output has been largely regarded as the central means to measure success in HL maintenance (Schwartz & Vershick, 2013). While it is not unfounded to measure HLM success in terms of heritage language speakers' output, Schwartz & Vershick have problematized the use of children as the sole means to define the success of a particular FLP. They recognize that measuring success in HLM by quantifying children's output is valid, since the success of any policy "linguistic or otherwise is measured by its outcome" (p. 89). Nevertheless, they set out to understand how parents define success as well, inquiring whether their understanding of success is "inevitably linked to children's balanced bilingualism" (p. 89), a concept that is understood as highly problematic in contemporary sociolinguistic perspectives of bilingualism (e.g., Garcia 2018). Schwartz & Vershick conclude that achieving success "goes beyond the walls and doors of families' homes" (p. 89), making way for a consideration of the ways in which children display their heritage and ethnocultural affiliations as they interact in society as another indicator of HLM success.

Smith-Christmas, Bergroth, & Bezioglu-Göktolga's (2019) built on the notion of an intersectional approach to success in HL by looking at both parents' and children's perspectives on success. The authors inquired if success can be measured and evaluated through the same conceptualizations if HLM success means the same for all speakers, and if children's ability to speak the language is the only way to determine parental success in HLM. In their research, they analyzed the FLP practices of three mothers and their HLs (e.g., Gaelic in Scotland, Swedish in Finland, and Turkish in the and found, in the context of the

mothers' viewpoints, that HLM is “successful in its own way” (p. 98). For example, one of the participants “granted” her children the right to speak Swedish. By creating a “civic sense of language” (p. 98), another participant attested that she regained her own Gaelic identity. This study has expanded the ways in which success in HLM can be defined.

## **2.5. Defining Success**

There is no single agreed-upon definition of who heritage language speakers are (see He, 2010; Ortega, 2020). Likewise, it has proven challenging to delineate precisely what constitutes a ‘successful outcome’ in HLM (Smith-Christmas, Bergroth, & Göktolga, 2019) beyond children's language output and/or proficiency. However, there have been suggestions that HL’s success should be considered from a broader viewpoint. For example, Smith-Christmas et al. proposed a more “holistic and family-based approach” (p. 88). After exploring each of the three mothers’ multilingual contexts in their research, the authors found for example that as one of the participants, Jenny, gave her children “the facility to use a language and [to] orient to a sense of ethnocultural identity that was denied her when she was young [...] her enactment of a pro-Gaelic FLP also facilitate[d] her *own* sense of identity and belonging” (p. 99, emphasis in original). In Jenny’s case, her emotional connection to Gaelic had been lost but was subsequently found when she promoted Gaelic as a HL to her children, constituting a case of success. Thus, the authors concluded that to conceive of children’s output as the main way to measure success distorts certain realities.

In my experience with HL in my household, I sense that gauging what constitutes success in maintaining a heritage language can stem from a variety of practices – the child’s

output to be sure, but it can also be appreciated from more subjective perspectives. For example, in my community, I hear from friends and coworkers whose children express their dislike for the heritage language and straight-out negation of it. It is not uncommon to hear of children whose interest in their HLs surfaces later in life. These experiences seem to indicate that the measurement of HLM success may be best tapped into through a longitudinal approach. According to Polinsky (2015), children tend to gain or regain an interest in learning their HLs during their college years. A child who during infancy rejected his/her HL could demonstrate interest in it later in life, constituting a case of ultimate success.

It is important to highlight that success can be defined also by taking into account parents' identities and expectations for their children's HLM outcomes. For example, two parents within the same household may see success differently and may also have different expectations as to what a successful outcome in HLM may look like. As an operational definition of success for this study, I draw from Smith-Christian et al., as I believe that success could be understood from a rather holistic perspective. Some examples of success in HLM may be represented by the sheer acceptance of a HL by children, independent of HL fluency level. Another indicator of success may be children's curiosity in finding words and meanings in the HL as they converse, or when children show interest in their parents' cultural background. These propositions for defining success do not intend to erase HL speakers' ability to fully communicate in their HLs, an undeniable sign of success.

## **2.6. A Sociolinguistic Approach to HLM**

Kasstan, Auer, & Salmons' (2018) take a sociolinguistic approach to HL acquisition and maintenance. They see the field as quickly developing into sub-categories of heritage language development (e.g., HL and education, language attrition, and structural linguistics). However, the authors claim that sociolinguistic approaches to HLMs have been overlooked (p. 387). Kasstan et. al. draw from Polinsky and Kagan's (2012) research to analyze the role that specific external-linguistic factors exert on HLMs. These factors are, for example, speakers' attitudes toward HLM, notions of language prestige, and parents' attitudes toward HLM. More specifically, the researchers were interested in the question of the impact that the prestige of a minority language variety has in specific HLM contexts, and how HLM speakers view and evaluate their own linguistic practices in relation to other language varieties (p. 387).

Kasstan et al. consider HLM a complex process involving language variation, change, and shift. The authors agree parental sentiments have important implications for the maintenance of a heritage language, where the family's language policies often determine whether or not the HLM will be transmitted. Citing Fishman's (1991) foundational work, they further elaborate that the "erosion" of the family as a domain of maintenance of HLMs may represent a "terminal stage in language shift," but argue that positive attitudes within the family may act as a safeguard against HLM loss (p. 389).

Based on my experience as a supporter of HLM, it is reasonable to assert that a positive environment for HLM transmission will influence children's acquisition and maintenance of their HLMs. I believe that children who are exposed to their HLMs in an

encouraging and positive environment will have a better chance of accepting and maintaining their home languages. A positive environment may be understood as parental behaviors that are rooted and at the same time expressed in their daily routines with children, such as bath time, meal preparation, and bedtime. In my study, I looked explicitly for both positive attitudes/encouraging behaviors and negative emotions in my data collection.

## **2.7. Parents Perspectives**

Digging deeper into parents' perspectives on HLM, Park and Sarkar (2007) set out to research Korean parents' attitudes toward HLM in Montreal and what these parents did to maintain Korean as their children's HL. One significant finding of their study was that all the participants wanted their children to maintain Korean as their heritage language. Korean immigrant parents strongly support their children's HLM, viewing the language as a key factor in preserving Korean cultural identity. One of the major implications of Park and Sarkar's study was that "developing heritage language competence can positively affect social interactions and relationships" both at home and in the community (p. 225). The authors hinted at the bidirectionality of influence between HLM and family relationships, an aspect of HLM I highlighted in my analysis too.

Nogueira (2019) conducted a study among Brazilian mothers in Germany to understand how these mothers transmit Portuguese as a HL to their children born outside of Brazil. For her, Portuguese as a HL has a sociocultural function; it represents the means by which speakers express a common culture as well as their affective and identity ties (Moroni,

2015, as cited in Nogueira, 2019, p. 78). One of Nogueira's conclusions was that the family is a key element in HL promotion.

One of her most striking findings was the distinctive and individualistic views of cultural contexts that each of her participants had, although all three mothers shared a common culture of origin. For example, one of the participants did not present a very positive attitude toward her Brazilian culture; she revealed in the interview that she had become "quite German-like" (p. 90). Conversely, two other participants valued their culture of origin while they simultaneously tried to adapt to some of the customs of the host society. Furthermore, Nogueira concluded that the plurality of the contexts experienced by these Brazilian mothers required that their cultural identities be problematized, reflected on, and discursively negotiated. Similarly to some of the mothers in Nogueira's study, the mother in my study presents positive attitudes toward her Brazilian ancestry and explicitly talks about it to her son (this topic is further elaborated in the parental language planning, chapter 4).

Also in Germany, Conrado (2019) conducted a study on the importance of Portuguese as a HL for Brazilian mothers living in Frankfurt. Based on interview data, Conrado concluded that it was evident that all participating mothers wanted their children to recognize themselves as Brazilians, despite their German citizenship. The age of the children at the time of the study ranged from 2-10 years. All these children had exposure to the Portuguese language, even 'from the womb' as one mother declared. Another issue raised by the families was that to live in a foreign context and yet maintain ties to their origins was a sign of cultural and identity pride. Some mothers stated that it was through their language and



culture that they were able to pass on to their children the values the mothers themselves learned and that were important to them.

Nogueira's and Conrado's work, at the present moment two of the few known studies that investigate the importance of Portuguese as a HL, indicate that more ethnographic studies are needed to increase the knowledge of Portuguese as HL in other sociocultural and geographical contexts. My interest in investigating the Santos-Gomez family stems from the fact that this family embodies several of the complexities that mark HL speakers and the entanglements that are peculiar to HLM. For example, they are a transnational family whose efforts are put forward not only toward one HL, but two, Portuguese and Spanish. They also possess some unique characteristics that may set them apart from other heritage language families. For example, they are the primary caretakers of their nephew, after his mother. As they help to raise their nephew, they want to make sure that he maintains Portuguese as his HL. Simultaneously, the parents are raising their son as a trilingual speaker - English, Portuguese, and Spanish - (details of the family's HLM efforts are outlined in Chapter 3). This unique family situation presents a worthwhile context to investigate heritage language negotiation dynamics and policies, and how their maintenance strategies contribute to the boys' identity formation. I offer an overview of the parental FLP in chapter 4.

## **2.8. Children's Attitudes**

Cho (2000) examined the experience of 114 Korean Americans in California to look at the effect that their HL competence plays on their daily interactions. She found that competence in one's HL affects social interactions, relationships with HL speakers of their

ethnic group, and the individuals themselves. For instance, one of the participants recalled thinking that his parents would be proud of him when he prayed in church. Conversely, however, other participants reported feeling isolated and ashamed for having low proficiency in Korean. Cho's data illuminate the complexity of pride and HML. Children can be proud of their own HL competence, but their positive attitudes toward HL may be further increased by emotionally experiencing the pride of their parents. This positive reinforcement may play as an additional motivation to speak/learn the HL.

Wilson (2020) investigated the bilingual practices of five French-English transnational children in the UK to gauge how these children perceived their parents' language policies. Wilson contrasted the results by analyzing the parents' language policies with the children's practices. Data revealed that even the research's young participants (ranging in age from 4 to 16) were able to accurately describe the family language practices as well as identify the strategies parents adopt to shape their language practices. The results also revealed that children are apt to speak their HLs for pragmatic purposes; for instance, one child reported learning French to obtain 'easy grades' in their French school assignments. In another instance, siblings Eric (11) and Ella (13) stated that they 'try to speak French when [their mother] is tired after work' or when 'they want something [from her]' (p. 134). This study highlights the importance of investigating not only parents' attitudes and ideologies of HLM but children's attitudes and agency in the fate of the HL as well. To do so, it is necessary to look more specifically at children's agency in interaction firsthand, through family discourse analysis, since apparently most HLM studies were survey/interview based.

The field of HLM has been gaining ground by expanding our sociolinguistic understanding of motivation, attitudes, and identity issues within families. However, the investigation of how family language policies are practiced and how language socialization unfolds daily at an interactional level, and how these influence heritage language development and success remains to be further explored. To my knowledge, no studies to date have explored these issues in the context of a trilingual family. This ethnographic case study investigating the everyday language realities of a Brazilian-Spanish-English seeks to fill these gaps and increase knowledge and awareness on the topic of children's socialization, FLP, and HLM. Furthermore, I believe that my research will particularly contribute to the field because I will be immersed, as a participant-observer, in the reality of a multilingual family's daily life. Finally, I expect that my research will promote and stimulate additional studies in the category of children's socialization, FLP, and HLM outcomes.

### **2.9. Ethnographic Approaches to FLP**

The book *Ways With Words: Language, life, and work in communities and classrooms*, by Shirley Brice Heath (1983), has had a significant influence on many language researchers, myself included. Heath's work has greatly contributed to the field of family language socialization given its innovative ethnographic approach of intense and in-depth observations of family in daily interactions which, we can only speculate, would have remained unnoticed if it were not for Heath's ethnographic efforts and bravery in initiating a novel research approach. Heath's uncovering of how those children were socialized still influences research of many strands, four decades later.

Two other ethnographic studies are particularly illuminating for the HLM project I propose, Guardado (2010) and Kwon (2019). These studies add to the knowledge about HLM because of their ethnographic investigation, allowing for a broader understanding of HL speakers in multiple situations of identity formation, language ideologies, and socialization reflected and embedded in their participants' connections to their HLs. They set out to understand how families constructed their language development and maintenance based on the notion of cultural identity.

Kwon (2019), who adopted a multi-sited approach, followed a 13-year-old Korean American boy, to document his border crossing experiences between South Korea and the United States to examine how his transnational engagement shaped his life as a transnational child. For Kwon, the maintenance of a HL is intrinsically connected to children's knowledge and appreciation for their ethnical history. Kwon concluded by pointing to the importance of speakers' multilingualism and multimodal knowledge. Similarly, Guardado's results showed that HL speakers' positive ethnical identity is beneficial for society at large because, among other things, it promotes intercultural relations.

Likewise, the study I propose to conduct, aims to uncover a range of language negotiations between children and parents, children's socialization and its interplay with HLM and FLP in a Hispanic-Brazilian family to better understand which practices are effective for boosting children's identification with their HLs.

## **2.10. Increasing Awareness of the Role Bi/Multilingual Parents' Language Policies and Language Negotiations Strategies Play on HLM**

The view that language socialization and children's agency have a direct connection with children's language socialization is widely accepted (see Fishman, 1991 and Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011). However, as the review of the literature has indicated, the effects of parents' investment, parents' views upon their HLMs, and children's agency regarding the home language negotiations remain under-researched.

More specifically, the scarcity of studies on the topic, in general, indicates that there is yet much to be learned regarding the role that children's socialization may play in heritage language acquisition, maintenance, and success. Because of this, one could infer that there is also a lack of awareness on the part of the parents. Finally, the more studies are conducted on the topic of children's socialization and HLM, the greater the possibility of increasing awareness of its importance.

As has been previously addressed, the effectiveness of HLM outcomes is related to parents' ability to establish and negotiate language policies. The parent's awareness of their own and, as importantly, their children's mindset, should aid in the selection and revision of the family's language policies. Thomas (2007) has concluded in her study of bilingual families in Wales, that "there is one important element clearly absent [in studies of language policies]: an evaluation of children's views and attitudes towards the language(s) in their environment, and how these attitudes can influence their linguistic interactions" (p. 248).

For example, the Santos-Gomez family has an established rule that all family

members should speak Portuguese or Spanish in the house. However, one evening, while an English-speaking repair person was working in the family room, the family was eating dinner in the same area of the house. On this occasion, the son answered his father's question, which was formulated in Spanish and English. When his parents scolded him for not answering in Portuguese or Spanish, the son explained that he did so out of consideration for the person who was working in their house. This event not only highlights the benefits of bilingualism in terms of metalinguistic and metapragmatic awareness, but it demonstrates that taking children's perceptions into account when creating FLP may yield successful HLM outcomes because, ultimately, children are agentive participants in the planning and management of FLP.

### **2.11. Conclusion**

It is estimated that more than half of the world's population speaks two or more languages (Grosjen, 2000 cited in Garau 2014). Despite ideologies of monolingualism, bilingualism, and multilingualism are the world's linguistic norm and not the exception. This well-known reality helps to explain the growing interest in HL and HLM research of the last few decades. The field has expanded exponentially within the last two decades given its inherent sociocultural attributes (e.g., identity formation, language socialization, and cultural and ethnic associations).

It has been established that HL caregivers' and children's mindsets both play important roles in the outcome of HLM. Furthermore, it became apparent that parents' expressed attitudes as they transmit HLs correlate with successful HLM outcomes. Another

area of growing interest in HL research is the interconnectedness of emotions and HLM (see Sevinç and Mirvahedi 2023 for most recent research).

Further ethnographic investigations of everyday interactions in HLM are still necessary, especially in multigenerational, transnational, trilingual families such as the family of my study that brings a specific linguistic repertoire involving Portuguese, a lesser researched language in the context of HLs in the United States. Additionally, my study offers a double-dimensional opportunity for observations since it presents the family's language policies (LP) in Brazil as well as in the United States. Direct, intimate observations of their daily interactions illuminate long-standing HLM questions such as what is the interplay of children's socialization, HLM and FLP?, what roles do children play in FLP in connection to HLM practices?, and what role do emotions play in HL transmission and maintenance?

In an attempt to lessen this gap, my study aimed at researching a trilingual family (English, Portuguese, and Spanish) and through direct observations of their daily linguistic negotiations, to answer the following questions (1) What discourse strategies are employed by the Santos-Gomez family in language and literacy socialization practices? (2) What linguistic, cultural, or religious ideologies influence these practices? (3) What are the explicit language planning initiatives made by family members with regard to the children's HLs and English? and (4) What is the family language policy that is instantiated through these practices, ideologies, and planning initiatives?

I believe that I have a vantage point to conduct this research because of my own experience in the context of HLM as a caregiver. Furthermore, considering that I am a

speaker of Portuguese, I have a good grasp of Spanish, and that I will have the opportunity to submerge myself in the reality of my research's participants' lives, my study should prove effective in advancing the field on the proposed area of children socialization, HLM and FLP in a trilingual family.

The opportunity to research my own family and their efforts towards HLM makes me hope that upon the completion of my study, it will have resonated with Heath's notion that, as ethnographers, we make the familiar, unfamiliar, and the unfamiliar, familiar. It is necessary, however, to address that researching one's own family poses ethical questions that need to be carefully considered. In the upcoming chapter (Methodology), I will address possible pitfalls and ethical issues that may surface in conducting such research.



## CHAPTER 3

### DATA AND METHODOLOGY

#### **3.1. Introduction**

This ethnographic case study follows the Santos-Gomez family (all names are pseudonyms) in their daily life routines. The goal of the study is to, through my full access to the family's language ideologies and practices, help other families engaged in or interested in engaging in HLM to be able to benefit from the struggles, joys, and successes involved in HLM as they relate to the Santos-Gomez family experiences.

In this chapter, I begin by presenting the focal family of this ethnography through a vignette of HLM in action that inspires this ethnographic study (3.2). Next, I explain my criteria and rationale for the selection of this topic (3.3). I then introduce and provide a brief contextual background of each of the family members participating in the study (3.4) and describe the multiple sites and locations in which I observed this family's interactions and practices (3.5). Regarding the fieldwork, I explain the research design (3.6), instruments and processes (3.7), and the analytic procedures and tools (3.8). Finally, I address the ethical considerations of the study (3.9) and practical considerations (3.10).

### 3.2. A Vignette of HLM in Action

The focal children of this study are Jacob and Benjamin. They are cousins who live close to each other in the Tampa Bay area, Florida. They spend extensive periods together with their family, socializing in a variety of ways. They engage in family, religious, and educational activities. They socialize together, with Jacob spending many hours at his cousin Benjamin's house. They go to church, music lessons, the library, and even travel to Cape Cod, Massachusetts, where both boys were born, and to other parts of the country as well. They also travel to Brazil once a year together to visit extended family and friends. Often, the two boys also do their respective homework together at Benjamin's house.

Recently, as Jacob worked on an English homework assignment, he demonstrated what I interpreted to be a sign of his deep connection with his Brazilian ethnicity and identity. I present below a vignette illustrating how Jacob's answer to the assignment may also be interpreted as an indication of HLM success. Through his school assignment, Jacob demonstrated some level of proficiency in Portuguese and exhibited a sophisticated level of understanding of Brazil's culture by mentioning "*arroz e feijão*" (**rice and beans**)—Brazil's number one dish, and a food that has many cultural associations with Brazilians.

Jacob is a fourth grader and was recently working on a literacy assignment for school with the help of his aunt, Flavia, my sister, when he surprised us by displaying, through his answers to the activity, how connected he is to his Brazilian/Portuguese roots (details to follow). Jacob's first language is English and Portuguese is his heritage language. He displays a good command of Portuguese and his family members, myself included, have

been ‘pushing’ him to speak it ever since he was a baby. Jacob lived with me from birth to the age of eight, when he and his mother, Amanda, moved to Florida.

He visits Brazil every year and while there, he speaks Portuguese with his maternal great-grandparents and with his extended family. Jacob’s maternal side of the family are Portuguese monolinguals. Jacob’s aunt, Flavia, documented and shared with me the following interaction with Jacob, dealing with the literacy assignment he completed for school:

***Stormalong Goes to Brazil to Eat ‘Arroz e Feijão’ – Thanks to a Heritage Language***

*After reading Stormalong, by Eric Metaxas, the tale of a giant sea captain named Stormalong who was washed ashore on Cape Cod as a baby and raised by the villagers, Jacob needed to create a paragraph describing Stormalong’s new adventure, a new place the character could explore. Jacob decided that Stormalong should go to Brazil next. I was quite surprised and pleased with his choice. First, Jacob’s initial paragraph stated that the first reason why Stormalong should visit Brazil is “because he could eat rice and beans there.” I was a little annoyed with this particular statement. Although rice and beans is indeed the base of the Brazilian diet, I expected that Jacob would mention other also fundamental and bountiful Brazilian comestibles.*

*Careful not to take over his assignment, I encouraged him to bring forth his own experiences based on the many times he has visited Brazil. I asked: “Jacob, when you visit Brazil all you look forward to is to eating rice and beans?”*

*Slightly laughing, he answered, “Noooo, titia (aunty), I look forward to eating the goiabas (guavas); he emphasized the word goiabas.*

*To my relief and contentment, he also mentioned other tropical fruits that are abundant in Brazil, like mangos, for example. As he continued to write, he included Brazil's natural beauty, its landscape, mountains and ocean. He also implied how vast Brazil is, "big enough that even a giant's feet would become sore from the long hikes."*

*He included that Stormy could learn another language. He also mentioned that he could play soccer: "a good sport for small and big people", Jacob said. (Fall, 2020)*

I felt enormously touched - and slightly emotional - when my sister told me the story. However, I was intrigued by the ideologies that may underlie her "annoyance" regarding Jacob's reply. It is possible that Flavia felt annoyed for thinking that Jacob may be erasing the richness of Brazilian culture by providing the perceived simple 'arroz e feijão' (**rice and beans**) reply.

However, I interpret his answer as a sign of his appreciation for the Brazilian culture because it demonstrates his knowledge and a deep connection to his Brazilian roots. Rice and beans is the staple food of Brazil. It is hard to conceive of a Brazilian meal without it as a base (note how it is constructed linguistically as a single element). Furthermore, the term "*arroz e feijão*" stands as a metaphor for things that pair perfectly well together in Brazilian culture – and it appears in music, poetry, in children's stories. The rich and the poor eat it alike. Not even a great amount of money can sophisticate this naturally simple dish. Despite Jacob's bilingualism and his lived experience with Brazilian culture, it comes as a revealing and delightful surprise to both Flavia and me that he would come up with so many references to his heritage as he fulfilled the requirements for his English assignment.

Jacob's reply to the assignment was a pivotal moment in my decision to formally and closely investigate the Santos-Gomez family language and literacy socialization practices through this ethnography. I believe that my intimate account of these trilingual (Portuguese, Spanish, and English) family language policies will contribute to the broader study of HLM.

### **3. 3. Topic Selection Criteria**

It was after Jacob's birth that I first became committed to HLM. I used to hear many parents, including coworkers on Cape Cod, Massachusetts, complaining that their children were 'losing Portuguese.' The combination of my family's interest in raising Jacob bilingual and my readings on the subject as a fulfillment for my doctorate studies led me to this research topic. Five years after Jacob's birth, when my other nephew, Benjamin (Flavia's son) was born, his mother and I committed ourselves to encourage both boys to speak Portuguese as their HL.

To understand my passion for HLM, I tried to answer my own questions – what was my motivation? Why was I so invested in Portuguese as a HL? I discovered through reading the HLM literature that I was moved by what Fishman (1996) termed a “sacred” commitment to the language (p.79). Fishman refers to a person's language as a form of nourishment. In light of that, I take an activist stance in this research: to conduct an ethnographic case study on my own family also represents a way to maintain our heritage, that is, who we are.

My decision to study my own family is not unprecedented. Other linguists, such as Kopeliovich (2013); Roy (2012); Jaeger (1980); and Leopold (1948) have formally studied their own families. By doing so, they have increased their knowledge of HLM as well as

enriched HLM research. In fact, a great benefit to studying one's own family practices is the nearly unlimited access one has to their subjects' daily routines, resulting in substantial and rich research data, which may not be always available to an outside researcher.

I recognize that my emotional connection to the family and influence on their HLM efforts may challenge the objectivity of the study. In order to maintain the integrity of the study and reduce the researcher's bias, I used an ethnographic log to notate direct observations, self-reflection, and comments about interpretations of the findings; and I transcribed portions of conversations with the parents.

Further, I would like to call attention to a possible tendency to point out the positive aspects over the negative due to my positionality as a family member who is invested in maintaining the HL.

I believe that the Santos-Gomez family represents "a sample from which the most can be learned" (Merriam, 2002, p.12). I am not aware of a study in a family with such characteristics, that is to say, speakers of English, Spanish, and Portuguese within the domain of the home. Further, it is important to highlight that the focus of the study is on Portuguese as a HL, although Spanish is amply used in the household and the father's native language. My study contributes to the research of Portuguese as a HL in the United States. Furthermore, I do not perceive my personal connection to the Santos-Gomez as a hindrance. On the contrary, I sense that my connection with them may offer an innovative perspective on this type of ethnographic research. Researchers like Adams, Ellis, & Jones (2017); Ellis & Bochner (2000); and Peshkin (1988) have adopted ethnographic paradigms in their studies

(e.g., autoethnography) where they played the role of researchers as well as of participants. Please refer to Appendix A for additional information on the research background and selection criteria.

### **3.4. Participants**

#### ***Introduction of the Gomez-Santos Family and their Daily Life***

While the Santos-Gomez family is evidently unique, they also embody several of the linguistic and cultural characteristics of multilingual and multicultural families I have seen in the literature. For example, the father comes from Colombia, and the mother from Brazil; she speaks Spanish and English fluently aside from her native Portuguese, while the father is learning Portuguese alongside English as a second language and Spanish as his native language. The couple helps in the rearing of Jacob, who is also picking up some Spanish from Jose. In the meantime, while three languages are spoken in the household, and cultural wealth is shared, the family weaves its own linguistic web.

Flavia Santos, my sister, is a 44-year-old native of Brazil who immigrated to the United States in 1995 at the age of 18 years old. Coming from an impoverished family, she saw the United States as her only chance to pursue her childhood dream of becoming a commercial pilot. She learned English initially through evening ESL programs on Cape Cod, MA. After acquiring some command of English, she earned an associate's degree from a local college. She then transferred to an aviation university where she earned her bachelor's degree. In addition, Flavia became fluent in Spanish during her college years.

Amanda Santos, our niece, my brother's daughter, was born in the United States in 1993 and moved to Brazil in 1996. She was raised by her paternal family. Amanda returned to the United States to live with Flavia and me, at the age of 13 to have better educational opportunities. She learned English, but we spoke Portuguese at home amongst ourselves.

Amanda's son, Jacob, was born in 2010 and the four of us lived together. It was our decision that Jacob should be brought up bilingual. Jacob started attending daycare at six months old where English was the sole language spoken. To the extent possible we stayed firm on our decision to raise Jacob as a bilingual speaker. His mother often spoke to him in English, not by a deliberate choice, but as a reflex of being a learner of English herself and being in a social environment where only English was spoken (e.g., friends, classmates, teachers), which made it challenging for Amanda to establish a "Portuguese only" rule with Jacob. However, Flavia and I insisted that Amanda speak to Jacob in Portuguese because we felt confident that he would learn English in due course.

Jose Gomez is a 37-year-old native of Colombia who immigrated to the U.S. with his parents and siblings in 2000 at the age of 17. He learned English through evening ESL adult classes in Revere, Massachusetts. Like Flavia, he came from a humble beginning and also became a commercial pilot. Now Jose also has some command of Portuguese, which he learned from his wife, Flavia, so that he could communicate with his in-laws and wife's extended family in Brazil, where he visits frequently.



Flavia and Jose met at Cape Air Airlines, where both worked as pilots. They got married in 2012 in Brazil – at the time Flavia had left the United States for Brazil to work as an airline pilot for TAM (now LATAM), a major airline in South America.

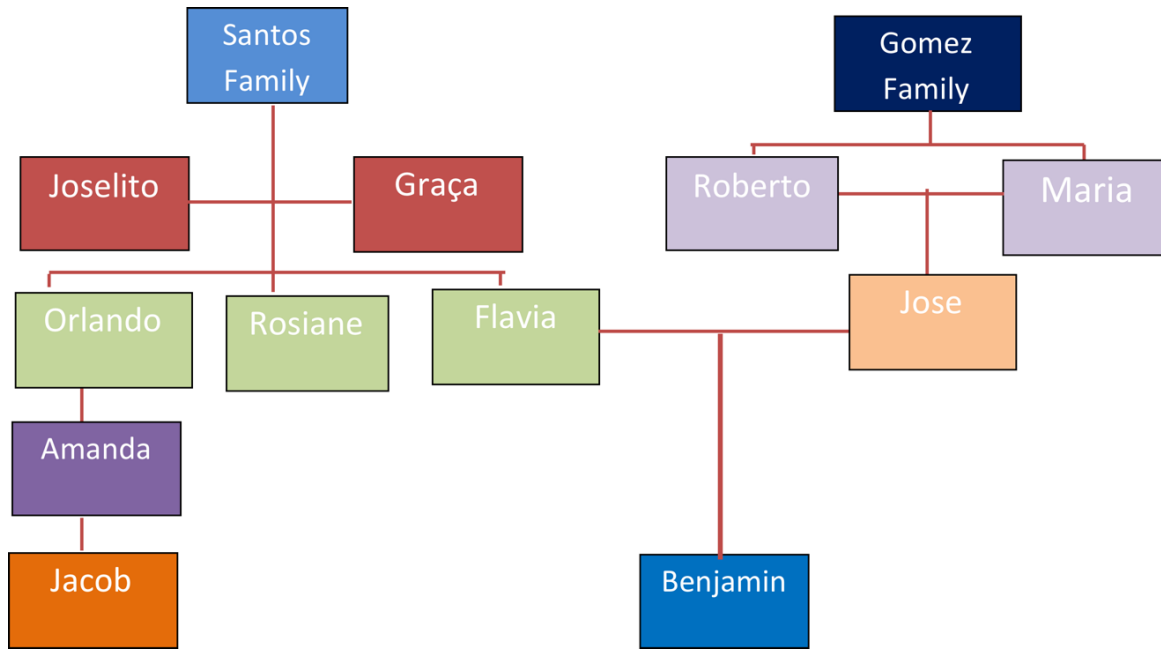
Benjamin Gomez is Flavia and Jose’s 5-year-old son. He was born in Massachusetts and moved to Brazil at the age of six months so that Flavia could return to her job – she was on maternity leave and had decided to give birth to Benjamin in Massachusetts. Benjamin’s grandparents (our parents) took care of Benjamin and spoke to him in Portuguese upon their return to Brazil. Benjamin’s father remained working in the United States and would commute to Brazil every two weeks. Until the age of about four, Benjamin spoke Portuguese and Spanish only. Finally, three months into the research, on December 6<sup>th</sup>, 2021, the family received Joshua, their three-week-old foster baby.

It was Flavia and Jose’s decision that Benjamin should be brought up trilingual. Although up to the time when this dissertation proposal was written, his exposure to English was limited, and the parents have been facilitating Benjamin’s exposure to the acquisition of Portuguese and Spanish, Jose and Flavia were aware that eventually, English would become his primary language. In 2016, when the family returned to the United States, English indeed became more prominent in Benjamin’s life. It was around this time that Benjamin started to spend more time with his cousin Jacob, who was five years his elder. In the fall of 2019, English took precedence as Benjamin started attending preschool at a school where English was the sole medium of instruction.

My obvious connection to the family made me realize that they experienced some, if not most, of the anxieties, struggles, and joys other families experience in their HLM efforts as has been reported widely in the literature (e.g., Smith-Christmas, Bergroth & Bezcioglu-Göktolga, 2019; Schwartz & Verschik, 2013; Brown, 2011; Kopeliovich, 2010; and Lao, 2004). I believe that the documentation of their language policies, ideologies, and practices may encourage other families to pursue their goal of maintaining their heritage languages as well. Through an activist research approach (Hale, 2000) this study makes use of a “participatory research process” that aims to have a “tangible and practical impact” on the lives of the research players (p. 15). Moreover, this study contributes to HLM studies as one of the few that examines how a family negotiates three languages – Portuguese as one of them - amongst themselves.

Figure 1

*Family Tree*



*Diagram presenting the Santos and the Gomez families*

**3.5. Research Settings**

*The Family at Home and in their Community in Florida*

Jose, Flavia, and Benjamin live about 10 minutes from Amanda and Jacob in the Tampa Bay area in Florida. Amanda, a single mother, is an accountant and at the time of this study, attended school online. She was pursuing a master’s degree in accounting. Given her busy schedule, she relied heavily on Jose and Flavia’s help with Jacob while she was at work. She attends to her schoolwork in the evening, while she also helps Jacob with his homework. Amanda used to drop Jacob at school in the morning and either Jose or Flavia, often both,

picked him up and brought him to their house. Amanda would pick him up after work, on her way home. Sometimes the whole family eats dinner together at the Santos-Gomez home.

Jose's flying schedule rotates so he is away for two weeks and home for two weeks. Flavia opted for a flying schedule that affords her a chance to be more at home with Benjamin. Flavia's choice of schedule was deliberate, since both parents' professions keep them away from home for several days at a time, which makes their lives as parents challenging. For this reason, Flavia reduced her hours and consequently monetary gain. Jose and Flavia's work schedule choice also benefited Amanda and Jacob by providing Jacob with safe and loving home-based care while his mother works. Moreover, it afforded the cousins the opportunity to spend many hours together.

Jose, Flavia, Jacob, and Benjamin attend church in the morning on Sundays. On Tuesdays the boys have music lessons after school at their church. Every other Thursday Jose, Benjamin, and Jacob go out to eat donuts after school. They call it "donut day." Sometimes, when Amanda is off from work, she joins the family for an outing or to play tennis in the park, a sport the family has recently started to learn. Sometimes, when Amanda is off and Jose's and Flavia's schedules do not line up and both need to be at work at the same time, Amanda watches the boys. When Flavia is home, she recruits the boys to help her in the garden, an activity that she picked up recently for her own enjoyment.

### **3.5.1. Family Literacy Practices**

The family reads books together and the boys frequently work on some "projeto" (project). The term *projeto* is used, somewhat jokingly in disdain, as the boys are constantly

drawing, doing paper sculptures, and arts and crafts in general. On the days they do not have school they study the Bible, pray, and sing Christian songs together. They also pray before meals and before bed. They read Bible stories in English because Jose and Flavia have more access to different versions of the Bible in English (e.g., The Children’s Illustrated Bible, The Action Bible, Kids Study Bible). They pray in Portuguese the majority of the time, but if Jacob and Benjamin do not know a word in Portuguese for what they are trying to say, they speak in English.

### **3.5.2. The Private and the Community Library**

Benjamin has about 65 books in Portuguese and 15 in Spanish, despite the fewer number of books in Spanish, it is a language fully present in the household. However, for the past year or so, she has prioritized the reading of English books for Benjamin since he is learning how to read and write at school. His school in the Tampa Bay area adopts a repetition system of teaching where the child reads the same text or book multiple times. Although Flavia has decided to focus on English for now, she intends to teach him how to read and write in Portuguese and Spanish, once writing and reading in English is solid for him. She also plans to help her nephew Jacob improve his reading and writing skills in Portuguese, which were basic at the time of this writing. (Personal conversation, February 24, 2021).

Children’s literacy has long been an area of research interest and in the last decades, the interest in HL children has grown significantly. Heath (2010) sees “sustained language interaction with children and real pleasure in doing and being *with* children in all stages of

development from infancy to childhood” as crucial in notions and praxis of family literacy (p. 33, emphasis in original). One of the literacy strategies that Flavia adopts, which may illustrate Heath’s assertion about being *with* children is, for example, when Jacob or Benjamin asks her a word in Portuguese that happens to be a cognate, she asks them to think of the sound in English, as they repeat the cognate in Portuguese out loud. She has reported to me that she thinks this encourages them to think, instead of giving them a direct answer. Most times the boys can come up with the meaning they are looking for. Flavia celebrates these moments with words of praise to Jacob and Benjamin— ‘*exatamente*’, ‘*muito bom*’, ‘*você conseguiu*’; (**exactly, very good, you got it**).

An example of Flavia’s commitment to the boys’ literacy in Portuguese was verified when, in February 2021, per Flavia’s request, our brother (Jacob’s grandfather and Benjamin’s uncle) brought from Brazil 38 children’s books, including three on foundational literacy in Portuguese and two on the legends of our hometown – Espírito Santo, southeast Brazil.

Jacob and Benjamin visit the local public library regularly. Jose and Flavia limit the boys’ amount of electronics use. On average they watch two English movies per week, occasionally they watch videos in Portuguese together as a family and sometimes they are allowed to use Flavia’s iPad to watch “how to draw” videos. These movies and videos are in English. Since around December 2020, the boys have been watching Brazilian shows for kids, some of which Flavia, my brother, and I – and later Amanda – watched as children in Brazil. This is a deliberate attempt to enrich their Portuguese vocabulary while at the same time encouraging them to maintain Portuguese in a way that they enjoy. Outside the family,

Jacob and Benjamin have no opportunity to speak Portuguese in their Florida community or at their school.

### **3.5.3. The Family on Cape Cod**

For the last two years, Jacob and Benjamin have visited Cape Cod, Massachusetts, where both boys were born, at least twice each year. They used to stay in my house. On such occasions, we always invited friends for meals. Eventually, we had birthday parties there too. In those visits, Jacob and Benjamin had a chance to speak Portuguese more broadly with their family, friends, and adults who came to visit. But while playing with friends from Cape Cod, English inevitably takes precedence. Usually, Flavia and I would ask that they speak to the adults in Portuguese. This initiative is twofold – it offered them the opportunity to practice Portuguese and we tried to show the boys that speaking Portuguese is a sign of respect to our friends whose English proficiency is limited. In November 2020, for example, Flavia and Amanda took the boys to Cape Cod to celebrate Jacob’s 10<sup>th</sup> birthday. At a party held in my house, Portuguese was largely more spoken than English by adults, as the majority of the guests spoke Portuguese. Among the children, however, only English was spoken; in such situations, English is the natural default language for Jacob and Benjamin because some of their friends did not speak Portuguese.

### **3.5.4. The Family in Brazil**

Once a year, we visit Brazil together. While there, the boys need to speak Portuguese since extended family and friends are Portuguese monolingual speakers. The boys’ grandparents (respectively Jacob’s great-grandparents and Benjamin’s grandparents; I will

use grandparents for matters of readability) show admiration and appreciation for the fact that they can speak English and Portuguese. In a recent telephone conversation with their grandmother (my mother), she said that she finds it important that the boys speak Portuguese since it is “their root; their mothers’ language” (personal conversation, January 2021).

While in Brazil, we stay at my parents’ small farm and the boys have developed friendships with some of the neighbors’ children. Jacob and Benjamin visit uncles, aunts, and several cousins in Brazil. Many family members come to our house to spend time with us. We eat meals together, retell family anecdotes, and try to engage the boys with the visitors by asking them to greet and tell our guests something the boys have been doing in Brazil. For example, on one of our visits, they helped my father sift the dried pod beans my father had harvested weeks before our arrival. Their paternal grandfather is fond of bringing the boys to see the orchard to pick fruits that are in season. He also enjoys taking Jacob and Benjamin to harvest *mandioca* (yuca), a root vegetable very popular in Brazil and easy to uproot.

### **3.5.5. HLM through Family Plays**

Kopeliovich (2019) asserts that the project to maintain HLs needs “three vital vitamins: creativity, community, and humor.” Kopeliovich is the mother of four children who are growing up trilingual. Her work represents one example of past HLM research conducted on one’s own family. Her family speaks Hebrew, Russian, and English and they live in Israel. She has made her and her husband’s experience of maintaining her children’s HLs her academic pursuit.



She has collected data from her own experience with HLM in her family for many years. Her data include various artifacts, such as videos and drawings. She also collected fieldnotes from her observations. Kopeliovich saved portions of conversations she has had with her husband about their language policies to discuss their FLP strategies later. She notated her children's various linguistic mix-ups that account for laughs in the household and that became a new lexicon for them. Later, Kopeliovich's data became the foundation for a great number of her HLM publications.

### **3.6. Research Design**

This research is a qualitative multi-sited ethnographic case study of one family. Qualitative research takes the view that meaning is socially constructed by persons in interaction with their environment. Reality, therefore, is not a "fixed, single, agreed upon, or measurable phenomena" (Merriam, 2002, p. 3). For my investigation of the linguistic everyday practices of this trilingual family, I adopted an ethnographic approach, as it is understood to be an encompassing method, therefore fitting to document the Santos-Gomez family language's ever-moving socialization process and their HLM ideologies and practices.

The approach helps us to see how their linguistic experiences create and shape social, linguistic, and cultural meanings for the family. For Fossey et al. (2002), in ethnography, to explain meaning is to explore and highlight its peculiar social and cultural contexts. Moreover, ethnography also investigates how a "phenomenon has been constituted within a community" (p. 720), since ethnography is designed "to understand people's activities from their point of view" (Wortham & Reyes, 2015, p. 73).

This ethnographic study was conducted and interpreted through a sociocultural lens, with a focus on the interconnection of children's socialization, language negotiation strategies, and language maintenance. I collected data through various methods (e.g., field notes, interviews, observations, and video and audio recordings) and provided the opportunity for analytic triangulation across different data sources. Johnson (1992) highlighted the importance of triangulation because it “reduces observer or interviewer bias and enhances the validity and reliability of the information” (p. 146).

### **3.6.1. Multi-sited Ethnography**

The research flexibility I experienced was afforded by a multi-sited ethnography approach. Multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1995) is a methodological approach that allowed me the flexibility to ‘move around’ with my participants. Additionally, instead of a single research site, multi-sited ethnography places its focus on speakers in their ‘movements’ across geographical and linguistic spaces.

Given my intimacy with the family, and that I would be living, traveling, and joining social activities with the Santos-Gomez, I decided that the multi-sided ethnography approach would be suitable for my research planning.

Indeed, the methodology was fitting for the research on the Santos-Gomes as a “transnational famil[y]” (Boccagni, 2016) because it allowed me the possibility to examine the participants’ transnational experiences by traveling with them, and participating in school activities with them, while also notating the relationship between them as immigrants with their “left behind kin” (e.g., Kwon, 2019; Boccagni, 2016; and Avni, 2011). Through the

multi-sited ethnographic approach, I became an active agent of my participants' realities for the duration of the study.

To follow the family around in their social and religious activities and to collect data from multiple sites, I moved to Florida in September 2021 to live with the family. I then became physically present in their lives virtually every day. My proximity to them made me consider the questions of my presence being a hindrance to the research given my everyday presence in their lives could cause discomfort or even annoyance to the family members. Delgado (2009), in her study, had a similar question. Thus, she tried to physically position herself in the family's house in the least obtrusive way possible.

Due to my full access to the family's physical space and my welcomed participation in their social and home activities, including access to the boy's bedtime routine and my participation in household chores and cooking, there were times when we were 'in each other's way.' This full participation represented the "participant-observer paradox"; that is, my very presence and the practice of research itself (e.g., note-taking devices, video recording) may have had an effect on the study that could not be completely avoided because individuals affect what is seen because we observe each other's behavior and our actions are a reflection of it (Duranti, 1997, p. 118).

### **3.6.2. Data Collection**

I lived with the family for 13 months for data collection, beginning in September 2021 and ending in October 2023. I initially intended to spend the first three months of the research period (September, October, and November 2021) getting my bearings with the

family and learning their language practices. However, because I was very familiar with their practices, I initiated collecting data soon after I moved into the house in September 2021.

One exception to the set period of data collection was our visit to Brazil in 2021. Given that we were going through the COVID pandemic, the trip was an opportunity for data collection that could not happen again before the end of the research. Therefore, I collected data and interviewed the grandparents during our visit in June/July 2021.

Within about five months of data collection, as I observed the boys at play, dinner-time family conversations, religious practices at home, outings, bedtime routine, church services, boys in interaction with friends and strangers in the community, the focus areas of analyses were evident to me. The themes of religious practices and HLM, humor and play and HLM, and the family interactions with extended family and friends during a visit to Brazil would be the main areas of analysis.

I audio and video recorded the family in over one hundred interactions. For example, I audio and video recorded the boys praying with their family (they usually pray in Portuguese). I recorded Jacob and Benjamin's conversations with their grandparents in Brazil via the telephone (WhatsApp applicative). I observed and participated in family activities such as playing games, eating meals, reading books, and walking in the park. Field notes were collected during all these activities. I tried to log the direct observations and my interpretation of the events in the observation journal as soon as possible to not lose momentum and to secure description accuracy. I observed the boys as they interacted among themselves and with other friends.

During our trip to Brazil, I observed Jacob and Benjamin in direct interaction with their Portuguese monolingual grandparents and friends. Interviews with Jacob and Benjamin's grandparents were performed in person in July 2021. The interviews were transcribed verbatim and later translated into English.

I took field notes continuously, paying special attention to moments when family language policy issues arose, and I made note of family language negotiations in these exchanges. I audio and video recorded instances of play, studying, and Bible studies on a daily/weekly basis. I provided a chart, after data had been collected, containing the number of hours devoted to each methodology, e.g., interviews, observations at home, in the community, and church.(Appendix F, Table 4).

I interviewed Jose, Flavia, Amanda, and the maternal grandparents once formally. However, we talked about HLM challenges, successes, and ideas several times throughout the research. The interviews with Amanda, Flavia, and Jose took place in December 2021. I checked in with Flavia and Jose throughout my observation to get feedback from the family on their impressions of language practices that I had documented in my field notes, especially as I revisited the research questions: (1) What discourse strategies are employed by the Santos-Gomez family in language and literacy socialization practices? (2) What linguistic, cultural, or religious ideologies influence these practices? (3) What are the explicit language planning initiatives made by family members with regard to the children's HLs and English? and (4) What is the family language policy that is instantiated through these practices, ideologies, and planning initiatives?

A sample of my interview questions for each of the family members can be found in Appendix C. I also collected artifacts, including videos, photos in Brazil and with the grandparents, drawings, and crafts by the boys.

Finally, the data analyzed in the three analytical chapters have been extracted from a pool of about 93 hours of audio and video recordings; field notes, self-reflection notes, and interviews collected from September 2021 to October 2022.

### **3.7. Instruments and Processes**

To try to maintain a rigorous research practice, I used a reflexive fieldnote journal. The journal consisted of three main columns: (a) direct observation, (b) personal interpretation, and (c) self-reflection. This exercise assisted in keeping possible biases in check as data were analyzed. Table 2, containing a log of direct observations, personal interpretation, and self-reflection, can be found in Appendix E.

#### **3.7.1. Interviews**

Unstructured interviews with open-ended questions were adopted. This method helped to keep the interviews current and engaging since it “require[s] the participants to respond to their own words” (Iwaniec, 2020, p. 329). It was important to maintain an open-minded attitude in anticipation of unpredictable factors that might occur to slightly or greatly change the course of the interview or the research. Thus, as a researcher, I tried to be flexible to accommodate such changes. For example, initially, one set of data collection had been planned to take place on Cape Cod since the whole family has a strong connection with the

place and has many friends there who could have contributed to the research. However, due to the travel restrictions imposed by COVID-19, the family and I could not travel during that period.

Also, in the interest of preserving the integrity of the research, I performed self-reflection to reevaluate the research questions, constantly rethinking the initial research proposal, to attest to the truthfulness of the project. Finally, the exercise of self-reflection allowed me ‘to see what is missing’ – frameworks not initially outlined in this proposal that surfaced throughout the research. For example, the work of family discourse analysis (Tannen, 2015; Gordon, 2002, 2015) became an integral framework for the discourse analyses of the family’s interaction in this project. Later in this dissertation, I offer a sample outline of how I performed self-reflexivity.

Finally, I conducted a member-check strategy periodically to both check the accuracy of my understanding and interpretation of their answers and I also member-checked as a tool to gauge my learning of their linguistic realities— a way to compare what I was already familiar with to the new knowledge of their FLPs I was acquiring.

### **3.7.2. Transcriptions**

Relevant audio and video recorded collected data were transcribed verbatim. The transcription model utilized was adapted from the Jefferson Transcription System. I used a modification version of discourse analytic conventions employed in interactional sociolinguistic research (e.g., Gordon, 2015, 2002; Tannen & Gordon, 2007; Baquedano-López, 1997; and Tannen, 1987).

I started to loosely, without a set schedule, transcribe the audio and video recordings early on, around June 2023, before the data collection period ended in October 2023. Once I noticed the repetition of emerging themes, I spent time reflecting on which example to choose.

There was a total of about 60 transcriptions ranging in theme from religious studies, outings in the community, interactions with friends and strangers, to humor & play. The transcriptions from the trips to Brazil were accounted for separately, totaling about 20 transcripts. After the audio and video recorded data had been transcribed, all necessary transcriptions were translated from Portuguese and Spanish into English. Translanguaging was expected and any passages where it occurred were marked and transcribed accordingly.

I selected the video and audio transcriptions that reflected the linguistics, FLP, and language socialization themes I witnessed emerging during family interactions. For example, generally speaking, there was always behavior that needed to be attended to during the Bible studies; humorous situations also emerged frequently causing loud laughter. Often there were promises of awards if the boys answered questions in Portuguese and if they joined translating games. It was illuminating to observe, as a HLM practitioner and researcher, how the parents, particularly Flavia, turned these situations into HLM strategies.

As for the transcripts from the family trip to Brazil, the theme of multimodality soon became recurrent. It was particularly detected when the maternal grandfather, Joselito, used different methods (e. g., riddles, games, writing in the palm of his hands) to teach Portuguese to Jacob and Benjamin. It became evident that the grandfather's strategies contributed to the



HLM as they maintain the boys engaged in the learning activities, as can be verified. Another recurrent theme noted from the family trip to Brazil was the social interactions between the boys with family friends and how Jacob and Benjamin learned Portuguese through these effective interactions.

It should be noted that the transcriptions I chose to use in the dissertation are only a fraction of the total amount of transcriptions I had collected. Therefore, I acknowledge that I may have missed other important elements that could be relevant to future HLM research.

### **3.8. Analytic Procedures and Tools**

#### ***Analysis of Fieldnotes and Audio/Video Recordings***

Following Heath & Street (2008), I reviewed my field notes and wrote conceptual memos to discover and document themes and trends that emerged in my data. Gumperz's (1982) concepts of contextualization cues and situated inferencing illuminated the analysis of the communicative events that emerged in the data, since "communication is a social activity requiring the coordinated efforts of two or more individuals" (p. 1).

Importantly, I must note that my research was conducted in a family in their home-based practices. Hence, I could not have a set schedule for data collection. I was living with the family and participating in virtually all social and religious practices that they engaged in. By the research's intimate and intense nature, my data collection method was both structured (e.g., audio and video recordings of daily Bible studies) and random (e.g., in the car). For this reason, I would have my audio or video recorder set before each Bible study session as they

were a regular practice in the family. Additionally, I had notebooks around the house, in my car, and my purses so that I could take notes as interactions occurred.

Later in the evening, I would describe my notes in greater detail. About once a week I would perform preliminary analyses review of notes and pay attention to recurrent themes about practices I would like to observe more clearly.

There were a few instances where Jacob and Benjamin randomly made comments I considered compelling about Portuguese, or HLM in general, and I asked them to repeat their statements or comments so that I could take note or record them.

Another activity that helped to keep me grounded as a researcher was my and Flavia's exchange of insights. Because we are familiar with each other's interest in HLM, Flavia shared with me interactions that she had had with Benjamin and Jacob which she found relevant and sometimes even illuminating for HLM in general. Other times she told me about some of her interactions with the boys for the sheer joy of telling a beautiful story and I took note for considering it relevant to the field of HLM.

Finally, I asked for Jose's and Flavia's, and in some instances, Jacob's and Benjamin's insights about an observation I had made to compare their ideas with mine. Often it was the case that Jose and Flavia acknowledged that my findings revealed the same issues they were grappling with in their HLM initiatives.

I also relistened to and transcribed sections of my audio recordings that illuminated significant moments that related to my research questions. I followed Wortham & Reyes's

(2015) model for identifying indexicals in family discourse that point to relevant cultural models. As prior researchers have pointed out, this was a recursive process (Wortham & Reyes 2015; Heath & Street 2008).

### **3.8.1. Analysis of Interviews**

Following earlier theorizing of interviews by linguistic anthropologists (De Fina & Perrino 2011; Blommaert & Jie 2010), I considered my interviews as situated speech events and treated them with sensitivity to the social context in which they occur, including the participant roles of the interviewer and interviewees and my role as a family member and as a researcher. My position as both a researcher and a family member required reflexivity; that is to say, the need “to develop awareness of preconceptions [and] to reflect on action taken.” (Fossey et al., 2002, p. 728). My role as a family member, linguist, and someone who supports HLM undoubtedly influenced the family members' responses. At the end of my observations, I provide a log sample detailing the amount of time spent on each category of data collection (e.g., video and audio recording, field notes, interviews, observations). See Table 3 in Appendix F.

## **3.9. Ethical Considerations**

### ***Researcher Positionality and Subjectivity***

I approached the present research fully aware of my personal involvement with the participants. I was physically and emotionally engaged in social, recreational, religious, and educational activities with them.

This connection with the study participants emphasized an awareness that resonates with the concern raised by Lincoln & Guba (1986) regarding the preservation of “maximum rigor while departing from laboratory control to work in the “real world” in order to maintain the integrity and credibility of the research (p. 73). The ‘real world’ of my research is a world in which I am fully involved. I lived with the participants, shared meals with them, prayed with them, did social activities with them, traveled with them, and read books with and to Jacob and Benjamin. In all these activities I, directly and indirectly, worked to maintain Portuguese as their HL.

While I acknowledge and value Lincoln & Guba’s (1986) concerns with the ‘trustworthiness’ and rigor of qualitative research, I also made use of Mikhail Bakhtin’s widely known concept of *dialogism* in my treatment of the data. Essentially, dialogism defines communication (utterances) as a co-construction between speaker and hearer. Based on this widely accepted sociocultural paradigm, I expanded my transcripts and notations process of member-checking by frequently checking in with the family about the data. Hence, to an extent, the process of data transcription was a dialogical one where I hope to have contributed to the broadening of the family’s sociocultural HLM contexts, offering the Santos-Gomez the opportunity “to theorize their own experience” (Harvey, 2014, p. 24).

The decision to research my family raised further awareness about the need to attend closely and carefully to my own subjectivity as a researcher. Part of this consciousness effort was addressed through the use of a self-reflection journal (Table 3). The activity of logging direct observations and contrasting them to one’s own interpretation of the observations assisted in delineating the roles of the researcher and that of the researcher-participant.

Subjectivity, therefore, should not be disregarded; I tried to bring it to the fore as an integral element of my research, contributing to the research's "sincerity" and "credibility" (Duff, 2020, p. 151). Peshkin (1988) sees one's subjectivity as a "garment that cannot be removed" (p. 17). He further explained:

subjectivity can be seen as virtuous, for it is the basis of researchers' making a distinctive contribution, one that results from the unique configuration of their personal qualities joined to the data they collected (p. 18).

As it has been stated previously, the study of one's own family is not unprecedented. Other linguists have engaged in similar studies, contributing with an exclusive collection of data to the field of HLM (Guardado, 2012). The aim of the present study was to provide data from a unique trilingual family and their efforts toward the maintenance of Portuguese as their HLM.

Finally, despite the use of pseudonyms, the participants can be easily traceable. I brought this matter to the attention of Jose Flavia, and all involved in this research, and they demonstrated no concerns about it.

### **3.10. Practical Considerations**

I did not experience any difficulties in obtaining formal permission for the interviews nor spending time at the family's house for the duration of the research project. Indeed, in conversations with Flavia and Jose, they agreed to the project and demonstrated enthusiasm to be a part of the research. Indeed, their cooperation did not dwindle throughout the study.

Heritage language maintenance activities have been a reality in their household; they have invested time and effort to maintain Portuguese and Spanish alive in their home. I must however consider that given the social challenges and travelling restrictions imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic, the timeframe for the research and details of the locations where to follow the family had to be slightly readjusted.

Lastly, considering that the research required that I moved from Massachusetts to Florida, certain dates and timeframes listed on the research timeline log, presented in Appendix B, Table 1, had to be adjusted. IRB clearance was obtained in May 2021 in preparation for the data collection which began in September 2021, and a three-week trip to Brazil with the family in June-July 2021.

The next chapter is the first analytical chapter and it presents analyses of data of the Santos-Gomez family as they engage in their daily religious practices and how these religious practices relate to HLM.

## CHAPTER 4

### RELIGIOUS PRACTICES AND HLM

#### **4.1. Introduction**

Because religious rituals are a central practice in this family's daily routine where the HL is encouraged, and because these practices are important spaces for language and literacy socialization in this family, this chapter examines religious practices in the Santos-Gomez family household and highlights the interconnection between religious practices, cultural assimilation, and language socialization with HLM. I begin the chapter by offering an overview of the parents' FLP (4.2), following, I present the family's religious affiliations in general – their beliefs, core statutes, and the foundation of their religion (4.3). Then I offer an insider's perspective into the family's daily religious practices and rituals within the intimacy of their home (4.4).

Next, I offer a brief explanation of the family's religious practices in connection with their HLM initiatives more specifically (4.4.1.). I then provide a detailed analysis of concrete instances from my data that illustrate (a) the intermingling of religious beliefs practices and HLM, (b) HLM and emotions within a Bible reading, (c) HLM strategies reflect parent's

general rearing style, and (d) Portuguese vocabulary limitation accounts for linguistic creativity. I conclude by discussing the contributions of this study to the literature in HLM.

#### **4.2. The Parental Language Planning: an Overview**

Before describing the religious practices of the family, I provide an account of what I know about Flavia and Jose's FLP, aspirations, and efforts regarding the maintenance of their HLs. During the collection data period for my research, I conducted one formal interview, on December 27, 2021, with the couple. Beyond the interview, we had, particularly Flavia and I, numerous conversations, exchange of insights, and sharing of hopes and setbacks about the maintenance of Portuguese. Additionally, I shared with Flavia insights from HLM literature that intertwined with what we witnessed in our household. My investment in the maintenance of Portuguese, shared by Flavia, and my residency with the family for over two years, made me very familiar with their HLM initiatives and FLP.

##### ***Flavia***

Flavia is a central figure in the maintenance of Portuguese in the Santos-Gomez household. She wants to maintain Portuguese because it is her native language, and she wants her son and nephew to be able to communicate with her parents, extended family, and friends in Brazil. Despite her occasional frustrations with Jacob's and Benjamin's resistance to speaking it, she has not abandoned her determination to influence them to speak Portuguese, even if she has to resort to the promise of rewards. Considering that Jacob and Benjamin seldom have opportunities to speak Portuguese outside of their home, Flavia is making her family a relevant, and oftentimes, the sole place of language policy for the transmission and



maintenance of Portuguese. As Spolsky (2009) has asserted, the family is a bottom-up domain of FLP that cannot be ignored.

Sometimes she appeals to Jacobs's and particularly to Benjamin's emotions, telling him that when he rejects her language, he is rejecting her, as Flavia's language is an integral part of who she is. She reported that she tries not to rely on that "guilt trip too long" but that she uses it as a persuasive resource that she considers valid. She finds that Benjamin is responsive to it: "He will look into my eyes and reflect on what I'm saying." (Parent's Interview, 12.27.21). Flavia also uses storytelling, formal and impromptu word games, telephone calls to Brazil, and Bible discussions to optimize the use of Portuguese at home.

Flavia is a language worker in her own right. In the words of Gabas (2018), who studied transnational South Korean mothers' efforts to maintain Portuguese in Brazil against the dominance of English, Flavia is a "non-official agent of Portuguese promotion" (p. 791, my translation)

### *Jose*

Jose expresses his wishes that Benjamin speaks these languages to be able to communicate with the rest of his family, including his parents, who live in the US but whose English is limited; and to his grandparents who live in Colombia and do not speak English. Jose considers Spanish a part of who he is and wants to "extend that legacy" to his son (Interview, 12.27.21). The couple alludes to family affiliation, the transmission of legacy, language as identity, and enhanced cognitive abilities as the reasons for HLM. They would not oppose professional advancements should Benjamin or Jacob become fluent speakers of

Portuguese or Spanish, but this is not their aim as HLM advocates. Jose calls the opportunity for human beings to communicate with each other a “beautiful thing and a blessing”.

Right after Benjamin started attending school, Jose established an informal policy where father and son would speak in Spanish to each other for six days, and one day off after that. Once Benjamin learned how to read in English, it was difficult to implement the policy given that English is Benjamin’s main language. To avoid confusion for Benjamin, Jose decided not to “push” and his HLM policies became fluid - they would speak Spanish as the occasions arose. Jose relies daily on his feign lack of comprehension - *¿como?* (**what**) and “*Estas hablando en ingles*” (**¡You’re speaking English!**) to remind Benjamin to switch to Spanish.

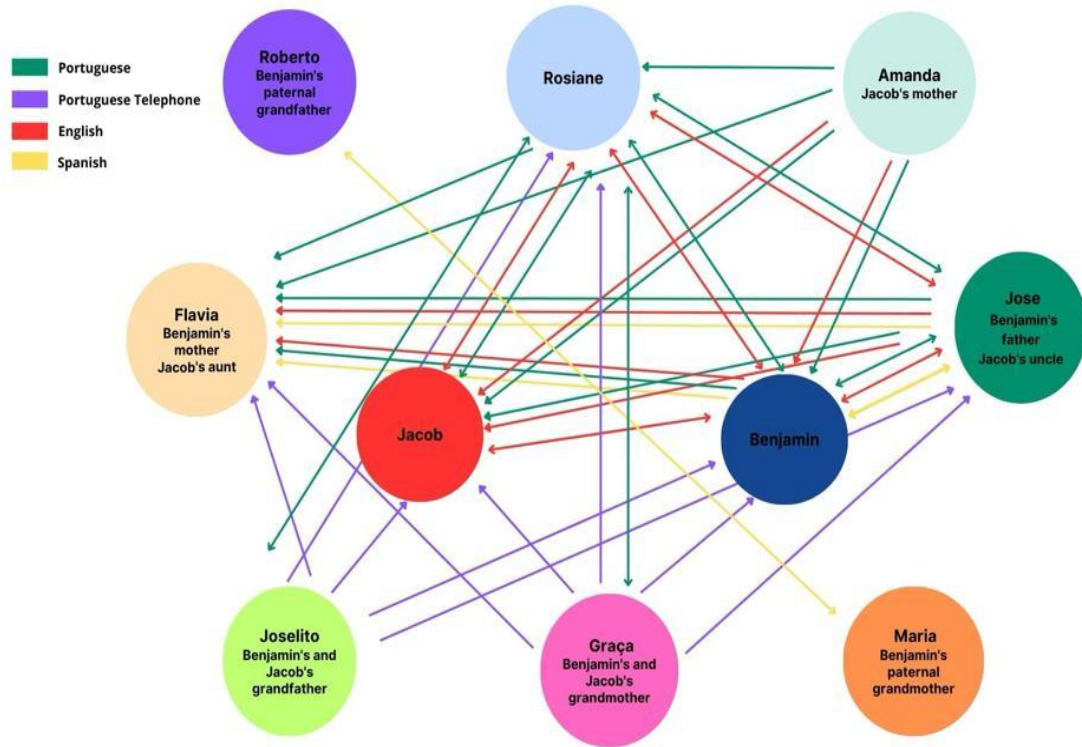
In the interview, Jose said that if he wants to help his son maintain his HLs, he needs to help himself first. Jose called himself a “hypocrite”, saying that his language (Spanish) “has not grown; that it has been stagnant. I have not read a book in Spanish in a while.” However, Jose recognized that he and Flavia read lots of books in Portuguese to Benjamin and that perhaps it was time for him to also start reading books in Spanish to his son as a HLM strategy.

The couple does not establish an overt policy regarding HLM. They rely on the hope that Benjamin would speak the languages as a “natural thing.” In the interview, Jose recalled a day when he was sitting at the table with Flavia and Benjamin – before the boy started attending school, and he rejoiced at seeing his son talking back and forth with his mother in Portuguese and with him in Spanish. He laments that soon after Benjamin started school at

age five, he only wanted to focus on English as if “he never spoke Spanish or Portuguese before.”

Figure 2

*The Santos-Gomez Family Home Linguistic Environment*



*Diagram of the Santos-Gomez Family Linguistic Environment*

**4.3. Religious Practices Outside of the Home**

The Santos-Gomez is a Christian family that belongs to an American Baptist sect of the religion. Christianity is a monotheistic religion, and its name derives from Jesus Christ. The core principle of Christianity, and what differentiates it from all other religions, is that in it, God was incarnated in his son, Jesus Christ, and descended from Heaven to be with and

save humanity. Christian faith is defined by the desire to live according to the teachings of Jesus Christ of Nazareth and follow him as a rabbi and as the savior of the world.

Currently, the family attends Bay Fellowship Church Sunday services weekly, and the church's services are led solely in English. Jacob and Benjamin participate in Sunday Bible School every week, where they learn and discuss Bible stories and learn about ethical and moral living according to Christian teachings. Every week the boys bring home a lesson-themed craft that was made in class, such as a painting, collage, or drawing.

The family also joins their church community to celebrate major Christian holidays, mainly Christmas and Easter. They also join other community events that take place at church members' homes or in the community at large. The boys participate in Vacation Bible School each year during regular school vacations. In these week-long gatherings, Jacob and Benjamin play, participate in competitions, sing, dance, read the Bible, engage in theatrical performances, and compete in sports with other children their ages. These practices are all in English. The only time I have seen the boys being formally exposed to community events in a language other than English was when they attended a Spanish storytelling session at their public library in Pleasant Bay, Florida.

#### **4.4. Religious Practices at Home**

Beyond the family's religious practices in the church, the Santos-Gomez keeps some of the same practices at home. However, while at home the family makes an effort to conduct their religious reflections mainly in Portuguese, although sometimes Spanish is used too.

Flavia, a native speaker of Portuguese and a fluent speaker of Spanish, has no objection that Benjamin speaks Spanish during Bible studies.

Their Bible studies consist of a Bible reading in English, followed by a discussion in Portuguese (that is Jose and Flavia's aim), ending with a prayer. Their prayers are extemporaneous—that is, the family does not follow a prayer book, as is customary in some religions. The family also prays together for their day in general and when a family member or friend is living through difficult circumstances.

The family gathers at least 3 times a week on average to read and study the Bible. On some occasions, they go to a nearby park and perform a shorter version of the Bible practice they do at home. At the park, they sit on the grass, read a Bible story, discuss the story, and pray. Jose and Flavia see the practice as a fundamental activity for the boys' spiritual and intellectual growth. As it will be illustrated, Jose and Flavia interlace biblical stories and moral lessons directly into Jacob and Benjamin's lives, a parental practice referred to as "intertextuality in action" (Tovares, 2020).

#### **4.4.1. Bible Reading and HLM at Home**

The biblical readings and discussions take place in the living room, adjacent to the kitchen and breakfast nook. The family devotionals usually start after breakfast on Saturdays and holidays when most family members are home. On some rare occasions, they take place on weekdays before Benjamin goes to school. Saturday became the ideal day for Jacob to join the remainder of the family since he spends most of the weekend with his uncle, aunts, and cousins while his mother is at work.

The Children's Illustrated Bible (Hastings & Thomas, 1994) that the boys read the stories from sits on the living room coffee table. The family decided to use an English Bible and not a Portuguese version because Flavia and Jose are fond of the edition they use. The book offers beautiful and rich illustrations as well as photographs for each story. Each page is bordered by maps, linguistic information pertaining to the period of the story, and snapshots of cultural traditions and historical facts related to the period in which the story occurred. Jacob and Benjamin have had Bibles in Portuguese, but they outgrew them.

The boys have the liberty and are encouraged to choose a new story to read every time unless they resume a story that has already been started during a previous session, or Flavia, who is keen on reviewing stories for pedagogical and persuasive purposes, recapitulates familiar narratives. Frequently, however, Benjamin wants to read the same story repeatedly. Sometimes his wish is attended to, and other times he is encouraged to choose a different Bible story. Flavia's and Benjamin's divergent preferences when Benjamin wants to read the same story and Flavia prefers that he goes to the next story has a pedagogical reason. When Benjamin is very familiar with the story, Flavia prefers that they go to the next or the next sequence of events. By doing so, he can gain a general context of the story as a whole.

Jose and Flavia establish no strict rituals in terms of a dress code or seating arrangements before the practices begin. However, the boys must have their shirts on, and they should maintain a sense of reverence: they are required to be seated, they are not allowed to use electronics and are asked not to get up frequently. The duration of each of these Bible sessions is one hour long on average. Usually, the family gathers for Bible study after breakfast; they begin with the boys choosing a story. They proceed to review what they

know about the narrative, which sometimes becomes a reflection. Following, they pray that the story will be comprehensible and relevant to their lives. The family then discusses the story by answering questions and applying its potential lessons to their lives. They finally pray at the end.

During these practices, behavior issues frequently arise. For example, sometimes challenges emerge from Benjamin's unwillingness to comply with the activity proposed for the Bible study of the day. For example, a parent might propose that one boy reads the story, and the other one translates it, and Benjamin may resist these arrangements or assert a new order mid-activity. This behavior is generally characteristic of Benjamin outside of the family's religious practices as well. For example, he strongly verbalizes his opinion about how other home activities should be conducted and argues when his parents' opinion diverges from his own. Excerpt 4B will present and discuss this issue.

It is worth noting a contradicting fact: Familial tensions tend to arise as the family gathers to read the Bible, an activity intended to promote calmness and reflection. The contradiction, however, is not necessarily negative. It only reinforces the well-established belief that language socialization is not a static process nor is it a one-lane road where only parents and/or caretakers lay the rules. On the contrary, children are full actors in the socialization process (Kirschen, 2020). Children have their wants and needs, and often, when they express contrary ideas to those of their caretakers, conflict emerges.

It is important to note that whenever the Santos-Gomez family engages in these religious activities, Jose and Flavia remind the boys to speak in Portuguese. It is precisely at

this junction that religious education and HLM converge and become inseparable elements of each other. While they speak Portuguese during these sessions, questions about vocabulary, syntax, and pronunciation emerge working as tools for HLM. Cultural transmission also occurs during the sessions as Jose and Flavia often establish comparisons of what is happening in the story with the boys' lives, and the parents connect the narrative points to their upbringing in Colombia and Brazil too.

In this sense, the family's religious practices serve simultaneously as a *site* and a *catapult* for heritage language maintenance. As we will see, the family's religious practices are tangled in language negotiations between children and adults. There is no dividing line between religious practices and HLM: religious practices sustain heritage language maintenance and HLM stimulates religious and language socialization during Bible education.

#### **4.5. Analysis**

The themes presented in this chapter were selected according to the frequency with which they appeared in the data. No significant difference (high/low frequency) between the categories was noted, except for occurrences of playfulness and humor during home Bible studies. Due to the constant presence of humor and creativity in virtually all aspects of the family's linguistic choices and social dynamics, the theme of humor and playfulness will be discussed in detail in the next chapter (chapter 5).

I have chosen four representative interactions to analyze in detail in this chapter that illustrate four themes that emerged in my data, which highlight the importance of religious



practices for HLM. The first interaction illustrates the interconnectedness of religious beliefs and HLM. In the second excerpt, Benjamin misbehaves during a lesson and is reprimanded by his mother. The third analysis shows that parents' general children-rearing style carries over to HLM activities. Finally, the fourth interaction presents Jacob and Benjamin gaining language capital and agency through religious practices despite their vocabulary limitations in the HL.

#### **4.6. Religious Beliefs and HLM are Intertwined**

This excerpt is important because it illustrates the linguistic environment of the Santos-Gomez household. Normally, Flavia and Jose request that Benjamin and Jacob speak Portuguese, or in some cases, Spanish, when they discuss Bible themes. However, to this day, there are no overt requests that Benjamin speak Portuguese, illuminating the parents' FLP flexibility.

In the following excerpt, Jose is reading to his son, in English, the part of King David's story when the king summoned his son, Solomon, to his deathbed to give him instructions as the King's successor. The focus of the story lies on King David teaching his son about the need for strength and truthfulness as the king's successor (I Kings 1-2). Jose and Flavia take advantage of Benjamin's present experiential context to create a link between the story and their son's own need for courage: Benjamin had tonsil surgery two days before this biblical study session, on November 30<sup>th</sup>.

The days preceding the surgical procedure were stressful for the child because it was his first surgical procedure, and he had been asking his parents many questions about

receiving anesthesia, pain control, and the procedure outcome. Jose had talked to Benjamin about the importance of being calm and trusting in the doctors, and in the interaction that follows, Jose uses the surgery experience and connects it to the Bible story. In the analysis that follows this excerpt, I show how this connection operates on two levels: at an interactional level (voice change, repetition, and questions) and next, at a grammatical level (change of pronouns and verb tense). In this excerpt, Flavia, Jose, and Benjamin are sitting down, ready to start the Bible study, but Benjamin, also seated on the couch, is reluctant to start the practice.

#### 4.6.1. EXCERPT 4A AUDIO (12.1.21)

Transcription conventions:

Plain: Utterances in English

*Italics:* Utterances in Portuguese

**Bold:** Utterances in Spanish

Underline: Features of HL indicate pronunciation or grammatical errors

[Brackets]: Transcriber notes of nonverbal communication, actions, grammatical explanations

\*Note that bracketed transcriber notes are only provided in the English Translation column

Full transcription conventions can be found in Appendix G

Line	Speaker	Original Text	English Translation
1	Jose	¿Entonces, si estuvieramos haciendo tu experimento y te estuvieras portando así, como te sentirias? (.) ;Okay, entonces non vamos hacer tu experimento!	Then, if you were doing one of your experiments and if we behaved like this, how would you feel? Okay, then we aren't going to do your experiment.
2	Ben	↑No::: eu quero<lines elided>	↑No:::! I want it <lines elided>
22	Flavia	Vai, qual história você quer ler Benjamin?	Go ahead, what story would you like to read, Benjamin?  [Flavia gets off a phone call with her mother in Brazil]
23	Ben	<u>The ↑Wisdom of Solomon.</u>	<u>The ↑Wisdom of Solomon.</u>
24	Jose	“;Esta ya lo hemos leído mi amor, vamos *a*	This one you already read, my love *lets*
25	Ben	*But I like that one*	*But I like that one*
26	Flavia	Mas Salomão(.) da vida dele, talvez	But Solomon (.) his life, maybe.
27	Jose	leer la ↑Biblia? King Solomon's	read the ↑Bible? King

		<p>Wisdom. <i>Vamos orar primeiro.</i></p> <p><i>Vamos orar para que <b>Papa Dios te ilumine y puedes leer sin ninguno problema &lt; lines elided&gt;</b></i></p>	<p>Solomon's Wisdom. <i>Let's pray first. Let's pray that <b>God in Heaven will illuminate you so that you can read without any problems.</b></i> [note translanguaging]</p> <p>&lt; lines elided&gt;</p>
45 46 47 48 49 50 51	<b>Jose</b>	<p>When David was dying, he summoned his son, Solomon, Solomon, come to my side I need to talk to you. I shall no longer be here to advise you*</p>	<p>When David was dying, he summoned his son, Solomon, Solomon, come to my side I need to talk to you. I shall no longer be here to advise you*</p> <p>[mimics what would be King David's voice; Ben is not pleased]</p>
52	<b>Ben</b>	*no:.....*	*no:.....*
53	<b>Flavia</b>	<p>I think it's like this, Solomon, I'm gonna count to ↑three; one, two! ... do you think Solomon will wait to</p>	<p>I think it's like this, Solomon, I'm gonna count to ↑three; one, two! ... do you think</p>

		three?	Solomon will wait to three?  [Flavia's joke is a reference to the strategy she uses with Ben]
54	<b>Ben</b>	No! <lines elided>	No! <lines elided>
55	<b>Jose</b>	He said, always be strong and true	He said, always be strong and true
56	<b>Jose</b>	and always! obey the word of God.	and always! obey the word of God.
57	<b>Jose</b>	If you do that the Lord will be (.)	If you do that the Lord will be (.)
58	<b>Jose</b>	with you. So what did he say?	with you. So what did he say?
59	<b>Jose</b>	Always be strong and true. Always be strong and true. Why do	Always be strong and true. Always be strong and true. Why do
60	<b>Jose</b>	we need to be strong?	we need to be strong?
61	<b>Ben</b>	Because ... (0.7)	Because ... (0.7)
62	<b>Jose</b>	And true. Always obey the word of God. Why do we need to be strong tia Rosiane? And true?	And true. Always obey the word of God. Why do we need to be strong tia Rosiane? And true?
63	<b>Rosi</b>	We need to be strong to face the	We need to be strong to face

		many challenges that life will present. And we need to be true because God is true.	the many challenges that life will present. And we need to be true because God is true.
64	<b>Flavia</b>	And the secret of our strength, just like in the life of Solomom, é o quê, é o quê? <i>a nossa força vem da gente mesmo, Benjamin?</i>	And the secret of our strength, just like in the life of Salomon - in the life of Salomon, <i>is what, is what? Does our strength come from ourselves, Benjamin?</i>
65	<b>Ben</b>	No. God.	No. God.
66	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Em Deus, isso! (.) por ser forte, você está aderindo aos preceitos de Deus; você está vivendo o que Deus quer que você viva, certo, certo? Porque ele é a nossa força.</i>	<i>In God, that's correct! (.) by being strong, you are adhering to God's precepts; you're living as God wants you to live, right? Right?</i>
67	<b>Jose</b>	And God always, and God always	And God always, and God always
68		like a cheering like a cheering, like a parent on the side of the game	like a cheering like a cheering, like a parent on the side of the game
69		↑game, he's always telling us	↑game, he's always telling us

70		words that encourage us uh he told	words that encourage us uh he told
71		uh ↑Moses to be strong and he	uh ↑Moses to be strong and he
72		always encouraged him to keep going. When he said, ‘you	always encouraged him to keep going. When he said, ‘you
73		Know, be stron:::g’, to lead the	Know, be stron:::g’, to lead the
74		People*	People*
75	<b>Flavia</b>	*Um-hum*	*Um-hum*
76	<b>Jose</b>	So we’ve always being hearing	So we’ve always being
77		these words of encouragement,	hearing these words of
78		that’s why we need to encourage	encouragement, that’s why
79		each other. Yeah, we have to	we need to encourage each
80		believe. That’s why I said, just like	other. Yeah, we have to
81		I told you, we needed to believe in	believe. That’s why I said,
82		the doctor, right? ↑Right? We	just like I told you, we needed
83		needed to believe in the doctor that	to believe in the doctor, right?
84		she was going to do an ↑excellent	↑Right? We needed to believe
85		job, just like people believe in us.	in the doctor that she was
86		Just like people believe in you at	going to do an ↑excellent job,

87		school uh we need to do that. Okay.	just like people believe in us.
88		<i>Vem meu amor.</i>	Just like people believe in you at school uh we need to do that. Okay, <i>come my love.</i>

For this Bible reading, Jose reads the story in English, as usual, but starts discussing it in English too, contrary to their regular practice of reading the story in English followed by a discussion in Portuguese under Flavia's or Jose's guidance. Spanish is used occasionally when Jose needs clarification as he is practicing his Portuguese or when Benjamin is familiar with the Spanish vocabulary, but not Portuguese.

The excerpt is important because it shows how the family switches seamlessly between three languages throughout a single conversation, but if we pay close attention to where these switches happen, and who initiates them, it is telling about the family's HL practices and ideologies. The discussion changes of course from English to Portuguese when Flavia connects the Bible story to the family's life in line 64. When Flavia first interjects in line 61, she speaks English, but soon switches back to Portuguese, as if modeling to Benjamin the sort of HL attitude she wants him to have at home (4A, line 61). The excerpt opens with Jose speaking Spanish to reprimand Benjamin, (4A, line 1). Benjamin replies in Portuguese, line 2. Then Flavia proposes Bible reading in Portuguese, in line 22. When the boy opts for Solomon's story of wisdom, line 23, Jose reminds him in Spanish that they have read it before (line 2). Then Jose reads the Bible in English (line 45).



This particular interaction shows Jose and Flavia’s leniency in enforcing their language policy. Their behavior strikes us as unusual here because, in their everyday life, Flavia constantly provides explicit reminders to Benjamin and Jacob to speak Portuguese, “*fale português*” (speak Portuguese), but there are no such reminders in this interaction. On his part, Jose’s ordinary strategy regarding Spanish is to feign a lack of understanding by asking “¿como?” (**what?**), to encourage Benjamin to recast his utterances in Spanish – a heritage language maintenance approach previously discussed in HLM literature (Lanza, 1998). It is possible that on this particular day, Flavia and Jose do not insist that Benjamin speak Portuguese or Spanish because they do not want to aggravate Benjamin’s already sensitive post-surgical state.

I now turn to explore how Jose and Flavia contextualize Bible stories to Benjamin through what Tovares (2020) refers to as “intertextuality in action”, by transforming King David’s narrative into a story to which Benjamin can relate, learn from, and directly apply to his life.

#### **4.6.2. Contextualization and Inclusion through Intertextuality**

Tovares’ (2020) research on this strategy explores families’ use of public texts in the rearing of their children, a discursive practice the author calls ‘intertextuality in action’ (p. 68). Intertextuality in action refers to a repetition of public texts that are embedded in parents’ children-rearing practices. Often, these public texts are not directly referenced by the parents but rather incorporated into the everyday discursive, rearing practices of the family as if these texts “belonged” to the family. In the Santos-Gomez familial context, Bible

narratives and stories are utilized by Jose and Flavia as a public text from which the family directly extracts knowledge and lessons and applies them to the social, cultural, and emotional lives of Jacob and Benjamin.

Now I will demonstrate some of how Jose and Flavia utilize specific grammatical and rhetorical devices to contextualize this Bible story in the story of their family. Jose does this by changing pronouns, using repetition, and adapting verb tenses. First, Jose reads King David's story in English, using the singular third-person subject pronouns *she*, *he*, and second-person subject pronoun *you* (4A, lines 45 and 48). But to relate the moral lesson of the story - the importance of being strong - to Benjamin's life, Jose switches the pronouns to the inclusive first-person plural *we* (4A, line 60), decidedly including himself and Benjamin in the story.

Flavia uses a similar pronominal strategy of inclusion when she asks Benjamin a question in English. She changes the possessive "his strength" [Solomon's strength] to "*a nossa força*" (**our strength**; 4A, line 64). Flavia's intertextuality links the story to actions in the Santos-Gomez family by directly extracting a Bible lesson and applying it to her son's life. Just like King David told his son Solomon that his strength comes from God, Flavia reinforces the principle to Benjamin, but instead of telling him directly that men's strength comes from God, she asks her son a question to encourage him to reflect on it (4A line 64).

Another point that deserves attention is the use of verb tense and aspect. Jose reads the story to Benjamin in the past tense as it is written, (4A, line 45). When he relates the story to Benjamin's experience, instead of choosing a verb aspect limited to a singular block of

time, he prefers one denoting continuity, (4A, line 62). He also chooses the first-person plural *we*, instead of continuing to apply the singular *he*, as it is presented in the story (4A, lines 45 and 60). In addition, he turns the question to me – “Why do we need to be strong *Tia* (Aunt) Rosiane?” recruiting me from the role of an onlooker to both an active participant in the interchange and a character in the Santos-Gomez family story (4A, line 52).

Jose’s idea of including Benjamin and myself in the story is reminiscent of Baquedano-López’s (1997) study of Spanish-speaking children in a Los Angeles catechism class, whose Mexican social identities were created, she argues, partly through the same means of deictic inclusion in stories being taught in their formal religious education context.

While Baquedano-Lopez’s study focused on the use of Spanish and narrative to reinforce group identity in a religious classroom, the similar interactional strategies I have demonstrated in this context show how biblical texts are used by Santos-Gomez as an HLM device through intertextuality in action. The Santos-Gomez family takes a different approach, connecting the story (King David’s, 1000 BCE) directly to Benjamin’s life to teach him about courage, fear, and trust. King David’s story is now intertwined with Benjamin’s own life. Thus, the story gains currency and poignancy for Benjamin because he is sick and in need of courage to face his struggle as Solomon did in the story. Furthermore, HLM is accomplished through this Bible study because the boy receives encouragement directly from his father, similarly to Solomon, and in his HL.

In the next section, I explore the discursive strategy of repetition in more depth, which is an important strategy through which the parents reinforce the importance of speaking Portuguese as a family.

#### **4.6.3. Discourse Repetition as a HLM Device**

Now, I analyze another element of the previous excerpt: Discourse repetition: (4A, lines 59, 62, 63, 64, 66, and 67). Discourse repetition fulfills several discourse needs in everyday conversations (Tannen, 1987). Among the many functions of repetition in discourse is the production of text, comprehension, and cohesion in language, and connection to and remembrance of prior text. The latter function will be soon observed when Benjamin calls his grandfather on the telephone to learn about a family legend. Tannen has argued that these categories work together to ensure comprehensibility in discourse; here I apply these functions to family interaction serving in HLM.

It is important to point out that repetition in discourse, and especially in language learning interactions, also carries out an operational function. The operational function assists interlocutors in pointing out utterance errors without overly calling them out. In instructed second language acquisition contexts, this is referred to as recast (Lightbown and Spada, 2013). In the interaction, we see repetition serving the recast function when Flavia, instead of overtly requesting from Benjamin that he speak Portuguese, repeats Benjamin's answers in Portuguese as if signaling to him that he is speaking English and that he needs to switch to Portuguese (4A, line 66).

Discourse repetition is also a resource Jose uses, though not as recast. Instead, he uses repetition to highlight the story excerpts he finds important for Benjamin to reflect upon, thereby scaffolding the boy’s comprehension of the story. Jose repeats King David’s statement “*Always be strong and true*”, twice (4A, line 59), even though it only appears once in the narrative, as shown below:

**EXCERPT 4A**

59	<b>Jose</b>	Always be strong and true.  Always be strong and true.  Why do	Always be strong and true. Always  be strong and true. Why do
60		we need to be strong?	we need to be strong?

Through repetition, Jose reinforces to Benjamin the importance of having courage, a principle extracted from the text. Additionally, he highlights to his son his own belief that humans need to believe in each other – Jose’s own belief. Thus, through repetition, Jose communicates to Benjamin both his own belief about trust and the Bible narrative that teaches the family this concept (4A, lines 71 and 85). This example not only illustrates previous work on repetition and intertextuality but also shows how this discourse strategy can promote both connection and interaction in a family setting.

In this interaction, Jose’s emphasis is on the content and moral of the narrative itself, and he uses English in these cases, perhaps to keep the flow of the lesson, without risking interruptions by having to ask his son to answer it in Portuguese or Spanish. However, when he wants to address Benjamin more pointedly, Jose switches to Spanish, “*¡Esta ya lo hemos*

*leído mi amor*” [**We have read this already, my love**] (4A, line 24), and then to Portuguese, “*Vem meu amor*” [**Come, my love**] (4A, line 89).

Jose’s changing between languages illuminates the statuses of the three languages in the household. It seems to indicate that he first switches to his native Spanish to emphasize his emotional connection with his son via a language they share. Later, when he switches from English to Portuguese, it appears as if he wants to be in alignment with Flavia and me, who are speaking Portuguese.

We see here that translanguaging fulfills interactional functions because it allows the family to tap into their entire linguistic repertoire. Jose uses his language freely and we can glean that his choices of language use accomplish different conversational tasks, expanding the conversation rather than bringing them to a halt should they insist that Benjamin only spoke Portuguese.

Multilingual language practices do not compete with each other because FLP flexibility, as Jose and Flavia demonstrated in the excerpt, gives the speaker agency, allowing the speaker the freedom to make language choices.

As the family reads and discusses the story, Flavia’s mother calls from Brazil to find out about her grandson’s surgical recovery (4A, line 22). Flavia interrupts the reading and speaks briefly in Portuguese to her monolingual mother, updating her on Benjamin’s post-surgical status. As we will soon see Flavia envisions in an upcoming telephone call between grandfather and grandson, another discursive tool to reinforce the “courage discourse” (David’s courage) she is having with her son before and after his surgery. She then assures

her mother and father that Benjamin will call them later so that her father can tell Benjamin a family legend about courage Flavia has heard repeatedly as a child.

#### **4.7. HLM and Emotions within a Bible Reading**

The following excerpt presents Flavia, Benjamin, and Jacob sitting down to read the story of David and Goliath (I Samuel 17). Flavia holds their foster infant in her arms. The family gathers in the living room as they commonly do for Bible study. Jose is at work. The Bible story is read in English from the Children's Illustrated Bible, and Flavia proposes a HL-related activity of translating the passages from English into Portuguese; Jacob embraces the idea while Benjamin does not.

It has been difficult for Flavia this morning to convince Benjamin to sit down and start the activity. When the family is finally ready to begin the session, Benjamin starts laughing loudly for no apparent reason, then he gets up and moves away from the couch. The analysis will show that throughout the interaction, Flavia tries to manage her son's behavior and her own emotions – her exasperation is visible, and it is with a reprimand toward her son that the Bible session begins.

##### **4.7.1. EXCERPT 4B AUDIO (12.21.21)**

Transcription conventions:

**Plain:** Utterances in English

*Italics:* Utterances in Portuguese

**Bold:** Utterances in Spanish

Underline: Features of HL indicate pronunciation or grammatical errors

[Brackets]: Transcriber notes of nonverbal communication, actions, grammatical explanations

\*Note that bracketed transcriber notes are only provided in the English Translation column

Full transcription conventions can be found in Appendix G

Line	Speaker	Original Text	English Translation
1	<b>Flavia</b>	Benjamin, Benjamin. Benjamin, <i>o</i>	Benjamin, Benjamin. Benjamin, <i>what</i>
2		<i>que que eu vou fazer com você, te</i>	<i>am I going to do with you,</i>
3		<i>prender no quarto? (0.10) Vai,</i> <i>vamos</i>	<i>keep you in your bedroom?</i> <i>(0.10) Let's go,</i>
4		<i>orar. Benjamin? Benjamin? "Então</i>	<i>let's pray. Benjamin,</i> <i>Benjamin.</i>
5		<i>um desafio hoje, Benjamin, valendo</i>	<i>Then a challenge today,</i> <i>Benjamin, it will</i>
6		<i>presente extra de Natal, mas os</i> <i>dois</i>	<i>be worth an extra Christmas</i> <i>gift, but both of you</i>
7		<i>vão ter que trabalhar em equipe</i> <lines elided>	<i>will have to work as a team.]</i> <lines elided>
12	<b>Ben</b>	<u>Quero</u> . But I don't know how to say Philistines.	<i>I want it.</i> But I don't know how to say Philistines.



13	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>Os Filisteus estavam preparados para a*</i>	<i>The Philistines were ready for a*.</i>
14	<b>Ben</b>	<i>*batalha*</i>	<i>*battle*</i> [continues reading without pause].
15	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Muito bem, excelente trabalho.</i> Between pause, tem coma.	<i>Very good, excellent work.</i> Between pause, there is a comma
16	<b>Ben</b>	[Stops reading]	[Stops reading]
17	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Benjamin, se você não vai ler, então você vai lá pro seu quarto agora e vai ficar lá.</i>	<i>Benjamin, if you are not going to read, then go to your room now and stay there.</i>
18	<b>Ben</b>	<i>Não!</i>	<i>No!</i>
19	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Então você vai sentar aqui e participar. Desculpa Jacob, o que que você falou?</i>	<i>Then you are going to sit here and participate. I'm sorry, Jacob, what did you say?</i>
20	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>Eu falei que no topo de duas montanhas.</i>	<i>I said that on the top of two mountains.</i>

21	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Agora você, Benjamin.</i>	<i>Now it's your turn, Benjamin.</i>
22	<b>Ben</b>	↑No, I was the one who read it, last time, he didn't read it.	↑No, I was the one who read it, last time, he didn't read it.
23	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Ele te falou Philistines e ele te falou outras coisas.</i>	<i>He told you Philistines and he told you other things.</i>
24	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>Como que se fala assembled?</i>	<i>How do you say assembled?</i>
25	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Os exércitos estavam preparados, estavam em posição. Em posição é melhor; tipo assim, prontos, né? Ready, né? Assembled, ready. né, né?!</i>	<i>The army was ready, in position, in position is better; like, ready, right? Assembled, ready, right, right?!</i>
26	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>Preparados. Assembled também significa construído.</i>	<i>Assembled. Assembled also means built.</i>
27	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Certo, mas se você falar que os exércitos estavam construídos não faz sentido em português. Sua vez, Ben.</i>	<i>Right, but if you say that the army was built, it won't make sense in Portuguese. It's your turn, Ben.</i>
28	<b>Ben</b>	[Whines and squirms on the couch].	[Whines and squirms on the

			couch].
29	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Levanta, levanta, chega, cara. Por que que você é assim? Por que que você se comporta assim? Você vai ficar de castigo.</i>	<i>Get up, get up, enough, man. Why are you like this? Why are you behaving like this? You're gonna go in timeout.</i>
30	<b>Ben</b>	<i>Eu vou.</i> <lines elided>	<i>I will.</i> <lines elided> [Ben promises he will participate]
33	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Fala que eu te ajudo. Como que é Saul? Como que é o nome do Saul? Muito parecido.</i>	<i>Say it and I'll help you. How do you say 'Saul'? What's Saul's name? very similar. [to Portuguese]..</i>
34	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Por tudo que é mais sagrado!</i>	<i>For all that's most sacred.</i>
35	<b>Ben</b>	(0.8)	(0.8)
36	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Ok, lê de novo, calma, pro Jacob ter tempo de traduzir.</i>	<i>Okay, read it again, slow down so that Jacob will have time to translate.</i>
37	<b>Ben</b>	I want to read the whole thing.	I want to read the whole thing.

38	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Não, não porque fica difícil pra gente voltar. Não. Lê de novo, lê de novo.</i>	<i>No because it'll be difficult for us to go back. No. Read it again, read it again.</i>
39	<b>Ben</b>	No, I want to read normally. It will be way better if I read normally. <lines elided>	No, I want to read normally. It will be way better if I read normally. <lines elided>
42	<b>Ben</b>	I'm going to read all this.	I'm going to read all this.
43	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Não, de pouco a pouco.</i>	<i>No, little by little.</i>
44	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>Como se diz</i> all of a sudden?	<i>How do you say</i> all of a sudden?
45	<b>Jacob</b>	All of a sudden – <i>de repente</i>	All of a sudden – <i>all of a sudden</i> [quickly remembers].
46	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>De repente, muito bem.</i>	<i>All of a sudden, very good.</i>
47	<b>Ben</b>	It'd be way better if I read the whole thing. <i>Mãe</i> , why don't I read	It'd be way better if I read the whole thing. <i>Mother</i> , why

		the whole thing and then he reads the whole thing in Portuguese?	don't I read the whole thing and then he reads the whole thing in Portuguese?
48	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Senta direito.</i>	Sit appropriately.  [puts Benjamin in timeout on the other couch].
49	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>O gigante estava vindo do - how do you say toward?</i>	<i>The giant was coming from – how do you say toward?</i>
50	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Em direção &lt;lines elided&gt;</i>	<i>Toward. &lt;lines elided&gt;</i>
51	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>Em direção ao <u>Filisteu campo</u>.</i>	<i>Toward the Philistine 's Field.</i>
52	<b>Ben</b>	<i>Eu quero sentar perto do Joshua &lt;lines elided&gt;.</i>	<i>I want to sit next to Joshua. &lt;lines elided&gt;.</i>
54	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Campo dos Filisteus. Em português a gente inverte, a gente não fala pretty woman como em inglês, em português a gente fala mulher bonita. Então é Campo dos Filisteus.</i>	<i>Philistine's Field. In Portuguese we invert, we don't say pretty woman as we do in English, in Portuguese we say woman pretty. Then it's "Campo dos Filisteus."</i>
55	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>Campo dos Filisteus.</i>	<i>Philistines Field.</i>

		<p>I know all these words <i>ferro, cabeça, bronze, afiado, espada</i>, I'm just looking for the way that they are put together.</p> <p>As a big tree - <i>como uma grande árvore</i>.</p>	<p>I know all of these words, <i>iron, head, brass, sharp, spears</i>, I'm just looking for the way that they are put together.</p> <p><i>As a big tree – like a big tree.</i></p> <p>[translanguaging]</p>
56	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Perfeito, perfeição, grande presente de Natal pra você.</i>	<i>Perfect, perfection, big Christmas gift for you.</i>
57	<b>Jacob</b>	Thank you.	Thank you.
58	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Desde que a gente sentou aqui, você está sendo intolerável. (.10).</i>	<i>Ever since we sat here you are being intolerable.</i> <i>[to Benjamin, who's in timeout]</i>
59	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Vem com uma condição. Qual vai ser o seu comportamento agora?</i>	<i>Come back on one condition.</i> <i>What's going to be your behavior like now?</i>
60	<b>Ben</b>	<i>Bom.</i>	<i>Good.</i>

61	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Eu vou te ajudar. Não é para colocar ninguém no spot; traduzir é difícil, não só a gente vai aprender mais a Bíblia porque a gente tá refletindo mais, mas vai ajudar o nosso português também</i>	<i>I'm going to help you. It's not to put anyone on the spot; translating is difficult, not only we're going to learn the Bible, because we're reflecting more, but it'll also help our Portuguese too.</i>
62	<b>Ben</b>	It did like <i>vazar</i> when we were changing his diaper.	It did like <i>leak</i> when we were changing his diaper. [Ben helps to change Joshua's diaper].
63	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Ah, sabe o que que é? Bem-feito!, porque quantas vezes a mamãe fala 'não faz xixi na beira do vaso' eu vou lá e tá todo cheio de xixi. Ah já sei o que que eu vou fazer de agora em diante, quando você fizer xixi na beirada do vaso, eu vou pegar e vou botar o Joshua com a fralda bem frouxa no seu colo e vou falar 'ah Samuel segura o Joshua!</i>	<i>Oh, do you know what? It's revenge, because how many times mommy tells you 'don't pee on the edge of the toilet', and when I check and it's full of pee. Oh, I know what I'm going to do from now on, when you pee the toilet edge, I'll leave Joshua's diaper very loose, put him in your</i>

			<i>lap and I'll say, 'here, Benjamin, hold the baby for me.[Flavia is joking]</i>
64	<b>Ben</b>	<i>Nã::::o!</i> [laughs]	<i>No::::!</i> [laughs]
65	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Vamos continuar aqui se não a gente não vai acabar a história nunca. Jesus vai nascer e a gente não conseguiu matar Golias ainda.</i>	Let's continue the story, or else Jesus will be born and we haven't killed Goliath yet.

This Bible reading begins with Flavia's stern vocative, "Benjamin, Benjamin" (4B, line 1), attempting to focus her son's attention back on the task at hand, after failed attempts to get him to comply. Benjamin is being uncooperative from the moment Flavia invites him to join her and Jacob for Bible reading. Benjamin constantly proposes a different strategy to replace his mother's idea for the reading/translation activity (4B, lines 37 and 39). However, the analysis will show that Benjamin's challenging behavior does not seem to be directly linked to a dislike of his heritage language, it might be a reaction to the social family dynamics playing out in the engagement of Flavia and Jacob during the HLM activity. Now I will highlight each child's behavior, beginning with Jacob; following I will then present an analysis of Flavia's management of the emotional ups and downs of the interaction.



## **Jacob**

Jacob cooperates and engages in the activity right away (4B, line 13). Through the translation activity, he gains vocabulary and grammatical knowledge in Portuguese because Jacob is open to receiving help. He asks for the Portuguese translation: “*Como se fala assembled?*” [**How do you say assembled?**] (4B, line 24). Soon after, in line 26, Jacob repeats the meaning of “assembled” he just learned from Flavia, “*preparados*” and compares it to his previous knowledge of Portuguese: assembled as built (**construído**) (4B, line 26), though his vocabulary choice (**construído**) does not fit the context. He asks for the meaning of expressions in Portuguese and repeats his translations once he learns new vocabulary from his aunt (4B, lines 44, 49, 55).

When Benjamin refuses to read or translate (4B, lines 18 and 22), Jacob goes on doing both parts and continues asking Flavia for help with Portuguese along the way. For example, Jacob reflects out loud on how to organize sentences in Portuguese (subject and adjective relationship), (4B line 51) which prompts Flavia to remind him of that lexical feature (line 54). He also realizes that he has the Portuguese vocabulary (iron, head, bronze, covered, sharp, spears) but needs assistance putting it together grammatically (4B, line 55). Flavia praises Jacob for his effort and corrects his translations (4B, line 56).

Earlier in the interaction, she apologizes to Jacob for not having paid attention to something he said because Flavia was reprimanding Benjamin (4B, line 19), and she compliments Jacob and promises him a special Christmas gift (4B, line 57) when he gets the Portuguese answer correctly. Benjamin’s disruptive behavior has an effect on other family

members' engagement. It seems to stimulate Jacob's participation. Flavia responds to him differently, sometimes reprimanding: "O que eu vou fazer com você?" (**What am I going to do with you? line 1**); sometimes complimenting: (Muito bem, excelente trabalho" (**Very good, excellent job; line 15**); and threatening to put him in timeout: "Então você vai lá para o seu quarto" (**Then you are going to go to you room, line 17**). These reactions instantiate FLP in action – the need for flexibility when implementing HLM practices.

### ***Benjamin***

Benjamin starts to present challenging behaviors before the family even gathers to start the Bible reflection. It takes Flavia various attempts before he finally sits down to read. Even after having agreed to participate by replying "*eu quero*" (I want it), he immediately resists continuing the translation activity, arguing that he does not know how to translate the sentence (4B, line 12).

There are instances in the interaction where Benjamin does not participate at all in the activity for about 10 minutes, (4B, lines 42 to 59). When he "returns" to the task, he keeps insisting that it is done his way (4B, line 47). Flavia strategically ignores his pleas, attempting to bring his attention to the task. Out of the entire interaction, about 60 recorded exchanges between Flavia and the boys, 19 were aimed at Benjamin, sometimes to reprimand him for his behavior (4B, lines 17, 19, 29, 48, and 59), to help him with Portuguese (4B, lines 33 and 36), and at other times, to encourage him with the translation task (4B, line 61).

After Benjamin's attempts to get the activity done his way again prove unsuccessful, he appeals to his mother's emotions by initiating his next sentence with *mãe* (**mom**), in a

pleading voice (4B, line 47), which is how he addresses his mother routinely outside Bible reading rituals. However, his use of “*māe*” (**mom**) at this moment, during this interaction, represents a significant alignment shift in this particular interaction: he seems to be appealing to his mother’s emotions to, through this vocative, convince her that his translation activity suggestion is better than the one she has set in action.

After exhausting his plea related to the translation activity, Benjamin becomes newly invested in something else: He wants to sit next to their foster baby (4B, line 52). Flavia does not reply to this plea and devotes her attention instead to Jacob, who continues reading and translating the story diligently. In sum, through a detailed look at Benjamin’s involvement in this activity, we can conclude that the resistance he displays through speech acts and language choices seems to be related to his need for attention from his mother, rather than a resistance to the Bible reading or HL practice.

This analysis shows us that when analyzing HL family interactions with young children, there are a lot of developmental factors to take into consideration, and we cannot easily attribute resistance to HL activities as resistance to the HL per se, instead, there may be several other issues related to power, connection, and involvement at play. Here, three children are vying for the attention of one mother figure, so the boys — and especially Benjamin, who is the oldest and thus most socially aware — will use any tactic to gain the mother’s attention. In this brief excerpt, we see that these tactics include: (a) attempting to steer the activity in the direction of his own will; (b) appealing to the mother through a vocative in the HL; (c) showing interest and affection for the newest family member.

## *Flavia*

Flavia is in the position of having to navigate, as a mother figure, a three-way relational situation in the excerpt: she must (1) discipline Benjamin's uncooperative behavior; (2) honor Jacob's compliance with the task; and (3) attend to her own desire to promote the boys' learning of Portuguese. In line 15, we see her praising the boys when they work collaboratively. She deftly shifts to manage Benjamin's disruptions (4B, lines 17 and 19); and soon after she helps Benjamin when he is acting cooperatively (4B, line 33). After a few instances of Benjamin presenting defiant behavior (4B, lines 37 and 42), Flavia ignores his pleas and turns her attention to Jacob – from turn 49 until turn 56.

This analysis shows how Flavia's emotions evolve as her patience is increasingly tested throughout the interaction. For example, right after she compliments Jacob on his efforts (line 56), she tells Benjamin he has been "intolerable." (line 58). Soon thereafter, however, she gives Benjamin another chance to leave timeout and join the activity so long as he changes his attitude (line 59). It appears that the long pause between Flavia's utterances is meant to give her son a chance to reflect (line 58). Benjamin then promises in Portuguese that his behavior will improve, (4B, line 60).

It is interesting to note that throughout the exchange, Benjamin does not complain that he has to speak Portuguese; instead, he constantly questions his mother's pedagogical methods, refusing to follow her instructions. For example, when Flavia asks him again to read the Bible passage so that Jacob can translate (4B, lines 18), he resists her request responding negatively (4B, line 18) and pointing to his perceived unfairness regarding the distribution of the activity between himself and Jacob (4A, line 22).

Flavia's emotions are demonstrated even by her language choices. She asks Benjamin why he is the way he is (4B, line 29); this question appears to be rhetorical, suggesting that Benjamin reflects on his attitude and behavior. Later, she uses an emotionally loaded expression, uttered when someone is nearly losing all patience and composure at once: "*Por tudo que é mais Sagrado*" [For all that's most sacred] (4B, line 34). It is important to point out that Flavia's irritability at this moment stands in direct contrast with her usual demeanor. She is known by friends and family for being calm and level-headed. This takes place an instant before she regains patience as Benjamin's behavior shows signs of improvement, and she encourages him and offers help with Portuguese (4B, line 33).

It is undeniable that Benjamin's behavior needs regulation during this lesson, but it appears that Flavia's goals for the maintenance of Portuguese during the Bible lesson add an extra layer of tension as they interact. At the end of the interaction, however, the atmosphere lightens up, and humor integrates the scene (4B, lines 63 and 65).

#### **4.8. HLM Strategies Reflect Parents' General Reading Style**

This next excerpt presents a Bible study session where the entire family joins in. They sit down to read soon after breakfast. Jacob and Benjamin are distracted, they are taking a long time to choose the story they want to read, and the boys move on and out of the couch, where they sit to study the Bible. The analysis shows that Jose and Flavia are exceedingly patient with Jacob and Benjamin this morning. On this particular day, Jose and Flavia's attention was mostly turned to baby Joshua, whom Jose and Flavia received as their foster

baby in early December 2021. Despite the agitation, the family goes on with their Bible study.

#### 4.8.1. EXCERPT 4C VIDEO (12.28.21)

Transcription conventions:

**Plain:** Utterances in English

*Italics:* Utterances in Portuguese

**Bold:** Utterances in Spanish

Underline: Features of HL indicate pronunciation or grammatical errors

[Brackets]: Transcriber notes of nonverbal communication, actions, grammatical explanations

\*Note that bracketed transcriber notes are only provided in the English Translation column

Full transcription conventions can be found in Appendix G

Line	Speaker	Original Text	English Translation
1	Jose	<p><b>Non coloques la nariz em la boca de el!</b></p> <p><b>Ya viene el tetero, ya viene el tetero!</b> <i>&lt;lines colided&gt;</i></p>	<p><b>Do not put your nose in baby's mouth.</b></p> <p>The bottle is coming, the bottle is coming. <i>!&lt;lines colided&gt;</i></p>
5	Flavia	<i>Vem cá Benjamin and Jacob ↑,</i>	<i>Come here Benjamin and Jacob,</i>

		<i>Joshua tá, 'quem é você'? Vou te dar um soco, self-defense, stranger danger!</i>	<i>Joshua is like 'who are you? I'll punch you.'</i> [Flavia is laughing].
6	<b>Ben and Jacob</b>	[ <u>laugh</u> ].	[ <u>laugh</u> ].
7	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Senta. ↓Quem vai orar? Por que que gente ora antes de ler a Bíblia?</i>	<i>Sit down. ↓Who's going to pray? Why do we pray before we read the Bible?</i>
8	<b>Ben</b>	Because Jesus always prayed?	[whistles, but soon answers]
9	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Qual foi a história que você escolheu? Benjamin, Benjamin mamãe vai te pedir pela última vez, senta no sofá agora! pra gente ler a Bíblia.&lt;lines elided&gt;.</i>	<i>What was the story you chose? Benjamin, Benjamin, mommy is going to ask now for the last time, sit down on the couch right now! so that we can read the Bible.&lt;lines elided&gt;</i>
15	<b>Jacob</b>	Every year at the festival	Every year at the festival [starts reading]
16	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Um minutinho, Jaco;. [to Ben], no sofá, no sofá. Se nós vamos ter este tipo de dia com você, amanhã</i>	<i>Just a second, Jaco; [to Ben], on the couch, on the couch. If we are going to have this kind of day</i>

		<i>Christopher vem passar o dia com você eu não vou cancelar com o pai dele; mas esquece você dormir na casa dele.</i>	<i>with you, tomorrow Christopher will come to spend the day with you, I'm not going to cancel with his father but forget sleeping over at his house.</i>
17	<b>Ben</b>	<i>Eu ↑quero.</i>	<i>I ↑want it.</i>
18	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Então se comporta.</i>	<i>Then behave yourself.</i>
19	<b>Jose</b>	<i>“¡Siéntate aquí! _ &lt;lines elided&gt;</i>	<i>Sit down here. &lt;lines elided&gt;</i>
25	<b>Jose</b>	<i>↑¿En serio? non poso creer.</i>	<b>Really? I can't believe it.</b>
26	<b>Ben</b>	<i>Is it true?</i>	<i>Is it true?</i>
27	<b>Flavia</b>	<i><u>Português</u>, cabeça::o, português.</i>	<i>Portuguese, big h::ead, Portuguese.</i>
28	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>Sim.</i>	<i>Yes.[thumbs through the Bible trying to find a story and hums a song].</i>
29	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Português &lt;lines elided&gt;</i>	<i>Portuguese. &lt;lines elided&gt;</i>
37	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Jacob, Benjamin, quem souber pode falar; os adultos esperam, se as crianças não souberem, aí os adultos podem falar. Eu venho, eu</i>	<i>Jacob, Benjamin whomever knows [the answer] can say it, the adults will wait, if the children do not know the answer,</i>



		<i>venho, você vem até mim com uma lança e uma espada mas eu venho*</i>	<i>then the adults can answer. You come with a spear and a sword but I come*</i>
38	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>*David and Goliath*.</i>	<i>*David and Goliath*.</i>
39	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Mas em português.</i>	<i>But in Portuguese.</i>
40	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>Davi e Golias.</i>	<i>David and Goliath.</i>
41	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Mas Jacob, direitinho, boa postura.</i>	<i>But Jacob, nicely, good posture.</i>
42	<b>Jacob</b>		[Adjusts his posture]
43	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Isso.</i>	<i>Good.</i>
44	<b>Jose</b>	<i>Jacob, Benjamin, acompaname a la tienda rapidito, si?</i>	<b>Jacob, Benjamin, come with me to the store quickly, yes?</b>
45	<b>Jacob and Ben</b>	Yes.	Yes.
46	<b>Ben</b>	We need to go to Target to get my thing.	We need to go to Target to get my thing.
47	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Jojo, você quer que eu faça uma lista pra você?</i>	<i>Jojo, would you like me to write you a list?</i>

48			[Jose steps away with the boys without giving an answer].
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In this Bible session, the boys take a while to settle down before beginning to read the story (4C, line 1). When the boys finally calm down, Flavia is the one, and not the boys, to cause distraction. She picks up her smartphone sitting on the coffee table to fact-check some biblical information she and Jose were reviewing among themselves, and she gets distracted by a photograph of their foster baby that pops up on her cellphone screen. In the photo, the baby seems to be defending himself from an attacker by closing his fists in a boxing maneuver, ready to punch. Laughing loudly, Flavia calls both Jacob and Benjamin over, after they settle in their seats, to look at the photograph, (4C, line 5). The boys look at the image, mimic the baby’s gesture, and join Flavia in loud laughter.

Soon after, Flavia tells them in a solemn tone to sit down, as if indicating that it is time now to be serious (4C, line 7). Then she proceeds with a lower voice and calmly asks for a volunteer to pray. Benjamin does not hesitate to respond to his mother’s question regarding prayer (4C, line 8).

Interestingly, Flavia is usually the family member who reprimands the boys for being distracted and redirects them to participate in the Bible session. Recall excerpt 4B, for example, in which Flavia struggles to manage Benjamin’s uncooperative behavior.

Despite the commotion, Jose does not say anything in the way of reprimanding, nor does he propose any activity, which is unusual behavior for him. He normally asks that the boys sit up straight or that they do not get up too often. It is only later that he reinforces

Flavia's request by telling Benjamin in Spanish to sit down (4C, line 19). And the boy promptly complies. Throughout the interaction, though he does not speak much, when he does, it is in Spanish. In the beginning of the interaction, for instance, when Jose talks to the baby, in an endearing way appeasing the hungry infant, he speaks Spanish too (4B, line 1) telling the baby that his bottle is coming (Flavia had stepped way to the kitchen to prepare the baby's bottle).

Later, when Jose seems more engaged with the activity, in response to the competition between Jacob and Benjamin to see who had the baby longer, Jose jokingly infers sarcasm in his reply to Jacob (4C, line 25).

Given that Jose's focus is fixed on the baby, it is only a matter of course that Flavia takes charge of the lesson. She offers the boys a chance to choose a story, she proposes a game to engage the boys with Portuguese, and she gives the boys priority to answer the questions before an adult has the chance to respond (4C, line 37).

Flavia continues her attempt at maintaining the conversations in Portuguese during the Bible reading session. At one point she elbows me, showing me her disapproval that I answered Benjamin a question in English, calling me *cabeçã::o* (**big head**). "*Cabeção*" is a slang term the entire family uses, even in Brazil to indicate one is not using one's mind most effectively (4C, line 27). She expects that I either ask Benjamin to ask his question in Portuguese or pretend that I did not understand or hear the question, forcing him to ask me again in Portuguese, which would align with the family's language policy of speaking Portuguese in the home.

The excerpt also shows the familial dynamics of power and solidarity (Tannen et al., 2007). Line 7 shows Flavia demanding Benjamin that he sit down to read (power), while in line 9 Flavia softly addresses her son by calling herself “*mamãe*” (**mommy**) instead of “*eu*” (I), apparently to re-establish a sense of intimacy with him (solidarity).

When Benjamin is threatened by his mother of losing the opportunity to have a sleepover at his friend’s house due to his non-compliant behavior, Benjamin immediately protests in Portuguese, “*eu quero*” (**I want it**; 4C, line 17) adding emphasis to his request by elevating the syllable ‘*que*’, precisely as a native speaker of Portuguese would do. He is pleading with his mother in Portuguese to have a better chance at getting his request attended. Benjamin's linguistic cleverness here illustrates previous findings that children are apt to speak their HLs for pragmatic purposes (Wilson, 2020).

HL children also speak their HL language at times to appease a tired parent or to obtain some favor from them. Benjamin seems to understand the hierarchical dynamics playing out here and appears to use them to his advantage. He also understands that the final decision regarding the sleepover at a friend’s house would come from his parents; therefore, he uses the linguistic ability he has in Portuguese to convince his mother to change her mind.

Finally, the 45-minute-long Bible devotional ends with a prayer immediately followed by the family’s casual domestic chores planning. Jose gets up from the couch, after the prayer ends and invites Jacob and Benjamin to follow him to the store (4C, line 45). The meeting ends, all stand up and the family goes about their day.

The socialization style adopted by the couple to guide the lesson here is reflective of their rearing style in general, because of Flavia's and Jose's work schedule, requiring at times that at least once a month there will be only one parent at home minding the children, the parents are accustomed to sharing responsibilities and activities in children-rearing.

#### **4.9. Linguistic Creativity Accounts for Portuguese Vocabulary Limitation**

This final short transcript presents an Advent Ceremony (a Christian holiday that marks the preparation for the birth of Jesus Christ) where one evening the family, including myself, gathered to celebrate the occasion. Amanda and Jacob joined from their home via a video call, and Flavia also joined via a video call from work. The family followed the church English booklet specially created to celebrate Advent in 2021. Each evening the reflection was led by an adult, and the boys had the opportunity to read the text on different days. That evening was my turn to guide the reading about the benefits of expressing gratitude.

As we prepare to participate, other activities were going on. Jose, for example, adjusted his cellular phone on the coffee table so that he, Benjamin, and I could see Flavia, Amanda, and Jacob. There were also parallel conversations about the usefulness of technology for the contemporary demands of life, all of us spoke Portuguese and the atmosphere was very relaxed. Each family member spoke, and the celebration came to an end. I asked if anyone would like to pray to close our evening reflection. Jacob immediately raised his hand and prayed:

#### 4.9.1. EXCERPT 4D FIELDNOTES (11.30.21)

Transcription conventions:

**Plain:** Utterances in English

*Italics:* Utterances in Portuguese

**Bold:** Utterances in Spanish

Underline: Features of HL indicate pronunciation or grammatical errors

[Brackets]: Transcriber notes of nonverbal communication, actions, grammatical explanations

\*Note that bracketed transcriber notes are only provided in the English Translation column

Full transcription conventions can be found in Appendix G

Line	Speaker	Original Text	English Translation
1	<b>Rosi</b>	<i>Boa noite, tudo bem. Ei Amanda, ei Jacob, tudo bem?</i>	<i>Good evening, how's going? Hi Amanda, hi Jacob.</i>
2	<b>Jose</b>	<i>Oi pessoal.</i>	<i>Hi guys.</i>
3	<b>Amanda &amp; Jacob</b>	<i>Oooooi</i>	<i>Hiiiiii.</i>
4	<b>Rosi</b>	<i>Nossa reflexão hoje fala sobre agradecimento, sobre ser agradecido. Quem gostaria de- de ler?</i>	<i>Our meditation today is about Thanksgiving, about being grateful. Wh-who would like to read?</i>

5	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>Eu vou!</i>	<i>I will!</i>
	<b>Jose</b>	<i>Bom trabalho meu amor.</i>	<i>Good job my love.</i>
6	<b>Rosi</b>	<i>Muito bem, Benjamin, boa leitura e quem gostaria de orar pra terminar?</i>	<i>Very good, Benjamin, good Reading, and who would like to pray to end our meeting?</i>
7	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>Eu! “Obrigado Papai do Céu porque nós não precisa trabalhar muito, muito, muito, muito. Nós tem comida. Muito obrigado, assim, porque no tempo mais velho do mundo as pessoas tinham que andar muito, correr, só pra ter água. Obrigado porque nós não tem que fazer isso. Em nome de Jesus, Amém.</i>	<i>Me! Thank you Father in Heaven because <u>we doesn't</u> need to work a lot, a lot, a lot, a lot. <u>We has food</u>. Thank you very much because in the <u>oldest times</u> of the world, people had to walk a lot, run, just to have water. Thank you that <u>we doesn't</u> have to do that. In the name of Jesus, amen.</i>  [The correct verb tenses should be precisamos, temos; and temos respectively].

What is elucidating here in terms of the heritage language agency is that Jacob's Portuguese vocabulary limitation does not deter him from wanting to express his thoughts in

Portuguese when he prays. Indeed, he uses whatever Portuguese vocabulary he has available to convey his idea. When he says in his prayer “*porque no tempo mais velho do mundo*” (**in the olden times of the world**, line 7); he means something like “*na antiguidade*” or “*antigamente*” (**in antiquity or in the past**). Though his choice of phrase is unusual, any speaker of Portuguese would be perfectly able to understand his phrasing.

Moreover, when he needs a little time to think, to bring about his vocabulary, he resorts to the Portuguese word “*assim*” - the equivalent, in this context, of the overused filler word “like” in English (line 7). The option to use a Portuguese word while he is thinking speaks of the cognitive richness HL children possess, as will be discussed in the following chapter. Jacob has the word “like” readily available to him, nonetheless, he chooses a word in Portuguese to work as a sentence filler. Jacob, then, finds a way around his vocabulary limitation to make his point across, arguably a demonstration of linguistic prowess rather than an expressive language ineptitude.

Finally, it is important to note that on that same evening, I had noted in my self-reflecting journal that both Benjamin and Jacob were spontaneously speaking Portuguese from the beginning of the meeting, even without being reminded to do so. Part of the relaxed atmosphere for Jacob, at least, might be because he was at home with his mother, a time he highly values, given that his mother spends long hours at work and he does not get to spend many hours with her during the weekdays. (Self-reflection notation, 11.30.21)

Further, it is noteworthy that even though Amanda does not actively advocate that Jacob speaks Portuguese, her native language, she is the person he always aims at showing



something new he learned, or did, in Portuguese when she stops by Flavia's and Jose's home after work to pick him up in the evening.

#### **4.10. Discussion**

The analyses of data in this chapter focused on the interconnectivity between the Santos-Gomez family's religious practices and heritage language maintenance activities. My primary goal was to understand what roles religious practices play in language socialization through HLM by asking what linguistic, cultural, or religious ideologies influence the family's language and literacy socialization practices. To answer this question, I focused on four extended family routine sections of Bible reading and discussion and one short data sample.

The analysis of the first interaction (4A) shows that the religious practices of the Santos-Gomez family are not only an opportunity for them to work out their faith through the reading and discussion of the Bible, but that their religious education fosters the maintenance of their heritage language through opportunities for contextualization and inclusion for Benjamin, the transmission of a family legend, and the application of ancient lessons and beliefs through narrative adaptation (e.g., change of pronoun and verb tense), to a child at this very moment in time. Jose's and Flavia's practices expand on Tovares' concept of intertextuality in action because it shows how the framework is utilized for language socialization, and cultural assimilation in a trilingual, HLM family.

The excerpt indicates that at times Jose and Flavia are mostly concerned that Benjamin focuses on religious education without them prioritizing HLM. For example, Jose

conducts the study in English, while Benjamin speaks English. However, note that there are constant covert attempts to engage the boy in his heritage languages. We may infer that Flavia uses English in this segment of the interaction because she does not want to lose momentum. It seems that she wants to stay in the flow of the reading with Jose, in English. However, a few lines later, mid-sentence from line 64, she goes back to Portuguese and keeps on speaking Portuguese until the end of the excerpt.

Though Benjamin speaks mostly in English, he is exposed to theological concepts in Portuguese that Flavia and Jose find important, like for example the one regarding strength and truth as God's prerogatives and gifts to mankind.

The analysis of excerpt 4B contributes to the HLM literature because it allows an intimate look further into the family's complex, yet *organic* way of doing Bible study. I call it organic because their practices are rather impromptu, where language maintenance activities following Bible readings are not set ahead of time or practiced in a "laboratory-like" environment. Rather, their religious practices take place within the heart of their daily routines.

The family proposes HLM activities, such as translating English passages into Portuguese on the fly. In other biblical sessions, I participated in, the boys silently enacted Bible characters and the rest of the family had to guess who it was; or each boy would say one descriptive word in Portuguese related to the character, or an event, for the family to answer what story it was.

As behavior challenges arise, the family manages them accordingly. Yet, despite behavioral issues and rising emotional conflicts, the Santos-Gomez interaction constitutes language socialization and language maintenance within the confluence of all that takes place in their interaction. In the meantime, Jose and Flavia try to speak to their HLs. The transcript reveals that there is a silent predetermined agreement that they will speak Portuguese during the Bible read and there is no opposition that they speak Spanish. Speaking Portuguese or Spanish is an expectation that gains voice when the boys do not speak their HLs and are reminded to do so.

Finally, the analysis shows us that language socialization is not a *neat*, conclusive process as human interactions are seldom linear endeavors. Language socialization is a “construction” operation, where “every society has its own developmental stories that are rooted in social organization, beliefs, and values” (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984, p. 285). The excerpt allows us a look at a real-time HL family interaction where requests that the boys speak Portuguese, scolding, threats of privileges being taken, compliments, and baby care tutoring all happen at once while English, Portuguese, and Spanish are spoken.

In excerpt 4C, we observe the family’s hierarchical dynamics playing out. While Flavia is adamant that the boys behave appropriately and while it is agreed upon that the use of electronics is not allowed during the activity, she has the autonomy, as the adult, to disrupt the Bible session by pulling the boys over to look at her telephone to look at a photograph bearing no connection to the Bible activity. Furthermore, the analysis displays the dynamics of power and solidarity (Tannen, 2007) within the intimacy of a HL language. If on the one hand, Flavia uses her autonomy as a parent to demand appropriate behavior for Benjamin and

Jacob (power display); she also refers to herself as “mamãe” to reestablish a sense of intimacy (solidarity display). The excerpt also presents evidence of how HL children display their HL knowledge to advocate for their needs. Recall that Benjamin immediately switches from English to Portuguese at the prospect of losing the privilege of a sleepover at his best friend’s home.

The last excerpt discusses the influence of HLM to foster creativity in the face of heritage language vocabulary limitations, pointing to bilingual speakers' enhanced cognitive abilities in contrast to that of their monolingual counterparts. Recall that as Jacob prayed to end their Advent Celebration, he did not allow his Portuguese vocabulary limitation to keep him from expressing his ideas. On the contrary, he demonstrates his linguistic maneuvers to overcome his limitations.

In conclusion, HLM literature suggests that religious practices are a segment of a larger societal organization that not only socializes children into religious doctrine but also into the predominant language (Baquedano-López, 1997). Contrary to this paradigm, the analysis shows that the Santos-Gomez family manages to transmit and maintain their HLs via their home religious practices, among other categories, through story contextualization, intertextuality in action (King David’s story), and discourse repetition.

As the analyses show, it is not always a smooth process to gather the whole family, start the Bible session, create HLM activities, and keep Jacob and Benjamin engaged with their family language practices. Nonetheless, I conclude that the Santos-Gomez family’s home religious practices are one of the most profitable activities in HL they engage in.

This study makes an important contribution to the field of HLM as it examines some of the challenges and joys that emerge from religious education practiced through and aimed at maintaining heritage languages. The case study of the Santos-Gomez family does not claim representativeness. However, the findings suggest that additional studies are needed in the area of HLM activities and religious practices. Contribution to the field of HLM practice may be gleaned from other heritage language families' activities of faith, practiced in the intimacy of their homes. Religious practices may be a quiet propelling force for HLM in families across the United States.

The next chapter focuses on the interconnection of emotions and HLM and discusses the centrality of emotions in HLM within the Santos-Gomez family, where playfulness, humor, and language creativity are daily, integral elements of their interactions as they strive to keep Portuguese alive.

## CHAPTER 5

### EMOTIONS AND HLM

#### **5.1. Introduction**

In this chapter, I present analyses of data focusing on overt displays of emotions externalized in the form of humor, playfulness, and language creativity as the Santos-Gomez family engages in daily activities at home and out in the community in Florida. The analyses highlight the interconnectedness of emotions and HLM.

First, I offer a theoretical overview discussing the topic of emotions and HLM, an area of research in bilingualism that has been gaining traction in the last few years. It is important to discuss emotions in this study firstly because, aside from it being an area of research that has been gaining ground in studies of HLM, my data revealed that humor and playfulness, which are embodiments of emotions, are central elements in the Santos-Gomez family everyday interactions in and out their HLM practices. Then I provide instances from my data illustrating that (a) jokes provide HL learning opportunities, (b) language socialization and HLM, (c) linguistic playfulness intermingles real-life and fictional stories in HLM activities, and (d) pride is an important positive emotion in HLM. Then, I synthesize my findings with prior research and discuss the importance of considering emotional factors

in the study of FLP and HLM. I also discuss the need for further investigation into the implications of humor and playfulness in HLM practices.

Finally, I synthesize my findings with prior research and discuss the vitality that humor and playfulness can inject into HLM work by families. I also discuss the need for further investigation into the implications of emotions in the transmission of a HL.

## **5.2. Theoretical Overview**

The vital role that emotions play in the transmission and maintenance of heritage languages has been documented in recent applied linguistics literature (De Houwer, 2020; Guardado & Becker, 2014; Kasstan, Auer & Salmons, 2018; Sevinç, 2020). These scholars have recognized that emotions and HLM are deeply connected, yet they stress that until recently it has remained an understudied phenomenon. Despite the increasing interest in the topic of emotions and HL (Sevinç, 2020), a great challenge lies ahead for researchers interested in the interconnection of emotions and HLM, given the challenges of defining emotion pragmatically. In the words of Wilce (2009), it is to “open many cans of worms” (p. 28).

Thankfully the opportunity to observe naturally occurring interactions affords researchers the chance to witness first-hand how emotions are displayed (e.g., through physiological responses, facial expressions, and verbal communication), affording a means to look into the effects of emotions in HLM, both at the level of the social interaction and in the broader context of language acquisition and maintenance. The collection and handling of empirical data will inform future family language policy (FLP), which in return may benefit

all stakeholders involved in HLM (e.g., parents, caretakers, and children) within the intimacy of HL homes. The focal family of this study gives us some insights into the potential benefits of creativity, playfulness, and humor for HLM, as it will be discussed soon. All of these are understood to be manifestations of emotions.

Emotions, or emotional displays, can be understood for the purpose of this study as a response to “significant events in the form of feelings, attitudes, and alignments” (Scherer, Schorr, and Johnstone, 2001). Anchored in this definition, I use emotion to designate HL learners’ observable attitudes, utterances, and general responses to the current state of affairs pertaining to their HLs and within punctual HLM practices. Emotional responses are regarded in the form of gestures, facial expressions, and expressive language connoting different feelings toward the HL, which I call “emotion in action.” I argue that the “emotional experience” (Tannen, 1997) of HL learners is proof of their interpersonal involvement or lack with their HLs.

To conclude this review of the literature, I highlight Sevinç’s and Mihavardi’s (2023) suggestion to “treat emotion as one of the individual components of multilingualism and FLP because of its critical role in multilingual parenting and/or caregiving (p. 145).

I explore the many ways in which the Santos-Gomez family displays their reactions toward their HL. It was advantageous – as I analyzed the family’s language and social interactions, which are in constant movement and negotiations – that I did not try to attain a consensus definition of emotion or attempt to objectively analyze it. Instead, it was beneficial to recognize and frame HLM ideologies and practices as deeply interconnected with



emotions and from this acknowledgment consider what displayed emotions, in the form of language creativity, humor, and playfulness do or can do for HLM.

Now I proceed to present additional literature documenting (1) the roles that parents play in HLM, (2) the past focus on negative emotion, (3) the importance of positive emotion in HLM, and (4) humor and playfulness as interactional strategies to foster positive emotions.

### **5.2.1. Parents Play Fundamental Roles in HLM Development**

We have seen previously that, among other interests, HLM parents strive to maintain their languages to facilitate intergenerational relationships, encourage religious practices, and secure the continuation of their inheritance through the preservation of their language. For HLM parents the maintenance of a language is also a means of identity preservation for their children. As Fishman (1991) has said, a successful language maintenance endeavor ultimately fosters a sense of belonging to a communal family.

As a natural process of the human life experience, HL transmission and maintenance is an emotional endeavor (Kramsch, 2006), and it can be embedded in negative and positive emotions. The conflict that may emerge between parents and children's attitudes regarding their HLs is not uncommon, requiring constant negotiations concerning language policies and HLM outcome expectations. Nonetheless, parents play fundamental roles in forming their children's linguistic environment (Smith-Christmas, Bergroth, & Bezcioglu-Göktolga, 2019; Schwartz & Verschik, 2013). Moreover, parents play an unparalleled role as initiators of a sense of ethnic identity and pride for their children (Park and Sarkar, 2007).

### 5.2.2. Prevalence of Studies on Negative Emotions

Research has greatly focused on negative emotions and their disabling effect on language acquisition in general and, more recently, in HL learning. For example, anxiety, alongside other negative emotions, has been broadly documented (Prada et al., 2020), and the experience of these negative emotions in heritage language acquisition has been connected to the experience of discomfort, embarrassment, and anger. Sevinç (2020) points to the importance of heritage language families not only to expand the linguistic capability of their children but also to encourage positive emotions to help defeat negative ones (e.g., anxiety, shame, disappointment) that may be associated with the maintenance of their home languages.

The delicate balancing act that parents face in terms of managing both their own emotional attitudes and their children's emotional responses to HL activities was apparent in my data. For instance, Flavia, the focal mother of this study, expressed in an interview her concern that Benjamin and Jacob may associate negative feelings of frustration and even annoyance with Portuguese if she and Jose push the boys too hard to speak their HLMs when they are unwilling or incapable of expressing certain ideas; “[i]n such occasions”, Flavia said, “I try to always resort to humor and play.” (Personal Interview 2/27/2021).

Flavia's concerns regarding the association of negative emotions with HLM align directly with previous studies. In a family study of French HLM, Wilson (2020) found that children did not resist the French language itself, but resisted their mother's language policies, which they found restrictive and imposing. Additional research has shown that

negative feelings toward language and family language policies may indeed be bidirectional. For instance, Kopeliovich (2010, 2013) reflected on her concern that the imposition of Russian as her children's HL in Israel may make the children associate negative feelings with Russian, therefore creating resistance toward that language instead of openness and enjoyment in learning it.

The focus of research on negative emotions and language learning is important to recognize since negative emotions may compromise individuals' overall sense of welfare and ultimately the ability to learn (Fredrickson, 2003). Anxiety, for example, has been pointed out as the predominant negative emotion in language acquisition research (Devaele & McIntyre, 2014; Becker & Prada, 2014; Arnold & Brown, 1999). In the face of it, the authors highlighted the importance of not losing sight of positive emotions and their benefits for bilingualism. Based on the data I collected, it is reasonable to say that the Santos-Gomez family offers a reasonable amount of evidence that positive emotions are motivators of HLM, as analyses of the transcriptions will soon demonstrate.

### **5.2.3. Role of Positive Emotions on HLM**

When HL parents and children experience positive feelings about bilingualism, this positive experience may contribute to speakers' sentiments of personal happiness. For Melo-Pfifer (2015), who researches German-Portuguese children living in Germany, it is important to consider the emotional role of the nuclear family in the process of language transmission and identity formation and development. She also asserts that aside from the affective role that families exert on HL children, which is connected to the transmission of traditions,

legends, history, and stories, there is also a cognitive and verbal role, connected to children's initial socialization, which the nuclear family has a great input in. As we will soon see during the data analyses, there will be demonstrations of such cognitive and verbal roles by Jacob and Benjamin on how they understand and use their HL.

Alongside Pfifer's ideas, Kasstan, Auer, & Salmons (2018), have hypothesized that positive attitudes held by parents toward the family heritage language will have an impact on their children's rate of acquisition or, conversely, negative attitudes may compromise acquisition and maintenance. Therefore, one might further infer that HLM success is co-dependent on the emotional environment in which children are acquiring their HLs. Positive emotions tend to create social resources because they may broaden learners' perspectives, creating more opportunities for language absorption and enjoyment (MacIntyre & Gregersen, 2012). Learning in a playful and enjoyable environment, without the rigors of an academic setting nor the "pressure" to maintain the HL, might make children unaware that they are involved in a learning process (Guardado, 2008) so children may feel more prone to learn their HLs.

#### **5.2.4. Humor and Playfulness Brings Positive Emotions into HLM Practices**

Humor and playfulness are expressions of emotions that positively impact the transmission and maintenance of HLs (Kopeliovich, 2013). Play generates enduring riches and expands learners' perspectives as it broadens the sense of confidence and accomplishment (Fredrickson, 2001). As MacIntyre & Gregersen (2012) have asked, "What

could be healthier for language growth than learners who want to play, explore, integrate and establish relationships?” (p. 209). Moreover, the experience of enjoyment has been linked to the desire to play (Fredrickson, 2001), consequently, playing has been associated with the cultivation of a sense of belongingness and contributes to the cognitive development of children. Additionally, humor is necessary because it is emotion-conducive and a tension-relieving mechanism (Bell, 2013).

In the Santos-Gomez family, there are times when playfulness and humor work as a strategy adopted to dissipate or at least to steer the focus away from negative emotions which are known to hinder language learning. In both cases – either using positive emotions to stimulate HLM or to move away negative emotions that may rise toward HLs – we will see some of the ways that the Santos-Gomez family play crucial roles in forming their children's linguistic environment (Schwartz & Verschik, 2013).

### **5.3. Analysis**

Now I briefly introduce the three major interactions I analyze in this chapter and the aspects of HLM and emotions that they highlight. The first interaction calls attention to the interconnection between humor and playfulness, and its weaving with the fabric of the Santos-Gomez family. The second excerpt presents data showing an English activity becoming a fruitful and fun HLM learning experience. In the third one, I discuss Benjamin's creativity in informing his fictional characters with his real-life experience as a HL learner through a puppet show he created himself. Finally, I analyze two shorter excerpts that attest

to Jacob and Benjamin's pride in speaking their HL. In this section, I highlight that pride is a positive emotion not frequently overtly displayed by HL speakers.

#### 5.4. Joking as a Vocabulary Learning Tool

At the breakfast table on the day of the interaction, conversations flow from topic to topic and are infused with laughter and self-deprecating jokes. For example, Jose was getting ready for a job interview the following morning and he had to take medication to alleviate the symptoms of a cold he had been battling for days. Because of the drowsiness caused by the medication, I joked that he would not pass the company's drug test, an allusion to the irony of a pilot not passing a drug test. Everyone laughed. Taking up the joking frame, Jose said he would call his prospective employer to inform of his sickness and decline the interview. The family laughed because all knew that Jose had been looking forward to his interview and had been preparing for months in advance. A job offer would be a milestone for his career as a commercial pilot.

In the meantime, Jacob and Benjamin talked among themselves in English. The conversation between the boys was not captured in the recording. However, it was possible to hear Flavia reminding them to speak Portuguese, adding that Mariana would soon arrive from Brazil in February and that they would look like two "*bobos*" (**dummies**) if they were not able to talk to her in Portuguese. Mariana is a friend from Brazil whom the boys have visited and played with several times while they were in Brazil (a full description of Mariana and her grandmother will follow in ). She was scheduled to arrive in less than a month from the time of the recording with her family for her first visit to the boys in the United States.

Flavia and her family were preparing a birthday party for Benjamin and Mariana who were born only a few days apart, in February. The party was to be held at the Santos-Gomez's yard in Florida. There was great anticipation from the Santos-Gomez' and Mariana's family in Brazil.

The word “*bobos*” (dummies) triggers for Flavia the memory of a wordplay she knows from her childhood. She seizes the relaxed moment to teach it to Jacob and Benjamin. Breakfast was over and the family had sat on the couch, adjacent to the breakfast nook. Flavia stands up from the couch, sits back on the table, and asks the boys to look at her hand as magic is about to start. The boys watch her hands as they go in circles, supposedly making bubbles appear, as if by magic:

#### **5.4.1. EXCERPT 5A AUDIO (1.23.22)**

Transcription conventions:

Plain: Utterances in English

*Italics:* Utterances in Portuguese

**Bold:** Utterances in Spanish

Underline: Features of HL indicate pronunciation or grammatical errors

[Brackets]: Transcriber notes of nonverbal communication, actions, grammatical explanations

\*Note that bracketed transcriber notes are only provided in the English Translation column

Full transcription conventions can be found in Appendix G

	Speaker	Original Text	English Translation
1	Flavia	<i>Oh vou ensinar uma mágica pra vocês. Vou fazer bobo olhar, okay? Vou fazer bobo olhar. Pronto? Bobo olhando, bobo olhando, bobo olhando Entendeu?</i>	<b>Look, I'm going to teach you some magic. I'm going to make bubbles; I'm going to make bubbles. Ready? A fool looking, a fool looking. Did you understand?</b>
2	Jacob	<i>Sim</i>	<b>Yes</b>
3	Flavia	<i>Entendeu o quê? O quê que você entendeu? Entenderam ↑nada! [joking tone].</i>	<b>What did you understand? You understood nothing!</b>
4	Ben	<i>Bobo olhando. [matter-of- factly].</i>	<b>A fool looking.</b>
	Flavia	<i>A gente fala parece que a gente fala borboilar, de borbolha, mas você fala rápido e é bobo olhando.</i>	<b>It seems as if we're saying bubbling, from bubble, but we say it quickly 'fool looking.'</b>
5	Ben	Okay, does it mean you're calling us a <u>dummy</u> ?	
6	Flavia	<i><u>Nã:::o</u>, bobo não é bem</i>	<b>No:::, bobo is not really dumb,</b>



		<i>dum::b não, Benjamin. Bobo é mais silly. Entendeu? Dummy é mais, é uma coisa mais (.)=</i>	<b>Benjamin. No. Bobo is more like silly. Do you understand? Dummy is something more (.) it's*</b>
<b>7</b>	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>*Aggressive?</i>	
<b>8</b>	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>I::SSO, mais grosseira assim de falar. Dummy seria mais assim (.) burro.</i>	<b>THAT'S IT, a harsher way of speaking. Dummy would be more like (.) stupid.</b>
<b>9</b>	<b>Ben</b>	I thought that burro meant boring.	
<b>10</b>	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Não, não, burro é uma palavra:: assim ... *</i>	<b>Not really, burro is a word like...</b>
<b>11</b>	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>*↑Donkey.* [interjects].</i>	
<b>12</b>	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Donkey, é, que significa (.) que é uma expressão pra [thinking of a word].</i>	<b>Donkey, yes, which means, that's an expression for-.</b>
<b>13</b>	<b>Ben</b>	I got confused when I was little, with burro /D/ and burro /r/*.	
<b>14</b>	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>contrário de inteligente. Burro é donkey também, só</i>	<b>The contrary of intelligent. Burro is donkey too, but it's just the</b>

		<i>que é espanhol, pronúncia em espanhol.</i>	<b>Spanish pronunciation.</b>
<b>15</b>	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>Titia como mesmo que é a piada do relam (.) como mesmo? Relampiendo?</i>	<b>aunty how does the “relam” joke go (.) how is it? Lightening?</b>

In this excerpt, Flavia continuously repeats the refrain *bobolhando, bobolhando* (supposedly **bubbling**; 5A, line 1), but no magic happens. The trick lies in the fact that she does not say ‘bubbling’ (*borbolhando*) but rather *bobo olhando* (**dummy looking**). When said quickly, without a pause, the two words sound like the word *borbolhando* (**bubbling**). Consequently, the boys are intently looking while no magic happens, which would make them two “*bobo olhando*’ (**dummies looking**). Flavia’s tone is jocular, not abrasive, though the word *bobo* in Portuguese could also denote stupidity.

As Flavia humorously tries to motivate Jacob and Benjamin through a riddle to illustrate the negative consequences if they do not practice Portuguese to speak to their Portuguese monolingual friend Mariana (i.e., that they will look like “dummies”), it is notable that the boys do not have difficulties understanding the wordplay in this joke. When Flavia asks if they understand what she has said in line 1, she expects them to say *borbolhando* (bubbling), at which point she would reveal the punchline – that she was calling them fools. When Benjamin promptly answers “*sim*” (**yes**, line 2) to her question, Flavia is skeptical if they have indeed understood, and teases him that they did not (5A, line 3). Flavia expects Benjamin and Jacob to respond “*bobo olhando*” (dummy looking,) without realizing

that they are mispronouncing “*borbolhando*” (*bubbling*). However, Benjamin replies precisely by repeating what she is saying, “*bobo olhando*” (line 4), with a matter-of-fact tone, conveying that he has understood “dummy looking,” and revealing that her trick was not successful. In other words, Flavia’s joke is spoiled by Benjamin’s ability to catch her attempt to deceive the boys by altering the pronunciation of *borbolhando* in order to produce a wordplay that mocks them (5A, line 4).

Despite Flavia’s failed attempt at a joke in this excerpt, the wordplay promotes learning in that it gives the boys a chance to discuss pronunciation differences between Spanish and Portuguese (5A, lines 13), to understand literal and figurative meanings of words (e.g., *burro* as dumb and donkey, lines 12 and 13), and for Benjamin to clarify with his mother whether or not she has been calling them stupid when she has called them *bobo* in the past (dummy; line 6). During this exchange, Benjamin’s tone is calm but assertive, not displaying any negative feelings of having potentially been offended by his mother, but as a language learner who is simply requesting clarification on the connotative meaning of this term. It should be noted that Benjamin’s request for clarification from his mother is justified in this instance. In some contexts, “*bobo*” does connote stupidity. When Benjamin challenges his mother for potentially calling him and his cousin a term he knows to be insulting, he expresses not only his lexical knowledge in Portuguese but also his pragmatic understanding of the term.

Immediately after their interaction, Jacob asks his aunt Flavia to remind him of another Portuguese wordplay he learned from his grandfather Joselito on his trip to Brazil in 2020 so he could tell it to their Brazilian friend Mariana during her upcoming trip to Florida.

The riddle asks for the name of a chirping chick under a storm, and the punchline is the name of the chick, “*Relam*” which is within the word “*relampejar*” (**lightning**).

Jacob’s interest in relearning the joke cements the premise that humor is conducive to learning; it fosters curiosity and promotes learning without the formality usually associated with language lessons. Additionally, Jacob seems to be acknowledging the potential of humor and play to create rapport with Mariana. Indeed, one attribute of language play is that it provides a context for HL learners to experiment with the language (Lantolf, 1997). The interaction presents a form of HL pride on Jacob’s part – as he develops his metalinguistic awareness, he seems to feel that he would be better able to relate to Mariana by demonstrating his linguistic abilities in Portuguese.

Although Jacob and Benjamin were speaking mostly in English in this excerpt, the interaction reveals the depth of Jacob and Benjamin’s engagement and knowledge of Portuguese. As they speak in English, they display their metalinguistic awareness, and indeed we see Benjamin actively developing his understanding of the word *burro* (lines 6, 10, and 14). Note that he anchors his efforts to understand the Portuguese word's meaning in English (“I thought it meant *boring*”, line 10) and in Spanish (line 14, when he sounds out the word, contrasting the Portuguese and Spanish pronunciations). He even displays his newfound understanding of the word’s meaning in this excerpt by recalling his previous confusion between his two heritage languages: “I got confused when I was little with “*burro*” (**donkey**) [*/r/* and “*burro*” */D/*], (5A, line 13).

It is also worth pointing out that Jacob interjects (line 12) to give the literal meaning of the word—“donkey”—showing his vocabulary-level comprehension. Curiously, up until this point, Jacob has not appeared very engaged in the interaction. It is only when Flavia struggles to come up with an English figurative translation for “*burro*” that Jacob jumps in to help. The intonation contour he uses on the word conveys his eagerness to share this knowledge here (5A, line 11)., even though it is simply the literal meaning that he offers.

Furthermore, this example reveals that not only are playfulness, humor, and HLM inseparably connected, but that they hinge on each other, both sustaining and encouraging heritage language learning. Interactions like these, which occur frequently in the Santos-Gomez family, highlight the bidirectional influence of humor playfulness, and HLM. On the one hand, positive emotions foster HL learners' appreciation for their HLs; on the other, the acquired knowledge of a HL through play opens the door for additional HL learning and enjoyment.

In sum, the Santos-Gomez family interaction shows how humor and play can transform otherwise mundane home situations into vivid, context-centered learning experiences for HL children. The excerpt shows metalinguistic awareness developing in real time and we are privy to it. It looks like the absence of an established learning moment, usually associated with HLM practices, is helpful to bypass HL learners' resistance. The family illustrates how humor assuages otherwise tense situations, transforming them into HLM engagement. It is worth noting that at the end of the excerpt, Jacob asks Flavia to remind him of an unrelated joke he learned from his grandfather on a previous trip to Brazil, indicating that the positive effects of humor on children are long-lasting. Jacob is not only

recalling a previous family joke in line 15, but his appeal to his aunt seeks to extend the current activity as it comes to a close. The analysis of this excerpt contributes to the literature on HLM by showing HL families that they reorient their own home experiences of humor and playfulness to use them as tools to boost HLM practices.

### **5.5. A Spelling Game as HLM Practice**

On this day, Jose arrives home with Benjamin and Jacob from Jiu-Jitsu practice. The boys are happy, talkative, engaged, and relaxed. Jose starts helping Benjamin with his English spelling homework and proposes to give a quarter of a dollar for each correct spelling. The atmosphere is relaxed; there is no formal initiation to this lesson, and both boys sit down voluntarily to participate in the game with Jose. Envisioning the situation as a segue to HL practices, I take advantage of the playful atmosphere and propose that the boys also spell the words dictated by Jose in Portuguese alongside English.

Jose moves around from room to room, minding baby Joshua and performing chores around the house, as he leads the boys in the activity. The boys follow him with pen and paper in hand, using nearby surfaces (e.g., the kitchen counter, the living room coffee table), to write words down. Jacob and Benjamin appear to be fully engrossed in this spelling activity.

#### **5.5.1. EXCERPT 5B AUDIO (2.21.2022)**

Transcription conventions:

Plain: Utterances in English

*Italics:* Utterances in Portuguese

**Bold: Utterances in Spanish**

Underline: Features of HL indicate pronunciation or grammatical errors

[Brackets]: Transcriber notes of nonverbal communication, actions, grammatical explanations

\*Note that bracketed transcriber notes are only provided in the English Translation column

Full transcription conventions can be found in Appendix G

Line	Speaker	Original message	Translation to English
1	<b>Jose</b>	<u>Calsa</u> jeans, see if you can- that's two, that's that's half a dollar there if you spell <u>calsa</u> . The stakes are getting higher.	<i>Jeans pants</i> , see if you can- that's two, that's that's half a dollar there if you spell <u>calsa</u> . The stakes are getting higher. [Jose mispeled calça for calsa]]
2	<b>Jacob</b>	°c-a-l-ç-a°	°c-a-l-ç-a°
3	<b>Jose</b>	Benjamin, Benjamin if I were you I'd pay attention to Jacob's words, <u>calsa</u>	Benjamin, Benjamin if I were you I'd pay attention to Jacob's

			words, <i>calsa</i> .
4	<b>Rosi</b>	<i>Como que é a palavra, Jose?</i>	<i>What's the word, Jose?</i>
5	<b>Jose</b>	<i>Calsa, cal::sa, calsa.</i> <i>&lt;lines elided&gt;.</i>	Pants, pan::ts, pants [Jacob whispers calça/s/ to Rosiane]. <i>&lt;lines elided&gt;.</i>
16	<b>Rosi</b>	<i>Se escreve Calca/k/, aí a gente bota isso aqui ó que se chama cedilha</i> <i>&lt;lines elided&gt;</i>	<i>It spells cal/k/a, then we put this, look – it's called cedilla.</i> <i>&lt;lines elided&gt;</i>
28	<b>Ben</b>	Head or*	Head or* [throws a coin to see who would spell next]
29	<b>Jose</b>	Ben, how do you spell	Ben, how do you spell
30	<b>Ben</b>	↑HEAD or tail head or tail?	↑HEAD or tail head or tail?
31	<b>Jose</b>	Head.	Head.
32	<b>Ben</b>	Head or tail?	Head or tail? [Ben asks Jacob]



33	<b>Jose</b>	Ben, how do you spell <i>ca::lça?</i>	Ben, how do you spell <i>ca::lça?</i> [Jose corrects his own pronunciation].
34	<b>Ben</b>	Um::: I don't know.	Um::: I don't know.
35	<b>Jose</b>	See, I asked you to pay attention (.) Ben do you wanna try <i>o o cor azul em português Ben?</i>	See, I asked you to pay attention (.) Ben do you wanna try <i>o o cor blue em português Ben?</i>  [Jose misused the article; it should have been "a" cor].
36	<b>Jose</b>	<i>Azul.</i>	<i>Blue.</i>
37	<b>Jacob</b>	I'm getting CALÇA with this stuff I don't even know and he's getting <i>azul</i> ↑?	I'm getting CALÇA with this stuff I don't even know and he's getting <i>azul</i> ↑? [Jacob pretends exasperation].
38	<b>Ben</b>	A-Z-A	A-Z-A  [laughs at Jacob's comment and tries to spell].

39	<b>Jose</b>	Try again, azU::L	Try again, bIU::E
40	<b>Ben</b>	U? O?	U? O?
41	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>Pensa, azul</i> ↑.	<i>Think, blue</i> ↑.
42	<b>Jose</b>	U::: like fIU:::te, hU:::ge.	U::: like fIU:::te, hU:::ge.
43	<b>Ben</b>	L? <lines elided>].	L? <lines elided>].
48	<b>Rosi</b>	Wow, that- I think they deserve two quarters each. <i>Oh eu deveria falar em português!</i>	Wow, that- I think they deserve two quarters each. <i>Oh, I should be speaking Portuguese!</i>
49	<b>Jose</b>	<u>Yes. [laughs]</u>	<u>Yes. [laughs]</u>
50	<b>Rosi</b>	<i>Jacob, seu raciocínio foi brilhante and Ben, você pegou a dica; sério, não tô falando só pra agradar não. &lt;lines elided&gt;</i>	<i>Jacob, your rationale was brilliant and Ben, you picked up the hint; I'm not just saying this just to cajole you. &lt;lines elided&gt;</i>
54	<b>Jose</b>	<b>Yeah, pero en portgues. Ouça</b>	<b>Yeah, but in</b>

		<p><b>la pronunciación fe::ijã.</b> If not Benjamin can help you. It's a hard one and it's in Portuguese. You're doing a great job. <i>Feijão</i> sound it out. If you pay attention yes, <i>feijão</i> help him, Jacob, please.</p>	<p><b>Portuguese. Listen to the pronunciation bea::ns.</b> If not Benjamin can help you. It's a hard one and it's in Portuguese. You're doing a great job. <i>Beans</i> sound it out. If you pay attention yes, <i>beans</i> help him, Jacob, please.</p>
55	<b>Jacob</b>	<p>There are other two letters that make the "a" sound.</p>	<p>There are other two letters that make the "a" sound.</p>
56	<b>Jose</b>	<p>Jacob, keep in mind that he's just learning how to write in English. It's twice as hard for him to write</p>	<p>Jacob, keep in mind that he's just learning how to write in English. It's</p>

		in Portuguese, ok? <i>Feijão</i> . <b>F em español, frivoles também como o nome do meu pai.</b>	twice as hard for him to write in Portuguese, ok? Beans. <b>F (feijão) in Spanish too, frivoles too just like my father's name.</b>
57	<b>Ben</b>	<i>Feijão ã::o.</i>	<i>Bean:::s.</i>
58	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>Tio Jose::(,) he got it!</i>	<i>Uncle Jose::(,) he got it!</i>
59	<b>Rosi</b>	<i>Muito bem Benjamin! Jacob, fale outra. &lt;lines elid&gt;e.</i>	<i>Very good Benjamin. Jacob, spell another one. &lt;lines elide&gt;</i>
78	<b>Ben</b>	Now can we watch a movie?	Now can we watch a movie?
79	<b>Rosi</b>	<i>Jacob, uma excelente palavra pra você e o Benjamin; ela tem o til e o cedilha. O til de feijão e o cedilha de calça. A palavra é coração.</i>	<i>Jacob, an excellent word for you and Benjamin; it has the tilde and the cedilla. Tilde as in beans (feijão) and cedilla in pants (calça). The word is coração (heart). [Jacob and Benjamin spell the word on the</i>

			<i>coffee table surface</i> ].
80	<b>Ben</b>	Do I get quarters?	Do I get quarters?
81	<b>Rosi</b>	<i>Claro!</i>	<i>Of course!</i>

The boys are fully engaged in the activity from the beginning. When Jose mispronounces the first word to be spelled, “*calça*”, (**pants**; unvoiced /s/ sound) for “*calsa*” (voiced, hard /z/ sound, 5B, lines 1 and 2), Jacob repeats the word quietly and very close to me, correcting his uncle’s mispronunciation but presumably not wanting to hurt his feelings by pointing out his error. Then I point out the error to Jose (5B, line 4) by asking him to say the word, and he repeats it three times before he is able to pronounce the soft “s” sound correctly (line 5). Jacob then attempts to spell “*calça*” (**pants**) himself as he writes the word down. It takes him a few trials since he does not know or does not remember how to use the cedilla accent, which underneath the consonant “c” softens the sound from a /k/ to /s/. It is only after learning the cedilla (6B, lines 16), that he is finally able to spell the word correctly.

The spelling game becomes more interesting. When Benjamin gets the word “*azul*” (**blue**; line 36) to spell, Jacob judges it as an easy word in comparison to his difficult “*calça*”, and he playfully protests the injustice by pretending indignation, “I’m getting CALÇA (raising his voice) with this stuff I don’t even know (cedilla) and he’s getting azul↑?” (6B, line 37). The elevation of the last syllable, “*zul*”, conveys not only a sense of questioning but indignation. Jacob’s playful mockery here illustrates the power of humor in heritage language maintenance practices: it shows us that the child understands the frame of

the activity and is able to move along with it. Indeed, Carter (2007) has said that humor is a social and contextual activity where all players participate, interact, and contribute. Others have shown (e.g., Gordon 2009; Tannen et al 2006) that humor is an important strategy for family bonding more generally.

For Jacob, who is by nature an easy-going child, the activity allows him to show his naughty side too. When Jacob feels his word is more challenging to spell than Benjamin's, and uses mockery to protest, he proves his ability to use humor in his HL. The interaction also speaks to Jacob's cognitive and metalinguistic abilities - he understands that the word is orthographically more challenging to spell than the one Benjamin receives.

### **5.5.2. Play within Play**

Note that right off from line 1 of excerpt 5B, even Jose layers his initial proposed game with additional play. Right after he proposes the spelling of "*calça*", he warns the boys, humorously, of the seriousness of the moment: "The stakes are getting higher." (5B, line 1), adding a grave tone and a louder voice pitch to highlight his message. At this point, each boy will receive two quarters, not only one, if they spell the word correctly. Jose is aware that the homophones "*calsa*" [non-existent word] and "*calça*" would pose a spelling challenge for the children—not a phonetic one—because of the cedilla accent.

Benjamin, on his part, keeps an eye on the prize. He takes a coin from a jar and proposes that they toss it to see who will spell first, him or Jacob (6B, lines 28, 30, 32). He wants to make sure that this game continues, attesting to his liking of it. Toward the end of the interaction, after he has fully engaged and done well with the spelling, he asks his father

if he and Jacob can have their reward (6B, line 78), a promise his father likely made before the activity started.

Beyond mine and Jose's recognition that the boys deserve more rewards than what had been agreed upon, given Jacob's and Benjamin's effort toward the Portuguese spelling game that I proposed (6B, line 48), Jacob is praised for his idea to help Benjamin with the spelling (6B, line 50), and the playfulness goes on.

This excerpt demonstrates the power of humor and playfulness in HLM to evoke more play, producing a relaxed atmosphere that helps HL learners stay engaged in a serious HL spelling activity that feels like a fun game while family ties are strengthened. At the same time, family identities are formed and reinforced, and children are socialized through and into language. Nonetheless, the boys are active creators of humor and playfulness and not mere recipients of it. It is important to note here that the boys are agentive, but two adults are also actively engaged in the game as they seize the activity as a HLM opportunity. This interaction represents a complex participation framework, in which Jose and I play the multiple important roles of proposing, promoting, and encouraging the activities throughout the exercise.

### **5.5.3. Metalinguistic Awareness**

These excerpts illustrating the Santos-Gomez language games also highlight Jacob and Benjamin's ability to analyze language, thus showcasing their metalinguistic awareness. Research shows that bilingual children possess higher metalinguistic awareness than monolingual children, which is to say, they have a greater understanding that language is a

system and can conscientiously reflect on it as such. Additionally, metalinguistic awareness equips bilinguals to more readily understand word games and puns (King and Mackey, 2007). Recall, for example, in excerpt 6A, Benjamin's immediate understanding of his mother's wordplay with "*borbolhando*" (**bubbling**) and "*bobo-olhando*" (**dummy looking**; 6A, line 4). There is an extra enriching layer to the interaction – the boys rely on their knowledge of English and Spanish to explain and understand some features of Portuguese. Through their interaction, we can have a glimpse of the internal structures of metalinguistic awareness abilities displayed by the family on phonological and orthographical levels.

### ***Phonological and Orthographical Awareness Level***

When we consider that English is Jacob's and Benjamin's primary language, to see them rationalizing in Spanish to demonstrate a Portuguese feature, is indeed a linguistic feat to be appreciated in trilingual speakers. When Jose proposes that Benjamin spell the word "*azul*" (**blue**; 6B, lines 38, 40, 43), Benjamin struggles to realize that there is the consonant "l" at the end of the word. To Benjamin's credit, it should be noted that in Portuguese, the consonant "l" preceded by a vowel, sounds like the vowel "u". Theoretically, the word could have been spelled "*azu*", as Benjamin spells it.

When I point out to Jacob that he misspelled "*calsa*" for "*calça*" (**pants**; 6B, line 16), although he pronounces it correctly, he protests that he spelled it with an "s" and not a "c", which for him is correct. His rationale is coherent since a "c" would have produced a /k/ sound (phonetically incorrect), and an "s" /s/ (phonetically correct). What Jacob does not know is that due to an idiosyncrasy of the Portuguese language, "*calça*" spells with "ç" and



not an “s”. Indeed, the cedilla accent becomes the lesson. Following, I explain to him the use of the cedilla to “soften” the /c/ sound into an /s/sound and that “*calsa*” is not a Portuguese word, although phonetically it is correct. Finally, Jacob concedes he did not know that cedilla was “a thing”, that is to say, an apparent irrelevant squiggle able to change a sound and give meaning to a word. It should be pointed out here that he is noticing a gap in his own language acquisition. Jacob’s understanding is reminiscent of the noticing hypothesis, a theoretical formulation asserting that second language learners need to consciously process input in order to make linguistic progress (Schmidt, 1990).

Metalinguistic awareness in bilingual education is an area of inquiry that is gaining traction, but the interconnection of metalinguistic awareness and bilingualism remains an area of inquiry to be further explored in HLM families (Torregrossa, Eisenbeiß and Bongartz, 2023). The excerpt shows in real time the dynamics of a trilingual HL family utilizing their languages to assimilate and explicate one another. For example, when Jose reminds Benjamin that he needs to be attentive to Jacob’s pronunciation, he speaks Spanish (5B, line 54). Jacob on his part uses Spanish and English to help Benjamin with his Portuguese task. This excerpt gives us a glimpse into a HL learner's frame of mind, inviting for a deeper understanding of HL speakers' complex cognitive abilities. It gives us a glimpse into what they may be thinking about when they think about their HLs in relation to their primary and other languages.

#### 5.5.4. Playfulness and Humor in HLM Practices Foster Teamwork and Socialization

Jose demonstrates that he is interested not only in the boys joining the activity and learning how to spell but that they do it collaboratively. On the one hand, Jose realizes that some words are difficult for Benjamin to spell and urges his son to pay attention to Jacob's spelling (5B, line 3). On the other hand, Jose reminds Jacob of his schooling advance over Benjamin's, therefore he should be patient with his little cousin (5B, line 56). When it is Benjamin's turn to spell and he has trouble, Jose reminds his son: "See, I asked you to pay attention" (6B, line 35). While it is true that Jose encourages and praises teamwork, he does not lose sight of the fact that Benjamin is only learning how to write and read in English at school at this stage and asks Jacob to help his cousin as Benjamin struggles to spell "*feijão*" (**beans**; line 54). Note how Jose jumps to assist and uses Spanish alongside English (line 54). Jose's attitude toward Jacob and Benjamin is important because he reproduces here, as he tries to help his son, with the well-known SLA classroom practice of scaffolding (Wilson & Devereux, 2014).

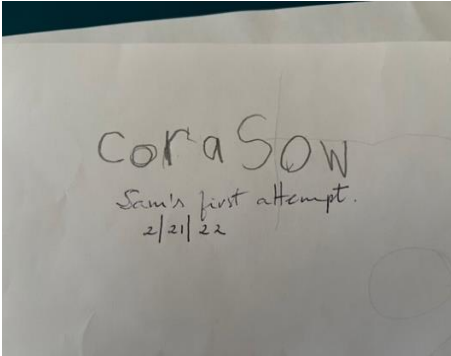
Jacob and Benjamin do not hesitate to work as a team and the complicity between them is clear: Jacob demonstrates a good deal of creativity in how to help his younger cousin; he shakes his hand in front of Benjamin to help him remember the word "*mão*" (**hand**; line 59), resorts to Spanish, and exaggerates a sound. These strategies work; Benjamin focuses on Jacob's hints and gets the answers correct. I then take advantage of this climate of cooperation and teamwork between the boys and suggest that they spell "*coração*" (**heart**), a word that contains both accents, the tilde and the cedilla (5B, line 79). They promptly moved

from the kitchen to the coffee table in the adjacent family room and tried to spell the word.

Images 1 and 2 below present the boys' spelling.

Figure 3

***Benjamin's spelling***

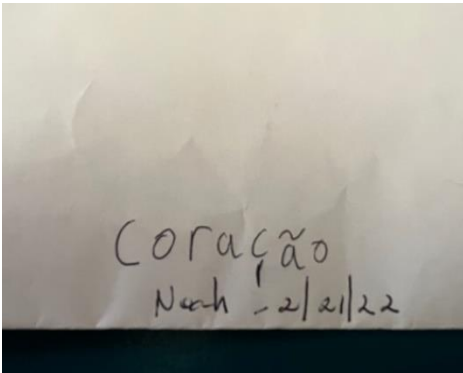


Benjamin's spelling of "coração" (heart)

(February 21, 2022)

Figure 4

***Jacob's spelling***



Jacob's spelling of "coração" (heart)

(February 21, 2022)

Further, the excerpt shows that Jacob, Benjamin, and even Jose took pleasure in the activity although the spelling game posed many language challenges. It was precisely because it was cognitively challenging that it was enjoyable; because they had their L2 abilities stretched, instead of feeling hindered by the limitations in Portuguese, they took the challenge as an opportunity to expand on their knowledge by tapping into several aspects of their linguistic repertoire, including Spanish phonetics. This analysis contributes to our understanding of HLM practices because it gives us an intimate look at a HL family as they engage socially, and construct meaning and identity via a HLM activity of their own making.

The discourse analysis of their interaction sustained by humor and playfulness reaffirms that it is a social phenomenon (Gordon, 2015), and it is no different for HLM. The analysis demonstrates that in many ways, the maintenance of a HL follows similar patterns of language socialization that the process is known for in L1.

### **5.6. Running a Puppet Show**

Another event that further illustrates the degree to which playfulness intertwines with Jacob's and Benjamin's life experience as HL speakers happens one morning at home when Benjamin takes his puppet Bluey and voluntarily starts his "puppet show" speaking Portuguese. The following excerpt is an example of a typical type of play practice in the family. Benjamin takes a television character (Bluey) and revoices him in Portuguese. Soon after, as the puppet show continues, Benjamin brings in the second puppet, Yammy (the name was created months before by Benjamin and Flavia when the child was learning words with the letter "y" at school).

Benjamin enters the room where I was studying unannounced and starts acting. He hides behind the bed and makes the mattress his stage, where through his puppet Bluey, Benjamin showcases his Portuguese knowledge. He invites me to watch it. A few minutes into the show, Benjamin brings in the second puppet, Yammy, all the while spontaneously creating different dialogues in Portuguese. I engage with the play by interacting with Bluey and Yammy in Portuguese:

### 5.6.1. EXCERPT 5C VIDEO (10.16.2021)

Transcription conventions:

**Plain:** Utterances in English

*Italics:* Utterances in Portuguese

**Bold:** Utterances in Spanish

Underline: Features of HL indicate pronunciation or grammatical errors

[Brackets]: Transcriber notes of nonverbal communication, actions, grammatical explanations

\*Note that bracketed transcriber notes are only provided in the English Translation column

Full transcription conventions can be found in Appendix G

Line	Speaker	Original message	Translation to English
1	<b>Rosi</b>	<i>Bluey, ouvi dizer que você fala português.</i>	<i>Bluey, I heard you speak Portuguese.</i>

2	<b>Ben</b>	<i>Sim, eu tô falando português agora com você!!!</i>	<i>Yes, I'm speaking Portuguese with you right now!</i>
3	<b>Rosi</b>	<i>Que legal::::, Bluey. E onde você aprendeu a falar português?</i>	<i>How ni::::ce, Bluey and where did you learn how to speak Portuguese?</i>
4	<b>Ben</b>	<i>No Brasil↑.</i>	<i>In Brazil↑</i>
5	<b>Rosi</b>	<i>Sério? No Brasil? E por que no Brasil, você conhece alguém de lá</i>	<i>Really? Brazil? Why in Brazil? Do you know anybody there?</i>
6	<b>Ben</b>	<i>Sim, minha- mi*</i>	<i>Yes, my m*</i>
7	<b>Rosi</b>	<i>*Quem? Quem?↑*</i>	<i>*Who? Who?↑*</i>
8	<b>Ben</b>	<i>Minha mãe.</i>	<i>My mom.</i>
9	<b>Rosi</b>	<i>Um::: Bluey, a sua mãe é do Brasil? Aí ela te ensinou a falar português?</i>	<i>So::: Bluey, is your mom from Brazil? Then she taught you how to speak Portuguese?</i>
10	<b>Ben</b>	<i>Sim. Wait, pause show, pause</i>	<i>Yes. Wait, pause show, pause</i>

		show.	show. [Benjamin leaves the room to bring the second puppet].
11	<b>Ben</b>	Yammy is here! <lines elide>	Yammy is here! <lines elide>
18	<b>Rosi</b>	<i>Yammy, me fala uma coisa. Você também fala português?</i>	<i>Yammy, tell me something, do you speak Portuguese too?</i>
19	<b>Ben</b>	<i>Sim, eu tô falando agora.</i>	<i>Yes, I'm speaking it now.</i>
20	<b>Rosi</b>	<i>E quem você conhece lá no Brasil?</i> <lines elide>	<i>Whom do you know in Brazil?</i> [Bluey responds.]  <lines elide>
33	<b>Ben</b>	<i>Vovó Graça e::: vovô Joselito.</i> <lines elided>	<i>Grandma Graça an:::d Grandpa Joselito.</i>  . <lines elided>
43	<b>Ben</b>	<i>Mamãe e papai.</i> [Yammy interjects: <i>Meu também</i> ]. <lines elided]>	<i>Mommy and daddy.</i> <i>Mine too.</i> [Yammy interjects: <i>Mine too</i> ].  <lines elided]>

64	<b>Rosi</b>	<i>E você Bluey, o que você gosta de fazer lá no Brasil? Aparece aí!</i>	<i>How about you, Bluey, what do you like to do in Brazil? Don't hide yourself!</i>
65	<b>Ben</b>	<i>Eu tenho que fazer uma coisa (.)</i>	<i>I have to do something (.)</i>
66	<b>Rosi</b>	<i>Ei Bluey, que bom te ver de novo, pensei que você tivesse ido embora.</i>	<i>Hi Bluey, it's good to see you again. I thought you had gone home.</i>
67	<b>Ben</b>	<i>Um, eu gosto de comer laranjas.</i>	<i>Uh, uh, I like to eat oranges.</i>

A salient feature in this excerpt is that playfulness generates the environment for the maintenance of Portuguese through an interesting interchange of reality and fiction informing each other. First, there is Benjamin's own reality in time and space leading to play where the puppets are the agents of the interaction. Curiously, the dialogues are sourced from Benjamin's real-life experience.

From the beginning of this episode of play, Benjamin displays his sense of humor by portraying Bluey as being exasperated by my question if he spoke Portuguese because I, as his audience and a speaker of Portuguese, could hear very well that he was speaking the language (6C, line 2).



Benjamin's imaginative ability is further demonstrated when he ventriloquizes Bluey as the interlocutor, and not himself, although the information provided is based on Benjamin's real life. In this creative, acting-like manner, Benjamin engages with his HL as a protagonist.

As the dialogue goes on between Bluey and me, Benjamin also includes Yummy in the conversation. The puppet interjects to let us know he too has grandparents in Brazil (6C, line 43) [Benjamin's reality]. As I reflect on this excerpt, I wonder whether Benjamin just wanted the puppet to be included in the play or if he wanted the puppet to have grandparents. These questions are worth pondering because Benjamin's maternal grandmother plays an important role in his life. When he was six months old, and his mother moved back to Brazil from the U.S. to return to her job, Flavia's mother and father moved to a different state within Brazil to help Flavia and Jose with the baby; it was a tremendous sacrifice for the elderly couple. They lived together for one and a half years until Flavia and Benjamin returned permanently to the United States.

Benjamin's reference to his grandparents in the play not only reflects his personal history but also his reality as a HL speaker: Flavia and Jose remind the boys frequently that if they do not speak Portuguese, they will not be able to talk to their grandparents and could miss some of their privileges with the grandparents. For example, the grandmother may not be able to cook their favorite meals if they do not know how to ask her to do it in Portuguese, her sole language (the family trips to Brazil are discussed at length in ). Indeed, past research has demonstrated that the loss of a HL is a social disadvantage in part because it hinders communication with extended family (Cho, 2000). In the pretend-play frame that the boy

evokes in this excerpt, Yammy feels that having grandparents in Brazil like Bluey would give him leverage in the conversation. Benjamin could have used a different strategy to include Yammy in the interaction, like for example, talking about a friend or places he visits while in Brazil, but it was the grandparents who stood out in his imagination (5C, line 33).

Through this play frame, Benjamin demonstrates his strong affiliation with his ethnic group and a clear sense of who he is as a multi-ethnic child by extending the same experience to his puppets. Although the experience is performed through a play frame, Benjamin is infusing this fictional interaction with the reality of his positive life experience as a HL speaker. The confluence of reality and imagination reaffirms his HL identity through the characters the child brings into the play; his grandparents and Mariana are all real-life people, and their degree of relatedness to Benjamin is real too.

I would like to explore one last reference Benjamin makes that further illustrates the intermingling of real-life HL experience reframed through play. Every year the family travels to Brazil in May/June, the season for oranges in the country. As Jacob and Benjamin visit their grandparents' farm, they are brought to pick different types of oranges from the trees. They peel and eat them on the spot, an activity unique to their experience as HL speakers visiting their family's countryside home in Brazil. The puppets' reference to oranges as their favorite food in Brazil is entirely founded in Benjamin's recollection, now relived through play (line 67). By utilizing an experience from his past (e.g., eating oranges in Brazil) and rearticulating it in his current discourse, Benjamin demonstrates the intricate link between past and present discourse to create meaning (Tannen 2007), and to recontextualize his lived experiences (Hodges, 2015). In the example above, he does so through play.

Playfulness is framed in this interaction as a manifestation of positive emotion. Indeed, during this episode, Benjamin was relaxed, happy, and talkative. Even the way he portrayed Bluey and Yammy showed his happy mood, the puppets would move a lot, tilting their heads sideways, and speak excitedly as they engaged in conversation with me. The puppets' non-verbal communication accords with the verbal language. Benjamin's artfulness works as a key component in this social interaction. It would not be surprising to see Benjamin implementing these theatrical acts in his primary language, English. What is deserving of attention is that he chooses Portuguese as the language for the play and that he maintains it throughout the game through his puppets' voices.

Though Benjamin's choice may be seen initially as a surprise, there is evidence in the research that bilingual children seem to be more creative than monolingual children. They tend to give more creative answers in tests, they have a better understanding that words can have more than one meaning, and they know how to play with words (King and Mackey, 2007).

### **5.7. Pride in HLM**

Before I conclude this chapter, I would like to present two shorter interactions that illustrate yet another emotion that is not always overtly displayed by HL children – pride in their heritage languages. Research shows that the motivations to maintain a heritage language can vary widely between parents and children (see Ivanova, 2019; Wilson, 2020). While for parents it is a highly emotional endeavor; children may not always share the same level of sentimental involvement with their HLs as parents do (Little, 2020), and this disparity can

oftentimes create conflict within HL families. Conversely, young HL speakers may surprise their parents at times with unexpected displays of pride toward their HL, as the following examples demonstrate. The first excerpt involves Jacob's "wearing" the Brazilian flag as he walks the corridors of a large Brazilian shopping mall. The second interaction presents Jacob and Benjamin's interaction with an English-speaking florist in the community in Florida. Both excerpts show the boys' pride and joy in sharing their Brazilian culture and language.

### 5.7.1. The Brazilian Flag

During the family visit to Brazil in June/July 2021, Jose, Flavia, Jacob, and Benjamin visited a bookstore searching for Portuguese children's books at the large shopping mall in town. As the family walks through the shopping mall stores and corridors, Jacob has a small Brazilian flag wrapped around his neck and back (image 3). He found the flag on the ground at the airport the day we arrived from the United States and kept it for himself. At the shopping mall, I asked Jacob why he had the flag draped around him; "*porque eu quero*" (because I like it) was his sole reply. Later that same day at home, Jacob initiated a conversation with his uncle Jose about the symbolism of the colors of the flag. While Jose was doing some house cleaning, Jacob followed his uncle around, pointing to each color of the flag as he explained what each color symbolized. It is worth noting that "Tia Helena," referred to below, is not Jacob's biological aunt; to call an older person "*tia*" or "*tio*" (**aunt, uncle**) in Brazil is both a sign of deference and endearment, an HL cultural and linguistic practice that Jacob and Benjamin picked up from their family and Brazilian friends.

### 5.7.2. EXCERPT 5D VIDEO (6.14.2021)

Transcription conventions:

**Plain:** Utterances in English

*Italics:* Utterances in Portuguese

**Bold:** Utterances in Spanish

Underline: Features of HL indicate pronunciation or grammatical errors

[Brackets]: Transcriber notes of nonverbal communication, actions, grammatical explanations

\*Note that bracketed transcriber notes are only provided in the English Translation column

Full transcription conventions can be found in Appendix G

Line	Speaker	Original message	Translation to English
1	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>Olha tio Jose, verde é a Floresta, amarelo o ouro, azul o céu e branco é paz.</i>	<i>Look, Uncle Jose, green is the forest, yellow the gold, blue is the sky and white is peace.</i>
2	<b>Jose</b>	<i>É mesmo?</i>	<i>Really?</i>
3	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>Um-hum.</i>	<i>Um-hum.</i>
4	<b>Rosi</b>	<i>E como você sabe disso?</i>	<i>And how do you know that?</i>

5	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>Tia Helena me ensinou.</i>	<i>Aunt Helena taught me.  [Jacob puts the flag back around his neck and went to his room].</i>
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In my self-reflection journal entry that day, I noted that although Jacob does not elaborate further on the reason why he has the flag wrapped around his neck and back beyond “*porque eu quero*”, it might have been his nonverbal means to communicate his pride about his Brazilian inheritance, a semiotic way to communicate his alliance with Brazil and its culture. As he follows Tio Jose around the house to show the details of the flag, his intonation rises, his eyes widen, and he does not give up on his pursuit, even though Jose appears distracted from cleaning the restroom by Jacob’s insistence on sharing his knowledge. Finally, as Jacob walks away to his bedroom, he looks down at the flag in his hand, mumbling something inaudible.

That same day, on three different occasions, Jacob approached me and other family members to talk about the flag and the meaning of its colors. During those conversations, he also asks questions about the total number of states in Brazil and its capital Brasilia, establishing comparisons with Washington, D.C., all the while keeping the flag around his neck and back (self-reflection note, 6/14/2021).

It appears that Jacob infuses talk about Brazilian geopolitics with his American frame of reference. I do not know for certain what his motivations are but his enthusiasm about the Brazilian flag makes me now speculate that he might have been learning about states and

capitals in school at this point in the United States, and is naturally curious about the equivalents in Brazil. If that is the case, my study shows that encouraging HLM in families is not only good for metalinguistic awareness but other types of academic development and cross-cultural awareness as well.

Figure 5

***Jacob Wrapped in the Brazilian flag***



Image 3: Jacob displays the Brazilian flag as he walks the hallways of a shopping mall with Benjamin (June 14, 2021).

**5.7.3. Flower Stand**

Typically, after church services on Sundays, the family walks downtown to eat breakfast at a local restaurant or explore the open market held on Main Street during the

Winter months. On one of these occasions, the owner of a local flower stand overhears the boys speaking a language other than English with me and starts to ask them questions. Routinely Jose, Flavia, and I speak to the children in Portuguese and Spanish in public and we switch to English if an English speaker joins the conversation. This day, neither boy hesitates to answer the florist's questions, while at the same time, they proudly impart their identities as HL speakers.

#### 5.7.4. EXCERPT 5E FIELDNOTES (2.20.2022)

*As Jacob, Benjamin, Jose and I walk around Safety Harbor Main Square, Tracy (pseudonym) overhears us speaking Portuguese and interjects, "Sorry to ask but what language are you speaking?" We stop by her flower stand a few feet away. Jacob replies to her that we were speaking Portuguese. Tracy demonstrates surprise, "Wow, I'm very impressed that you can speak another language (.) How do you say "hi"? Jacob does not hesitate and promptly responds "oi"; additionally to Portuguese, he adds Spanish "hola" and Japanese "kon'nichiwa". Jacob had picked up a few words in Japanese from a cartoon he enjoys watching and he has some knowledge of Spanish which he acquired from Jose and Flavia. He seems to want to display his linguistic repertoire by adding the words for "hi" in Spanish and Japanese. Tracy's son-in-law who is selling flowers with her joins the conversation and asks a little hesitantly if in Portuguese we say "Bom (.) dia? (**good morning**) placing a pause between the two words. Jacob affirms him and repeats, "Bom dia" (**good morning**). Benjamin approaches the flower stand after he had gone to another stand with his father. Tracy asks him if he also speaks Portuguese; the boy replies*



*that he does and that he also speaks Spanish. The woman shows surprise again and asks him to say, “What’s your name?”. Benjamin starts to answer, “Meu nom” ... (My nam...), he stops himself abruptly and asks her: “Wait, wait, do you want me to say it in Portuguese or Spanish?” “Can you do both?”, Tracy suggests. And he replies in Portuguese “Meu nome é Benjamin; then in Spanish, “Mi nombre es Benjamin” (My name’s Benjamin).*

When Benjamin asks Tracy in which language she wants him to answer her (line 10), he does not appear to be acting in a self-aggrandizing manner; his intonation, gaze, and gestures are reminiscent of an attentive child engaging politely with an adult upon being asked a question.

Jacob and Benjamin often need to be prompted to speak Portuguese and Spanish. For example, Jose constantly asks Benjamin, *¿como?* (**what?**), when he speaks in English, pretending he does not understand or hear, to prompt the child to switch to Spanish or Portuguese. Flavia, on her part, frequently reminds Benjamin and Jacob that “*você está falando comigo em inglês*” (**you are talking to me in English**). However, in the exchange above, the boys not only promptly answered the questions regarding their bilingualism (I also speak Spanish, line 8), but their answers seemed to reveal their pride in speaking their HLs. Finally, just when the interaction with the flower seller ends, as the boys and I walk away, Jacob, in a joking manner, immediately demands me to be quiet: “Don’t say anything.” “*Por que*” (**why?**), I asked, “*o que você acha que eu ia falar?*” (**what do you think I was going to say?**).

Later, I asked Jacob why he had asked me not to say anything about the event. He replied, in a tone of voice conveying fake disdain, that he knew I was going to say “Vi::::u?” (See::::?), referring to the advantages of speaking Portuguese. Indeed, as a means to encourage the boys to continue speaking Portuguese and Spanish, the family reinforces to them the sociolinguistic advantages of continuing to speak their HLs. For example, when the boys are able to understand jokes and wordplays and then they receive praise for speaking Portuguese or Spanish.

## **5.8. Discussion**

In this chapter, I have raised four major arguments about the interconnection of humor and playfulness and its benefits for HLM. The first argument (Section 5A) illustrated that humor and playfulness provide HL learning opportunities; the exchange between Flavia, Jacob, and Benjamin shows Jacob’s and Benjamin’s ability to learn nuances of the Portuguese language and also to display their current knowledge through a humorous situation, despite Flavia’s wordplay not playing out as planned.

The second argument (Section 5B) is that language for HL learners, socialization occurs through HLM activities as much as it does during activities that do not involve HLM practices. The spelling game interaction, for example, shows the boys’ ability to figure out the meaning of words both on a semantic and a lexical level. Additionally, the activity functions as a socialization practice in the Portuguese language and culture. Finally, social spaces are created through teamwork and cooperation. Recall how Jacob assists Benjamin throughout the spelling game.

The third argument (Section 5C) is that real life and fiction intermingle within HLM practices, providing for language creativity. The excerpt shows how Benjamin reframes his own lived experience in Brazil through his fictional characters' dialogues (Bluey and Yammy), displaying the linguistic and sentimental importance of Portuguese for him. Finally, the last two shorter excerpts show that HL speakers may feel more pride toward their HLs than they externalize.

The analyses of the family in interaction show how its members engage in playing and create humorous situations where learning is made pleasurable and natural to create situated meaning and family social spaces. In these interactions, Jacob and Benjamin demonstrate a keen ability to interpret intrinsic aspects of Brazil's culture, e.g., asking questions about semantic and lexical aspects of Portuguese, explaining puns, and responding to questions from strangers about their multilingualism. The analyses of emotions and HLM within the intimacy of the Santos-Gomez interactions reveal that Jacob and Benjamin's ability to understand and engage in humor and playfulness can be credited to their enhanced cognitive abilities as bilingual children. Bilinguals possess a unique ability to connect words that do not have a relation to each other (King and Mackie, 2007).

This study contributes to the literature on HLM and language socialization because it helps to understand that language creativity is not solely a production of one individual but more "a collective, collaborative process" (Carter, 2007, p. 600). I expand on Carter's idea by suggesting that the collective process of language creativity within HLM families should be understood and used for the betterment of HLM practices more widely.

Expanding on Fredrickson's (2001) proposal that we might look at emotions at work and how they can be used cognitively to help individuals reach their goals of general well-being and flourishing, this study provides real-time insights on how humor and playfulness influence parents and children in their HLM efforts and how language creativity can be better utilized in the process of language maintenance through FLP.

The next chapter discusses the centrality of yearly trips to Brazil for the Santos-Gomez family. Analysis of data reveals how the family's trip to their home country promotes intergenerational bonding between the grandfather and Jacob and Benjamin while Portuguese is transmitted. Further, analysis shows the boys in interaction with their family's friends, and as Jacob and Benjamin interact with friends, they learn Portuguese and create lasting and affective bonds with them.

## CHAPTER 6

### THE FAMILY IN BRAZIL

#### 6.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I present data analyses of the Santos-Gomez family in interaction with their maternal grandparents and friends when they traveled to Brazil in 2021. The family has traveled back to Brazil every year for over two decades since they immigrated to the U.S., beginning years before Jacob and Benjamin were born. For the entire family (including myself), traveling to Brazil once a year to be with our family, particularly our parents and friends, has been an important family tradition. After Flavia married Jose, it became a part of Jose's life too, and later a central aspect of Benjamin's life experience as a transnational child. Jacob has been traveling to Brazil annually since he was six months old, sometimes with his mother, Amanda, and other times with Flavia and me, his great-aunts.

I begin this chapter by explaining the centrality of trips to Brazil for the family and discussing literature documenting the intergenerational transmission and maintenance of a HL. Then I provide instances from my data that illustrate (a) the grandfather's transmission of HL through creative language use, (b) the grandfather's hands-on approach to language teaching, (c) the grandfather becoming his grandchildren's "student", and (4) an intimate

interaction with an old family friend and her 8-year-old granddaughter. Finally, I synthesize my findings with prior research and discuss the importance of considering intergenerational relationships in the study of FLP and HLM. I also discuss the need for further investigation into the implications of intergenerational transmission of a HL.

## **6.2. Travel, Extended Family Interaction, and HLM**

Yearly trips to Brazil are a central part of the Santos-Gomez family experience as a transnational family – a way to stay connected with “left behind kin” (Boccagni, 2016). Visiting extended family in Brazil holds such priority to the Santos-Gomez family that throughout the years, they have given up on the opportunity to travel to other countries so that they can save money and accrue vacation time to visit their family and friends. Visits to the home country are central to many if not all HL families (Kwon, 2019; Avni, 2011; Boccagni, 2016). Such studies have shown that trips to the home country directly promote the intergenerational transmission of ethnic affiliation, cultural socialization, and identity formation for HL speakers. The exchange is so valued by HL parents that visiting the home country is prioritized even if it poses a financial burden to some HLM families (Kwon, 2019). As an example of the financial investment that these families make, the focal family in the current study has financially supported Jacob and his mother’s, Amanda, travel expenses so that Jacob can enjoy time with the extended family too.

The main reason for the Santos-Gomez’s travels is to reunite with their loved ones. Nonetheless, through each trip, the boys further their knowledge and gain fluency in Portuguese. Despite Flavia’s expressed concerns that Jacob and Benjamin may associate

speaking Portuguese with negative emotions since they are frequently requested to do so at home in the U.S. (as documented in my field notes and previous interactions with her as a sister), trips to Brazil give new meaning to their heritage language: Portuguese speaking is associated with leisure activities, fun, and relaxation. What is more, the boys have no option but to communicate with their extended family and friends in Portuguese. Thus far, they have not challenged their extended family's monolingualism and instead, understand that they are the ones of whom bilingualism is expected. It has been ingrained in their minds from a very young age that speaking Portuguese is their means to connect with their kin.

Previous research (e.g., Ivanova, 2019) indicates that the intergenerational transmission of a heritage language, also called language loyalty, is a strong predictor of heritage language maintenance success. It is a dynamic process intrinsically connected to family daily routines where all participants must play a part. Indeed, the literature shows that the extended family is the primordial nexus for HL children's active participation in the acquisition process of the HL (Purkarthofer, 2020). Moreover, children who are exposed to positive emotions within their nucleus and extended families (e.g., attachment to home cultural values and positive ethnic identity) will have a greater chance of maintaining and enjoying their HLs (De Houwer, 2019; Guardado & Becker, 2014; Schwartz & Verschik, 2013).

The intergenerational connection between children and family in the maintenance of a language is so highly praised by HL families that its interruption has been referred to as "catastrophic" (Braun and Cline, 2014). There is also an argument that "shared language practices can be harnessed to foster family membership" (Luk Van Mensel, 2018). While this

assertion is verifiable, my research provides further insights into intergenerational transmission by showing that in the Santos-Gomez family, the reverse is also true: their close familial membership promotes HLM. The excerpts I present below illustrate this at an interactional level and also show that within the intimacy of a HL home, intergenerational transmission of a HL is not a top-down process where children are the mere recipients of traditions and cultural and linguistic knowledge. Rather, intergenerational transmission requires constant negotiations between HL speakers and their elders, and children are active agents in this process of intergenerational transmission, as will be later discussed.

Furthermore, the family conversations that occur during these trips in which HL speakers' life experiences are compared with the experience of their elders are themselves a mechanism for the maintenance of genealogical and cultural knowledge and appreciation across generations. These family interactions provide a means for HL young learners to gain perspective on their cultural and familial heritage, which are important facets that shape their identities.

### **6.3. Context of the Trip**

The data analyzed in the chapter were collected between June 7 and July 4 of 2021 during a family visit to Espírito Santo, a southeastern state of Brazil, where Flavia's family is from. The major participants of the interactions besides the Santos-Gomez family are Joselito and Graça, Benjamin's grandparents, and Jacob's great-grandparents (I call Joselito and Graça grandparents for both boys for readability).



The other participants are Helena, a close family friend in Brazil, and her granddaughter Mariana. Helena and I met in 1992 at university in Espírito Santo. Throughout the years a close friendship developed between us that has lasted over 31 years and extended to each other's family members. Mariana is Helena's third youngest granddaughter; at the time of the collection of data, in 2021, she and Jacob were 10 years old. Jacob, Benjamin, and Mariana enjoy each other's company, and the families set playdates at each other homes for the children and they organize visits to parks, soccer fields, and historical sites when the Santos-Gomez are visiting.

Helena is an affectionate 68-year-old woman (at the time of the data collection) who likes to tell her grandchildren stories and pass down life lessons she finds important for them to carry on. She is known for her enthusiasm for life. Often, she is affectionately called 'crazy' by friends and family because of her spontaneity in relating to people, her unorthodox way of fixing unexpected situations, and her habit of initiating conversations with strangers, even during trips abroad. Helena strives to be a part of her children's and grandchildren's lives. One way she does this is by teaching her grandchildren words, often unusual ones, that they can remember her by. For example, Helena told me of an episode where her second-oldest granddaughter Lia asked her for the meaning of a peculiar word in Portuguese, "acaso." Helena explained its meaning (loosely translated as "chance"), sang part of a popular Brazilian song that uses the word, and asked her granddaughter to remember her by it, adding that "acaso" (chance) had always saved her from the troubles that could have resulted from her absentmindedness. It is important to understand Helena's character to see how she fits into the family interaction in excerpt 6F.

#### **6.4. Analysis**

Now I would like to briefly introduce the four interactions I analyze in this chapter and the aspects of HLM and intergenerational relationships that they highlight. The first interaction illustrates Joselito's improvised multimodality strategy to teach Jacob and Benjamin Portuguese, which involves his use of a pen and physical proximity with the boys. The second interaction presents Joselito teaching Portuguese through a riddle in which Benjamin is an active participant. In the third one, it is Jacob who assumes the role of "teacher" and helps his grandfather in English. Finally, the fourth interaction presents an affectionate conversation between Helena and Jacob where 'aunt and nephew' share knowledge of Portuguese and English. In each interaction, I will consider how the Santos-Gomez yearly trips to Brazil promote HLM through intergenerational transmission and ties with extended family and friends.

#### **6.5. Grandfather's playful "Covert" Portuguese Lesson Cheers Benjamin up**

The following interaction takes place during breakfast. Benjamin's parents have just reminded him that he cannot use electronics at this time of day, and Benjamin is visibly upset by this disciplinary act: his face is downcast, his hands are crossed behind his back, and his posture connotes disinterest. But as we will see in the following excerpt, the boy's demeanor brightens throughout a spelling activity with his grandfather.

The boys' maternal grandfather, Joselito Santos, is fond of sharing riddles, stories, and jokes with friends and family. He has always enjoyed teaching his children little lessons on grammar and mathematics, oftentimes through riddles or wordplay. His "lessons" often

have an element of word trickery, where the answer can only be achieved if the interlocutor can untangle a language knot before they can solve a mathematical one. Joselito routinely passes down these riddles and word plays to Jacob and Benjamin during the boys' visits to Brazil, and even over the phone while they are at home in Florida. The episode is not explicitly framed as a "lesson", in contrast to similar Portuguese language activities the boys engage in with their parents at home.

There is no preamble from the grandfather indicating that he needed them to speak Portuguese nor was there any pre-task activity. The grandfather does not even request that they sit down for the upcoming "lesson". Joselito initiates this interaction naturally, as he would with any native Portuguese-speaking grandchild:

### 6.5.1. EXCERPT 6A VIDEO (+7.1.21)

Transcription conventions:

Plain: Utterances in English

*Italics:* Utterances in Portuguese

**Bold:** Utterances in Spanish

Underline: Features of HL indicate pronunciation or grammatical errors

[Brackets]: Transcriber notes of nonverbal communication, actions, grammatical explanations

\*Note that bracketed transcriber notes are only provided in the English Translation column

Full transcription conventions can be found in Appendix G

Line	Speaker	Original text	English Translation
1	<b>Joselito</b>	<i>Jacob e Benjamin, como chama isso aqui em inglês?</i>	<i>Jacob and Benjamin, how do you say this in English?</i>  [pointing to a piece of bread on the kitchen table]
2	<b>Jacob</b>	Bread!	Bread!
3	<b>Joselito</b>	Bread. <i>E em português?</i>	<i>Bread. How about in Portuguese?</i>  [writes in his palm]
4	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>Pão.</i>	<i>Bread.</i>
5	<b>Joselito</b>	<i>Sabe como é que escreve?</i>	<i>Do you know how to write it?</i>
6	<b>Jacob</b>	ʔ <sup>o</sup>	ʔ <sup>o</sup> [spells]
7	<b>Joselito</b>	↑P A TIL O ↑	↑P A tilde O ↑
8	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>Til. O.</i>	<i>Tilde. O.</i>
9	<b>Joselito</b>	<i>O, isso aqui chama til, essa cobrinha aqui chama til* então fica pão.</i>	<i>O, this here is called tilde. This little snake is called tilde.</i>
10	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>*P a til o*</i>	<i>*P a til o*</i>
11	<b>Joselito</b>	<i>Sem o til fica pao. Pao (0.9).</i>	Without the tilde it's pao.  Pao.  [non-existing word in

			Portuguese; Benjamin keeps his hands back but turns his body at a 45° angle to look at his grandfather write the name on his palm]
12	<b>Joselito</b>	<i>Isso aqui muda o som. Pao, aí bota o til e fica pão. Igual isso aqui ó. Isso aqui é o nome de um bichinho que tem aqui no Brasil ó</i>	<i>This here changes the sound. /pao/, then you add the tilde and it becomes /pão/ (bread). Like this look. This here is the name of a little animal we have here in Brazil look. [writes the word on his palm]</i>
13	<b>Joselito</b>	<i>O que que tá escrito aqui?</i>	<i>What's written here?</i>
14	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>Ra?</i>	<i>Ra? [tentatively]</i>
15	<b>Joselito</b>	<i>Ra, mas se botar o til fica rã, rã é um bichinho igual sapo, é um sapo fêmea. RÃ porque bota o til. Sem o til fica?</i>	<i>Ra, but if you add the tilde it'll be /rã/, /rã/ is a little animal like a frog, it's a female frog, rã because we add the tilde. [covers the tilde written in</i>

			his hand with the tip of his pen]
16	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>Ra</i>	<i>Ra</i> [non-existent word]
17	<b>Joselito</b>	<i>Bota o tilde fica?</i>	<i>And the tilde and it is what?</i>
18	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>Rã.</i>	<i>Frog.</i>
19	<b>Joselito</b>	<i>Rã.</i>	<i>Frog.</i> [assertively]

This excerpt highlights Joselito’s inventive ways of teaching Portuguese to his grandsons and the multifunctionality of this activity: it serves to not only transmit the heritage language but also to lift Benjamin’s mood. Note that without asking the boys whether they want to play or not, Joselito goes straight into his teaching pursuits with his grandsons using a loaf of bread sitting on the breakfast table, a pen, and the palm of his hand. He points to the bread sitting on the breakfast table and his lesson begins. He asks the boys how to say it in English, and Jacob promptly replies “Bread” (6A, line 2). The grandfather then asks how to say it in Portuguese; after hearing the correct reply, “*pão*” (6A, line 4), Joselito writes the word in his palm to show the boys what the tilde above the vowel “a” does in Portuguese (nasalized sound, e.g., São Paulo), referring to it as “*cobrinha*” (**little snake**; 6A, line 10).

At this analogy, Benjamin becomes attentive. His visual-spatial attention is sharpened by his grandfather’s multimodal strategies: he looks closely at his grandfather’s hands and

mouth following each gesture and movement of his grandfather's hands. Joselito proceeds to give more examples of words with the tilde accent.

It is worth noting that Benjamin was not upset at the beginning of this excerpt because of his disinterest in his grandfather's Portuguese teaching activity. He was in a bad mood because of his parents' imposition that he would not use any electronics early in the morning. Joselito's HL activity brightens up the boy's mood nonetheless. Benjamin starts to listen intently to what his grandfather and Jacob say although he does not make comments or answer any questions.

### **6.5.2. Multimodality and Heritage Language Teaching**

Joselito's multimodal strategy to teach his grandchildren (e.g., physical proximity, use of pen and his hand as a writing pad, questions, analogies, and gestures) is crucial in changing Benjamin's mood from cross to interest in what his grandfather is doing. Joselito is also able to get the boys to understand a rather distinct diacritical mark of the Portuguese language – the use of the tilde accent to promote a nasal sound giving words different meanings. By witnessing what happens in this excerpt, we may infer that the grandfather's strategy may be successfully carried out to facilitate other instances of transmission and learning. The excerpt shows meaning being created through a combination of modes - verbal, non-verbal, and gestural. For example, to emphasize the difference in the word, Joselito covers the accent with the tip of his pen (6A, line 15), accentuating his improvised visual aid strategies.

It is important to note that although Joselito is not a trained language teacher, he intuitively utilizes an array of different, yet related communicative and involvement strategies to create meaning and engage his grandchildren in learning Portuguese, and the boys display mutual involvement through their sustained attention and responses to the grandfather's questions.

Furthermore, Joselito's idea to write on his palm with a red pen appears to have been crucial in grabbing the boys' attention. If he had taken out a notebook and told his grandchildren explicitly that he was going to teach them Portuguese, the boys may have resisted the perceived rigidity imposed by the "school-like" lesson, which would stand in acute contrast with a home, fun pastime with their grandfather. Note that the interaction shows Joselito playing out his identity as a "fun grandpa", a role he can only play out fully and physically when his HL grandchildren visit him in Brazil.

Physical proximity also appears to play a crucial role in the maintenance of attention, familial bonds, and the language lesson in this episode, which is enabled by Joselito's strategy of writing on his palm rather than on paper. Throughout this interaction, Joselito is standing, Jacob is sitting on the kitchen stool and Benjamin stands by them. Joselito, Jacob, and Benjamin maintain close physical contact as Joselito continues to ask the boys subsequent questions about the tilde and writing on his palm throughout this episode.

When Joselito draws an analogy between the tilde accent and a "*cobrinha*" (**little snake**, 6A, line 9), he enhances the boys' curiosity and focuses their attention on the written word. Later, when Joselito refers to "*rã*" (**female frog**) (6A, line 13), Benjamin is so



captivated by the image that he gives his grandfather his full attention by turning his body empathically at a 45° angle to be even closer to his grandfather, as shown in the images below:

Figure 6

***Grandfather Teaches Portuguese***



Here Benjamin is downcast and uninterested (7.1.21)

Figure 7

*Grandfather teaches Portuguese*



Joselito cheers Benjamin's mood up by writing in his palm (7.1.21)

The nonverbal displays of sustained attention here are key to understanding their involvement in this activity: the boys would intently switch glances between Joselito's face and hands, as if not wanting to miss any element of his performance.

In the interaction, Jacob and Benjamin are never prompted to speak Portuguese, nor do they need any encouragement to engage in the activity with their grandfather. This stands in stark contrast to what customarily happens at home, where they often require external motivation to speak Portuguese (e.g. the promise of a Christmas gift if they speak Portuguese, chapter 4). It should also be noted that there is no option for the boys but to speak Portuguese because their grandfather does not speak English, which makes the

interaction even more interesting: Joselito's monolingualism allied with his desire to interact with his grandsons forges a way smoothly into promoting HL use.

Physical proximity turns out to be vital in bringing Benjamin emotionally closer to both his cousin and his grandfather as Joselito teaches this lesson. For each new word or each new explanation, Joselito leans even closer to the children, facilitating their visualization of what the tilde accent does phonetically to the vowel "a" in "*pão*" (**bread**) and "*rã*" (**female frog**) written on grandfather's palm.

As he leans his body closer to his grandchildren, the grandchildren show more interest in what Joselito is doing. To the boys, Joselito's strategy is new and refreshing – an unparalleled way of learning, particularly when it comes to learning Portuguese which the boys have restricted access to in the U.S., where they solely learn at home. Joselito's initiative to use creative resources to teach his grandchildren adds interest and physical movement to the teaching of Portuguese to Benjamin and Jacob, which frequently is interpreted by them as an obligation at home. Joselito's strategies mimic a popular teaching method in the classroom with young children, the Total Physical Response (TPR; Asher, 1969).

The importance of this episode is twofold. First, it allows us to see how physical proximity enhances HLM - as the physical proximity grew between these participants, so did Jacob's and Benjamin's interest in learning Portuguese. Joselito applied a variety of multimodal strategies to his Portuguese 'lesson', which enhanced the boys' enjoyment and increased their interest.

In the United States, by contrast, the boys' HLM home activities carry a sense of obligation and task – the boys must follow certain family "rules" within the FLP specifying that they should carry on conversations in Portuguese, even when they are not interested or do not need to out of necessity, since all family members are fluent speakers of English. Perhaps in the boys' mind, speaking Portuguese to people who can speak English is an effort not worth putting forward, or it seems unnatural or forced. Flavia has provided her perspective on their resistance in an interview: "They [Jacob and Benjamin] might compare themselves to their peers and see that their friends are doing just fine only speaking English, so why bother?" (Interview, 12.27.23).

Conversely in Brazil, Jacob and Benjamin understand that they must speak Portuguese if they want to maintain their relationships with some extended family and friends, and indeed, they speak Portuguese much more willingly while in Brazil. Perhaps the vacation atmosphere they are embedded in - eating out, playing with friends, and visiting historical sites and playgrounds adds to their willingness to engage with Portuguese.

Also, it is important to point out that Joselito's interaction with the boys in this episode is multifunctional. Not only is he teaching the boys an important element of Portuguese orthographical norms in this interaction, but he also uses this opportunity to play his role as the 'silly fun grandpa', which is an important element of his 'grandfather identity,' as can be seen across interactions in my data. These small moments play a crucial social role in this family because this is an identity that, living far away from the boys, Joselito has limited opportunities to perform. In this sense, the Portuguese language lesson serves as a medium to build solidarity, which research has shown is an integral part of creating a sense

of “familiness” (Gordon, Kendall, & Tannen, 2007; Gordon, 2009; Gordon and Tannen 2023). Thirdly, Joselito's action of writing on his hand to play a spelling game serves as a fun and unconventional distraction that cheers Benjamin up from his bad mood. Through these strategies Joselito teaches the boys their heritage language in an innovative way, instilling in them a love for fun language, kindling their joy for language play, and socializing them into a family culture that loves language. Insights such as these can only be gleaned from extensive in-depth ethnographic observations of families’ informal literacy-based activities at home, much like the ones that Heath (1983) found in the communities of Roadville of Trackton.

#### **6.6. A Narrative Riddle Connects the Generations and Positions the Grandson as a “Teacher”**

The excerpt I present next occurs on a day the whole family was home in Brazil - the grandfather, the grandmother, Jose, Flavia, Benjamin, Jacob, and myself. We are split up between sitting in the living room and kitchen of our apartment in Brazil. Benjamin is sitting on his father’s lap beside his grandfather, and once again Joselito initiates a wordplay. As the physical proximity and nonverbal cues in the excerpt demonstrate, these non-verbal factors facilitate Benjamin’s visualization of the activity and increase his interest in the Portuguese story being told. This time, Joselito uses a small notebook and the same red pen he had used before (6A).

The two co-occurring activities here -- storytelling and drawing -- make for some intrigue on the part of Benjamin because it is multilayered and cognitively stimulating, which I explain below.

### 6.6.1. EXCERPT 6B VIDEO (6.20.21)

Transcription conventions:

**Plain:** Utterances in English

*Italics:* Utterances in Portuguese

**Bold:** Utterances in Spanish

Underline: Features of HL indicate pronunciation or grammatical errors

[Brackets]: Transcriber notes of nonverbal communication, actions, grammatical explanations

\*Note that bracketed transcriber notes are only provided in the English Translation column

Full transcription conventions can be found in Appendix G

Line	Speaker	Original Text	English Translation
1	<b>Josel</b>	<p><i>Ben isso aqui é um tanque.</i></p> <p><i>Aqui sai água, aqui é a água saindo ó, aqui tem <u>duas</u> <u>mulher</u> (.) mulheres que lava roupa,</i></p> <p><i>duas mulheres pra lavar a roupa no tanque.</i></p> <p><i>Aqui ↑ tem dois meninos brincando.</i></p>	<p><i>Ben, this is a sink.</i></p> <p><i>Here's the water, here's the water drain, here are two woman women doing laundry two women doing laundry in the sink. Here there are two boys playing.</i></p> <p><i>[They] hear a noise up there.</i></p> <p><i>She said 'go and see what it is.</i></p> <p><i>He ran up there, [he] came back</i></p>

		<p><i>Ouve um barulho lá em cima.</i></p> <p><i>Ela falou vai vê o que que foi lá.</i></p> <p><i>Ele correu lá, voltou e voltou, falou, né nada não é o pato que tá se coçando.</i></p> <p><i>O pato se coçando ó.</i></p> <p><i>Entendeu</i></p>	<p><i>and said 'it's nothing, it's the duck scratching itself.'</i></p> <p><i>The duck is scratching itself, look!</i></p> <p><i>Did you understand?</i></p> <p>[Turns the page to Ben]</p>
2	<b>Ben</b>		
3	<b>Josel</b>	<p><i>Aqui é o pescoço do pato ó!</i></p> <p><i>O pato está se coçando.</i></p> <p><i>Você sabe fazer?</i></p>	<p><i>Here's the duck's neck, look!</i></p> <p><i>The duck is scratching itself, look.</i></p> <p><i>Do you know how to do it?</i></p>
4	<b>Ben</b>		[Ben nods his head yes and grabs the paper and the pen].
5	<b>Josel</b>	<i>Faz pro seu pai.</i>	<i>Do it for your father.</i>
6	<b>Ben</b>		[quietly starts to draw]
7	<b>Josel</b>	<p><i>Mas fala pra ele o que é –</i></p> <p><i>fala 'aqui é o tanque', fala!</i></p>	<p><i>But tell him what it is – tell him 'this is the sink', tell him!.</i></p>
8	<b>Ben</b>	°Tanque°.	°Sink°
9	<b>Josel</b>	<i>Água, ↑água e aí é o quê?</i>	<i>Water, ↑Water, and what is it?</i>

10	<b>Jose</b>		<i>[looks at Benjamin while Benjamin draws]</i>
11	<b>Josel</b>	<i>Aquí?</i>	<i>Here?</i>
12	<b>Ben</b>	<i>Dois meninos brincando °</i>	<i>Two boys playing °.</i>
13	<b>Josel</b>	<i>Fala alto</i>	<i>Speak up</i>
14	<b>Ben</b>	<i>Dois meninos brincando.</i>	<i>Two boys playing</i>
15	<b>Rosi</b>	<i>Agora Ben vai fazer sozinho pra mamãe, mamãe não viu.</i>	<i>Now Ben, do it by yourself and show mommy, mommy hasn't seen it yet.</i>
16	<b>Josel</b>	<i>Ele fez direitinho.</i>	<i>He did it perfectly.</i>
17	<b>Rosi</b>	<i>Por que você não senta perto dela e vai falando.</i>	<i>Why don't you sit next to her and say what you're drawing</i>
18	<b>Jose</b>	<i>Como o pavão que gente viu ali no Parque da Cebolinha</i>	<i>Like the peacock we saw it in <u>Parque da Cebolinha.</u></i>
			<i>[everyone laughs loudly]</i>
19	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Parque da Cebolinha!</i>	<i>Parque da Cebolinha! [repeats teasingly: the name of the parque é Parque da Cebola.]</i>
20	<b>Josel</b>	<i>Mas você tem que falar.</i>	<i>But you have to say it.</i>
21	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>O que é isso? O que é isso que você desenhou agora?</i>	<i>What is it? What is it that you drew now?</i>
22	<b>Ben</b>	<i>Tanque.</i>	<i>A sink. [taps pen to paper]</i>

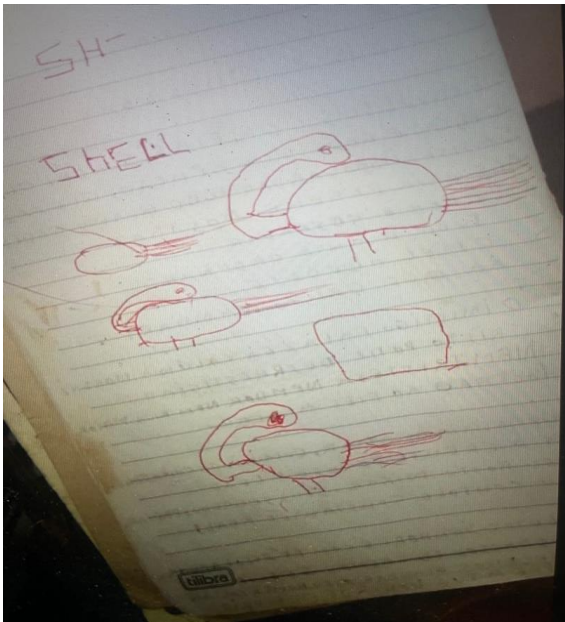


23	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>E aqui?</i>	<i>How about here?</i>
24	<b>Ben</b>	<i>A água saindo.</i>	<i>The water draining.</i>
25	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>A água saindo. E isso aí é o quê?</i>	<i>The water draining. How about this here?</i>
26	<b>Ben</b>	<i>Dois meninos lavando roupa e dois meninos brincando.</i>	<i>Two boys doing laundry and two boys playing.</i>
27	<b>Ben</b>	<i>Depois escutou um barulho depois os <u>dois meninos</u> falou, 'vai lá'.</i>	<i>Then he heard noise, then the two boys said 'go there'. [Ben missed the verb conjugation, it should have been <i>falaram</i>].</i>
28	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Uma das mulheres falou vai lá vê que barulho é aquele?'</i>	<i>One of the women said go check what noise that was?</i>
29	<b>Ben</b>	<i>Sim, depois ele vai e depois volta foi só um pato</i>	<i>Yes, then he went and then he came back.</i>
30	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>E ele fala o quê pra mulher que tava lavando roupa?</i>	<i>And what did he say to the woman who was doing laundry?</i>
31	<b>Ben</b>	<i>Que é um pato coçando.</i>	<i>It's a duck scratching itself. [Ben's voice was low].s</i>
32	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Que é um pato se coçando?</i>	<i>Is that a duck scratching itself?</i>
33	<b>Ben</b>	<i>Sim.</i>	<i>Yes.</i>

First, it is important to explain how the picture drawn contributes to this narrative riddle. To start, Joselito draws an ellipse and tells Benjamin it is a sink; he then sprinkles a handful of doodles to the right of the ellipse and explains it is the sink water draining. On top, he draws two sticks and says it is two boys playing. Next, he draws two sticks on the bottom of the ellipse and explains that those are two women doing laundry. Then Joselito tells Benjamin that there is noise upstairs and that the women send the boys to check. The boys come back saying that it was nothing, only a duck scratching itself. At the boys' pronouncement, both the narrative and the drawing end simultaneously and a fairly clear image of a duck scratching itself turns up on the page from the initial ellipse (image 1 below). Benjamin looks at his grandfather affectionately and smiles kindly, switching glances between his grandfather and his father, in a gesture of surprise and joy.

**Figure 8**

*Grandfather teaches Benjamin a Riddle*



The Duck Riddle drawing (6.20.21)

It is important to first point out that Joselito initiates this pedagogical activity in a similar way to 6A: he does not ask if the child wants to play and instead immediately begins to draw and narrate the story without prefacing the activity. Joselito sits next to Benjamin and Jose with a notebook and pen in hand, and to get Benjamin's attention, he uses the bare imperative verb, "*Olha*" (**Look**) (6B, line 1), and points to the drawing he is beginning to create on a page of his notebook. This passage is reminiscent of Joselito's earlier strategy of writing in his palm and tapping the tip of his pen on the word (6A) to initiate the activity, not unlike a teacher tapping on a blackboard with a stick of chalk to highlight a word or an idea. In this episode, Joselito is lively and uses expansive hand gestures, exaggerated facial expressions, and evocative words, as he often does when telling the children stories and riddles.

**Figure 9**

*Grandfather Tells and Draws a Riddle*



*Joselito teaches Benjamin the Duck Riddle*

It is not just Benjamin who is captivated by his grandfather's story: Jose is equally captivated. He looks closely at his father-in-law's drawing with the same intent that his son does. In fact, Joselito's drawing of the duck makes Jose remember a peacock he saw earlier in the park. It was then that the sweet atmosphere of the moment yielded a peal of hearty laughter from the family in response to Jose's error. Jose mistook the name of the park for "*Pedra da Cebolinha*" (**Scallion Rock**, 6B, line 18) when he meant "*Pedra da Cebola*" (**Onion Rock**), an allusion to the shape of the famous rock that named the park in Vitória, the capital of the state where they live. This moment is indicative of the Santos-Gomez family's inherent humorous nature (chapter 5), where no language misstep goes by without yielding amiable laughter.

As soon as Joselito finishes the story, he reviews it with his grandson (6B, lines 3). Then in line 5, he asks Benjamin to replicate the riddle to his father. Still sitting on his father's lap, Benjamin nods his head yes, affirming that he can do it, and promptly takes the paper and the pen from his grandfather. Joselito animatedly encourages Benjamin to speak Portuguese with his father (6A, line 7). The child starts reproducing the drawing (6B, line 6). Not satisfied with Benjamin only drawing the duck, Joselito tells his grandson to also narrate the story as he draws. The boy complies (6B, line 9).

When Benjamin finishes showing the duck to his father, I ask him to show it to his mother as well (6A, lines 15 and 17). The child promptly sits next to Flavia and shows her but remains focused, quietly drawing. It is important to note that Benjamin emulates his grandfather's strategy of tapping on the word in his palm with the pen (Excerpt 6A) when he taps the pen on the drawing he just produced to emphasize a detail to his mother (6B, line

22). Once again, Joselito reminds him to narrate the story as he shows it to his mother (6B, line 20). Flavia emphasizes Joselito's request (6A, line 21). However, she prompts Benjamin *indirectly* to narrate the story – by asking him questions instead of giving him orders as Joselito did (6B, 28). Benjamin answers each question and continues his narration and the drawing simultaneously (6B, line 29).

Flavia recasts some of his answers without overtly pointing out his grammatical/vocabulary errors; she repeats what he says but this time observes the correct grammatical forms (6B, lines 30-38). What Flavia seems to be doing is to adopt a content-based instruction style where her emphasis is on meaning. In this natural learning setting, grammatical correctness is only focused on for clarification purposes (Lightbown and Spada, 2013). It should be noted that through this activity, Benjamin tells his mother a narrative riddle that she has been familiar with since childhood, and he does so in Portuguese, her native language.

The excerpt expands on existing research on the importance of HLM for intergenerational transmission. It offers the unique opportunity to look at an authentic HLM interaction, in real-time, between three generations of speakers who can only be together through an overseas trip and whose communication is only possible through the maintenance of their HL.

The interaction highlights what other research has concluded - that intergenerational transmission maintains knowledge from previous generations (Purkarthofer, 2020). Furthermore, through the repetition of shared family stories and jokes, the

intergenerational interchange reinforces a feeling of family togetherness and a shared family identity (Gordon 2007). Upon Benjamin's relaying of the narrative, Joselito proudly compliments his grandson's ability to draw, memorize, and repeat the story in Portuguese (6B, line 16). The involvement of grandparents in HLM activities, and grandparents' pride in seeing their HL grandchildren's ability to communicate efficiently with them have been reported (Guardado and Becker, 2014; Park and Sarkar, 2007).

### **6.7. Pride in Heritage Language**

The analyses of the Santos-Gomez interactions show that there is also pride demonstrated by HL children in being able to communicate with their extended families. For example, during the same trip, on a different day, through a telephone call from his mother in the U.S., Jacob told her (in English) of the compliments he received for being 'more fluent' in Portuguese than he had been before:

#### **6.7.1. EXCERPT 6C FIELDNOTE (6.22.21)**

"I received so many compliments that I can't keep up vovô Joselito said I'm "*fogo*" three times and vovó Graça said she always loved me but that she loves me even more this time that I'm more talkative [in Portuguese], more handsome and the third one I can't remember."

The Portuguese idiomatic expression "*Fogo*" (**fire**) means cleverness. When Jacob relayed this compliment to his mother, he was referring to Grandmother Graça's compliments on his translation abilities and his intelligence in solving riddles.

On another occasion, on the walk home from playing in the park, Jacob told Mariana a story and after correcting himself for misusing an article gender and number, he told her:

#### **6.7.2. EXCERPT 6D FIELDNOTE (6.27.21)**

*“Eu falava português como um neném, mas agora falo mais. Agora eu falo bom [sic; bem], perfeito.”* (**I used to speak Portuguese like a baby, but now I speak more Portuguese. Now I speak good, perfect**)

The short excerpts 6C and 6D show that Jacob is satisfied with his increased fluency in Portuguese recognized by his maternal grandmother, and that he enjoys sharing this knowledge with Mariana. The excerpts highlight Jacob’s recognition that there has been a betterment in his knowledge of Portuguese when he compares his speaking ability from when he was younger to the present time. His agency has improved – he can recognize and fix his mistakes and his pride in being a Portuguese speaker increases. Jacob is pleased that his fluency has improved to the point where he can compare it now to how he used to speak a few years back. This interaction is important because it highlights the vitality of HL young speakers’ agency in HLM, an area of research that has been gaining attention.

#### **6.8. An English Lesson for Portuguese-Speaking Grandfather**

Joselito is not a highly formally educated man, he attended school until the 6th grade in the countryside of Brazil. Despite not having continued his schooling, he has always been interested in learning. I have recollections from my early childhood of my father copying passages from books to his notebooks, copying and memorizing long Bible passages, and

quizzing us on Brazil's and the world's capitals; habits he maintains to this day. Joselito is very animated when he tells his jokes and anecdotes and requires everyone's attention when he speaks. Frankly, a habit that irritated my siblings and me growing up but that does not seem to faze Jacob and Benjamin.

Joselito has a particular desire to learn English. He knows several words and a few sentences but classifies the English pronunciation as "very difficult." Whatever little English Joselito musters, he acquires of his own accord, he never attended an English school, nor was it offered when he attended primary school. A testament to Joselito's interest in learning can be verified at the beginning of the interaction when, from the kitchen, adjacent to the living room, where the interaction takes place, we could hear Graça, the grandmother, allude to her husband's curiosity to learn: "*Joselito aprende porque ele tem interesse, eu não tenho não.*" [**Joselito learns because he is applied, I am not**]. (6E, line 7).

On the day of the following interaction, Joselito opened the boys' Illustrated Bible that the family brought from the U.S. and tried to read the book's introductory chapter. He was having difficulties with the pronunciation of most of the words – it was a rote reading since he did not understand most of what he was reading. His struggle promoted a change in roles between the grandfather and his grandchildren Jacob. While Joselito customarily teaches Portuguese to his grandsons, this day it was Jacob who assumed the 'teacher' position. Jacob is prompted by Flavia to sit next to Joselito so they can read the Illustrated Bible together:



### 6.8.1. EXCERPT 6E VIDEO (7.3.21)

Transcription conventions:

**Plain:** Utterances in English

*Italics:* Utterances in Portuguese

**Bold:** Utterances in Spanish

Underline: Features of HL indicate pronunciation or grammatical errors

[Brackets]: Transcriber notes of nonverbal communication, actions, grammatical explanations

\*Note that bracketed transcriber notes are only provided in the English Translation column

Full transcription conventions can be found in Appendix G

Line	Speaker	Original Text	English Translation
1	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Jacob, senta aí com o vovô Joselito e ajuda ele, ensina ele a ler inglês. (.) fala pra ele que história que é essa.</i>	<i>Jacob, sit down with grandpa Joselito and help him to read in English (.) tell him what story that is.</i>
2		<i>Que história que é essa?</i>	<i>Which story is it?</i>
3		<i>Não, não é pra você perguntar não é pra você falar.</i>	<i>No, no it's not for you to ask him; it's for you to say it.</i>
4	<b>Jacob</b>		[Jacob runs his finger on the words to guide his grandfather as he reads]

5	<b>Josel</b>	Pass the	Pass the
6	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Pai, pai o senhor tem que ler devagar e o Jacob vai corrigindo a pronúncia do senhor, vai. Lê uma linha e deixa o Jacob corrigir, aí o senhor lê de novo, o senhor repete, entendeu?</i>	<i>Dad, dad you need to read slowly, sir, and Jacob will correct your pronunciation. Read one line and let Jacob correct it, then you read it again.</i>
7	<b>Graça</b>	<i>Joselito aprende porque ele tem interesse, eu não tenho interesse não.</i>	<i>Joselito learns because he's applied, I am not. [from the kitchen]</i>
8	<b>Josel</b>	<i>Como fala isso?</i>	<i>How do you say this?</i>
9	<b>Jacob</b>	The	The
10	<b>Josel</b>	Ze?	The? [pronounced /ze/, with a Brazilian accent]
11	<b>Jacob</b>	The!	The!
12	<b>Josel</b>	T- H- E? <i>O que é isso?</i>	T-H-E? [spelling it out] <i>What's this?</i>
13	<b>Flavia</b>	The	The
14	<b>Flavia</b>	“Da”, <i>pai, fala “da”.</i>	“Da,” <i>dad, just say “da”</i> [Closer in sound to ‘the’].
15	<b>Jacob</b>	Gospel means good News, the word of the Gospel first passed	Gospel means good News, the word of the Gospel first passed by word of

		by word of mouth from person to person.	mouth from person to person.
16	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Em português.</i>	<i>In Portuguese</i>
17		<i>Agora você fala em português pra ele.</i>	<i>Now you say it in Portuguese to him.</i>
18	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>Como você fala Gospel?</i>	<i>How do you say "Gospel"?</i>
19	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Evangelho.</i>	<i>Gospel</i>
20	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>Evangelho=</i>	<i>Gospel=</i>
21	<b>Jacob</b>	How do you say "means"?	How do you say "means"?
22	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>*Significa*</i>	<i>*Means*</i>
23	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>*Significa bom*</i>	<i>*Means good*</i> [turning to Flavia]
24	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>*Boas?</i>	<i>*Good?*</i>
25	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>*Boas?*</i>	<i>*News?*</i> [gazes at Flavia for answer]
26	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>Novas. Palavras de (.) eu esqueci como que fala Gospel.</i>	<i>News. Words of (.) I forgot how to say Gospel.</i>
27	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>Evangelho era primeiro passed by <u>o</u> palavra como que é?</i>	<i>The Gospel was first passed by the word, how do you say it.</i>  <i>[Jacob uses incorrect article: 'o' should be 'a']</i>
28	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Passado (.) como que tá em</i>	<i>Passed (.) how is it in English?</i>

		<i>inglês?</i>	
29	<b>Jacob</b>	Word of mouth from person to person	Word of mouth from person to person
30	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Era oralmente passado, as pessoas falavam umas com as outras, certo? De pessoa pra pessoa.</i>	<i>It was passed orally, people spoke too ne another, right? From person to person.</i>
31	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>Sim</i>	<i>Yes</i>
32	<b>Ben</b>		[Benjamin approaches, sits next to Jacob and embraces him]
33	<b>Josel</b>	<i>É complicado.</i>	<i>It's complicated.</i>
34	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Lê mais pai.</i>	<i>Read it again, dad.</i>
35	<b>Josel</b>		[Josel attempts to read]
36	<b>Jacob &amp; Ben</b>		[Jacob and Ben play among themselves]
37	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Fala Jacob, vai lá, fala pro vovô em inglês e fala o que significa, o próximo que ele leu.</i>	<i>Go on, Jacob, let's go, tell grandpa Joselito in English and tell him what it means, the next one he read.</i>
38	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>Ele tava lendo isso, ele tava repetindo o que eu falei, ele já falou em português.</i>	<i>He was reading it, he was repeating what I said, he already said it in Portuguese</i>

39	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Mas fala em inglês, pronuncia em inglês pra ele.</i>	<i>But say it in English, pronounce it in English for him.</i>
40	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>Mas eu não sei onde que ele tá.</i>	<i>But I don't know where he is.</i>
41	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Onde que o senhor leu pai, por último?</i>	<i>Where did you read last dad?</i>
42	<b>Josel</b>	<i>Aqui ó D D D O aqui é o quê?</i>	<i>Here, is D. D. D O. What is it?</i>
43	<b>Flavia</b>	<i>Vai Jacob, ajuda ele.</i>	<i>Go on, Jacob, help him.</i>
44	<b>Jacob</b>	The Gospel does not tell us everything about the life of Jesus. <i>Falam pra nós <u>todos os os coisas</u> do vida de Jesus okay tcha:::u</i>	The Gospel does not tell us everything about the life of Jesus. <i>Tell us everything about the life of Jesus okay by:::e) [Jacob uses incorrect articles: should be todas as coisas He is in a hurry to leave]</i>

This excerpt shows us an interesting inversion of roles. In Joselito's desire to learn English, it is Jacob who takes the stand to help his grandfather. I characterize Jacob as a teacher because of his didactic approach to teaching his grandfather.

Jacob is didactic in his approach to helping his grandfather read in English: he runs his fingers alongside the words as Joselito tries to read them (6E, line 4). What Joselito reads is unintelligible. Then Jacob reads the same passages in the book to help Joselito pronounce them. Jacob is patient with his grandfather, and he displays kindness. Jacob smiles at his grandfather warmly and fixes his gaze on Joselito as he struggles to pronounce "the", a

famously difficult syllable for Portuguese speakers to produce. At this difficulty, Jacob looks expectantly at Flavia as if asking her to assist her father (6E, line 11) beyond the assistance he had already given his grandfather. Jacob had repeated to Joselito, “the” (line 9); then again, “the” (line 11). As the pronunciation of “the” proves too difficult for Joselito, Flavia suggests he say “da”, the closest sound in Portuguese she can think of. Jacob seems satisfied with the solution and continues running his finger over the next words and repeating some of them out loud to guide his grandfather.

In the process of assisting his grandfather with English, Jacob learns Portuguese. He does not hesitate to ask Flavia for help (6E, line 18) about the vocabulary to which he is not familiar. Later, he asks again (6E, line 23). Flavia reminds him. Then he goes on translating into Portuguese the passages his grandfather is trying to read in English.

Note that Jacob is not having an easy time with Portuguese. First, he does not know how to say ‘Gospel’ (6E, line 18); then he asks Flavia for help with “means” (6E, line 21); then he forgets ‘Gospel’ again (6E, line 23). He mixes the gender agreement between “boas” (feminine plural) and “bons” (masculine plural) (6E, line 21). But he remains determined to help his grandfather read in English, and without asking for further assistance from his aunt Flavia, he resorts to translanguaging to get his point across, (6E, line 28). This particular example is interesting because it alludes to the Cummins interdependence hypothesis (1979) - the crossover of skills in the L1 and L2 - that is discussed in the promotion of translanguaging pedagogies in the context of bilingual education (Garcia and Wei, 2014).

### **6.8.2. Jacob is in a Hurry to Play**

But, of course, as a 9-year-old child who likes to play and spend time with friends his age, Jacob starts to grow impatient too when doing tasks that require focus and time. After several attempts at helping his grandfather read, he starts to grow impatient. When Joselito concludes that English is complicated and is just about to give up on reading him self, Flavia encourages him to go on and asks Jacob to continue assisting him (6E lines 34 and 39).

Not only Jacob's enthusiasm to help his grandfather is dwindling, but the fact that Benjamin sat right next to him on the couch and threw his arms around Jacob's neck, made him anxious to go play with his cousin, who had been waiting patiently. Flavia tells Jacob to repeat what he read so that his grandfather can learn the pronunciation and she also tells him to give the translation into Portuguese (6E, lines 36 and 38). Jacob argues that his grandfather was already repeating it, (6E, line 38), implying that his linguistic assistance was no longer necessary. Flavia tries to set the rules. But Jacob's arguments are to the contrary.

Jacob is tired of the activity in the face of his grandfather's difficulties and counterargues that he does not know where in the reading his grandfather is (6E, line 40). He finally relents and translates the last sentence but within the same breath, he says goodbye, gets up, and leaves, charging out of the room, giving no one a chance to correct his Portuguese grammatical errors (6E, lines 44).

The interaction reaffirms that language socialization is a dynamic, not a static process, where children play a role alongside the adults in negotiating and (re)creating the

home language policies. On the one hand Flavia, as an adult and avid HLM advocate and player, tries to promote HLM via Jacob teaching his grandfather English. She also encourages intergenerational exchange via a forged English lesson between Jacob and Joselito. She understands how crucial her father is in providing the environment for Portuguese learning and identity formation for Jacob and Benjamin. Recall that in an earlier exchange, Flavia tried to instill courage in Benjamin by calling her father from the U.S. so he could tell his grandson a family legend about bravery (Chapter 4, pages 19-20). Her attempt reminds us that “language not only serves communicative purposes but also acts as a symbol of identity, resilience, and linguistic and cultural preservation” (Kirschen, 2020, p. 72).

On the other hand, Jacob, by nature a compliant child, becomes a little bit more forthcoming by demonstrating he is no longer interested in continuing to teach the lesson to his grandfather, which he started enthusiastically (6E, line 39). Nonetheless, Jacob’s refusal changes the family language and social dynamics: Now Jacob is in charge of the situation; it is in his hands to decide if the lesson with his grandfather will go on or stop. As a fluent, native speaker of English and a person who has a good command of Portuguese, he gets to make the decision. The interaction shows us Jacob activating his linguistic and social abilities within the specific context of his family in Brazil.

The excerpt demonstrates Jacob’s language socialization autonomy, not *despite* being a HL speaker, but *because* of it. His bilingualism grants him the ability to teach, to learn, to form counterarguments, and to rationalize his home language policies. That is to say, Jacob fully participates in the language socialization process. The interaction shows us



Jacob's move from being a HL recipient and spectator to being an integral participant in a family interaction where he gains agency and autonomy through his identity as a HL speaker.

Joselito, as the eager learner that he is, accepts the lesson and embraces a student role having his grandson as his teacher. What is interesting is that Joselito does not hesitate to accept being taught by a child, although two bilingual adults in the room could teach him the English lesson. We glean from Joselito's behavior that he embraces literacy that is packed into play.

### **6.9. Remember Me by the Sunset: HLM and Affection Between Friends**

The following exchange shows an interaction between Aunt Helena and Jacob. In the excerpt, Helena, Mariana, Jacob, Benjamin, Flavia, Jose, and I were walking in the neighborhood after we picked up Jacob, Benjamin, Mariana, and two of Mariana's cousins from a soccer practice in the afternoon. Aunt Helena, Mariana, and the Santos-Gomez' are neighbors in Brazil.

As we walk westward, Helena notices the exuberant pink-reddish sky and points it out to Jacob. Mariana and Benjamin walk close by and overhear the conversation although they are having their own exchanges. Helena explains to Jacob what "*crepúsculo*" (**sunset**) means literally and symbolically for her, and affectionately shares with Jacob a familial tradition she usually shares with her grandchildren, and through the interchange, Jacob teaches her some English:

### 6.9.1. EXCERPT 6F VIDEO (7.2.21)

Transcription conventions:

**Plain:** Utterances in English

*Italics:* Utterances in Portuguese

**Bold:** Utterances in Spanish

Underline: Features of HL indicate pronunciation or grammatical errors

[Brackets]: Transcriber notes of nonverbal communication, actions, grammatical explanations

\*Note that bracketed transcriber notes are only provided in the English Translation column

Full transcription conventions can be found in Appendix G

Line	Speaker	Original Text	English Translation
1	<b>Helena</b>	<i>Jacob, ouve, vou te falar uma coisa pra você</i>	<i>Jacob, listen, I'm going to tell you something so you</i> <i>[Helena puts her arm around his shoulders].</i>
2		<i>não esquecer, o crepúsculo é</i>	<i>won't forget, the sunset is</i>
3		<i>aquela parte quando o dia tá se</i>	<i>that time when the day is saying</i>

4		<i>despedindo e a noite chegando.</i>	<i>goodbye and the evening is - approaching.</i>
5		<i>aí o sol, o céu fica daquela cor. Às</i>	<i>then the sun, the sky has that color the-</i>
6		<i>vezes fica rosa, lilás, laranja, é um</i>	<i>sometimes it's pink, lilac, orange, it's</i>
7		<i>horário assim que a gente, o</i>	<i>time when we are, the</i>
8		<i>coração da gente fica tipo assim</i>	<i>our heart is like</i>
9		<i>meio quietinho, o coração (.) a</i>	<i>heart is a little quiet, the heart (.)</i>
10		<i>gente tá um pouco cansado, é o</i>	<i>we're little tired, this is the</i>
11		<i>crepúsculo, aí você vai lembrar que</i>	<i>sunset, then you'll remember that</i>
12		<i>então acaba o sol e chega a noite</i>	<i>the sun is gone and the night arrives</i>
14		<i>quando você vê um crepúsculo lindo lá, você fala assim*</i>	<i>when you see a beautiful sunset there [in the U.S.] you'll say this</i>
14	<b>Mariana</b>	<i>*↑Olha vó, a estrela*</i>	<i>*↑Look grandma the star!*</i> <i>[points to the sky]</i>

15	<b>Helena</b>	<i>É [to Mariana], 'a vovó Helena'. A estrela, pois é [to Mariana again], adora essa hora, o crepúsculo.</i>	<i>Yes [to Mariana], grandma Helena, the star, I know, grandma Helena adores this time of day, the sunset [to Jacob].</i>
16	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>Um-hum</i>	<i>Um-hum</i>
17	<b>Helena</b>	<i>Tá?</i>	<i>Okay?</i>
18	<b>Rosi</b>	<i>E como que é crepúsculo em inglês?</i>	<i>And how do you say 'crepúsculo em inglês?'</i>
19	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>°Sunset°</i>	<i>°Sunset°</i>
20	<b>Helena</b>	<i>Como?</i>	<i>What?</i>
21	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>Sunset</i>	<i>Sunset</i>
22	<b>Helena</b>	<i><u>Sunse</u>? Como que eu escrevo?</i>	<i><u>Sunse</u>, how do I write it?</i>
23	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>S U N*</i>	<i>S U N *[sounds out in Portuguese].</i>
24	<b>Helena</b>	<i>*Sun, de sol, sun?*</i>	<i>*Sun, from sun, sun?*</i>
25	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>Sim.</i>	<i>Yes</i>
26	<b>Helena</b>	<i>E o outro?</i>	<i>And the other one?</i>
27	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>SET</i>	<i>SE T</i>
28	<b>Helena</b>	<i>Sun set. Oh, Mariana, crepúsculo é sunset. Mais uma palavra que eu aprendi.</i>	<i>Sunset. Look, Mariana, 'crepúsculo' is sunset. One more word that I learned. Let me write it</i>

		<i>Deixa eu anotar aqui na minha agendinha, porque tudo que você está me ensinando eu tô anotando aqui. Lembra que nós anotamos meleca.</i>	<i>down here in my notes, because everything you are teaching me I'm writing here. Do you remember that I wrote booger?</i>
29	<b>Mariana</b>	<i>Vovó quando que você anotou meleca?</i>	<i>Grandma when did you write down 'booger'?</i>
30	<b>Helena</b>	<i>Naquele dia que a gente, que vocês fizeram (.)</i>	<i>That day when you, that you (.)</i>
31	<b>Mariana</b>	<i>Você anotou bunda de neném?</i>	<i>Did you write down baby's butt?</i>
32	<b>Helena</b>	<i>Bunda de neném não.</i>	<i>Not baby's butt.</i>
33	<b>Mariana</b>	<i>Anota!</i>	<i>Write it down!</i>
34	<b>Helena</b>	<i>Sunse::t igual a crepúsculo. Vou botar aqui Jacob pra lembrar que foi você que me ensinou.</i>	<i>Sunset, same as 'crepúsculo', I'm going to write it down here, Jacob, so to remember that you taught me. [writes on her telephone pad]</i>
35	<b>Mariana</b>	<i>Vó olha lá a lua.</i>	<i>Grandma look at the moon.</i>
36	<b>Helena</b>	<i>Como é bunda de neném, fa::la!</i>	<i>How is bunda de neném, sa::y it?</i>
37	<b>Rosi</b>	<i>Jacob, um minutinho, Jacob,</i>	<i>Jacob, just a second, see if Aunt</i>

		<i>vê se tia Helena escreveu sunset certo?</i>	<i>Helena wrote 'sunset' correctly.</i>  <i>[looking at Helena's writing on the telephone]</i>
38	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>Sim eu já vi eu já vi.</i>	<i>Yes I've seen it I've seen it already.</i>
39	<b>Rosi</b>	<i>Então fala pra el*a.</i>	<i>Then tell her.</i>
40	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>*Sim é*</i>	<i>*Yes, it is*</i>
41	<b>Rosiane</b>	<i>Nã:::o*</i>	<i>No:::</i>
42	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>*Si:::m*</i>	<i>*Yes:::*</i>
43	<b>Rosi</b>	<i>Tem uma coisinha que tá fora.</i>	<i>There's a little something off.</i>
44	<b>Mariana</b>	<i>Benjamin Benjamin não, não, aí sai carro, o carro vai te atropelar.</i>	<i>Benjamin, Benjamin, no, no, cars come out of there. The car will run you over.</i>
45	<b>Helena</b>	<i>O que é que tem que botar?</i>	<i>What do I need to add?</i>
46	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>Apaga.</i>	<i>Erase</i>
47	<b>Helena</b>	<i>Você quer apagar?</i>	<i>Do you want to erase it?</i>
48	<b>Helena</b>	<i>Ah! é junto?</i>	<i>Oh! it's together.</i>
49	<b>Jacob</b>	<i>Sim.</i>	<i>Yes.</i>
50	<b>Helena</b>	<i>Ah tá bom, pensei que fosse separado. Vamos lá pra ver mais crepúsculo.</i>	<i>Oh okay I thought it was separate.</i>  <i>Let's go see more sunset.</i>

Helena begins the conversation with Jacob, before the recording begins, by telling him that she had taught the meaning of “*crepúsculo*” (**sunset**) to her oldest granddaughter Cecilia, now 27, when Cecilia was very little. She then shares with Jacob what the “*crepúsculo*” symbolizes to her on a personal, emotional level. As she explains it to him, she rests her left arm around Jacob’s shoulders as they walk side by side toward the sunset, pointing at the sky to him.

### **6.9.2. A Friend Shares a Family Tradition**

Throughout this interaction, Jacob pays attention to Helena and backchannels to show his active listening and comprehension with an ‘um-hum’ (6F, line 4). When Helena asks him to remember her by the sunset (6F, lines 1 and 5) and I prompt Jacob for the English equivalent, he replies “Sunset” (6F, lines 6-7). The conversation is not exclusively between Helena and Jacob, although Jacob is the direct recipient of Helena’s affection; she has her left arm on his shoulder and addresses him directly (6A, line 1). As Mariana overhears the conversation, she eagerly points out to her grandmother that a star has appeared in the sky (6F, line 2).

Mariana interjects again in line 23, seemingly wanting to join the conversation and add to its content. While Helena has her arm around Jacob’s shoulders, Mariana and Benjamin embrace as they walk. While Helena talks to Jacob, Mariana minds Benjamin – they are very fond of each other and close in age. Mariana’s care for Benjamin is demonstrated when she advises him not to cross the street (6F, line 32). She reproduces here the care of an adult to a child, precisely the way her grandmother attends to her.

This interaction highlights the profound sense of connection, care, and familial intimacy between Jacob and Benjamin with their friends in Brazil. The way Helena talks to Jacob illustrates how she cares for the boys as if they were blood relatives. Secondly, Mariana demonstrates the maturity of an older sister caring for her younger brother as she attends to Benjamin. Helena and Mariana's interactions with Jacob and Benjamin contribute to the learning and maintenance of Portuguese for the boys, particularly because the language is intertwined with affection and liveliness.

However, one other aspect of language learning and socialization needs to be highlighted. Jacob, Mariana, and Benjamin are children and like most children, they enjoy the allure of irreverent conversations. The initial poetic atmosphere brought up by Helena's conversation about the sunset yields an amusing conversation. When Helena pulls her smartphone out to write down 'sunset' (6F, line 16), Mariana spots the word "*meleca*" (**booger**; 6F, line 16) on her grandmother's notes; Helena had learned this word previously from the boys. In a mocking professorial manner, Helena points out to the children that she had learned the word as if it was a reason for pride (6A, line 28). Mariana wants to know when her grandmother had written it down (6F, line 17), surprised at her grandmother's irreverence. The children laugh at Helena's mischief. Then Mariana insists that her grandmother write "*bunda de neném*" (**baby's butt**; 6F, line 11), another term that came about when the boys were in the car with Mariana, Helena, and her husband a few days earlier.

Helena, now feigning seriousness, refuses to write it down. Once again, humor and playfulness are present in connection with HL learning and maintenance. The boys' openness



to joke and to venture into uttering daring words may be a testament to their comfort with speaking Portuguese around friends.

The interaction ends with Helena writing down “sunset” with Jacob’s help. Finally, Helena suggests that they continue on their walk toward watching the sunset more closely (6F, line 38). Helena extends to Jacob the affectionate relationship she has with her grandchildren by sharing her tradition of asking her grandchildren to think of her when they watch a beautiful sunset. Through the years I have watched Helena having this sort of conversation with her children, which now she extends to her grandchildren. Additionally, she habitually refers to herself as “*Vovó Helena*” (**Grandma Helena**) when addressing Jacob and Benjamin as she did in the interaction (6A, line 15) when talking to Jacob and Benjamin, just as she does with her biological grandchildren.

From this interaction with Helena and Mariana, we see that Brazil is a meaningful place for Jacob and Benjamin, where they expand their social network by talking and interacting with their extended families and friends. Their exposure to and use of Portuguese extends much further than their immediate family in Brazil, in contrast to their life in the U.S., where their HL activities are limited to the home setting. What Helena does here is to provide a sense of ‘ethnic nourishment’ (Fisher, 1991) to Jacob and Benjamin, a fundamental element for the maintenance of a heritage language because when HL speakers nurture a sense of belonging to an ethnic group, they also gain a greater opportunity to see a language that they ‘labor’ to maintain gain visibility, practicality, and meaning.

## 6.10. Discussion

At the beginning of the chapter, I mentioned the centrality of yearly visits to Brazil for the Santos-Gomez' as a transnational family. It is vital for Flavia and Jose that Benjamin and Jacob visit their grandparents and extended family and keep a close relationship with them – a way to compensate for the remainder of the year when they cannot be physically near Flavia's family.

Through yearly visits to Brazil, Benjamin and Jacob experience Brazil's culture up close and gain perspective on aspects of their identity as American Brazilians that they cannot readily access when they are home in the U.S. Furthermore, while in Brazil, surrounded by friends and extended family who only speak Portuguese, Portuguese takes center stage in all social interactions, creating the perfect niche for their linguistic development in Portuguese since the boys have no option but to speak the language.

Through the first excerpt, we can verify several ways in which HLM is enforced when the family visits Brazil. In the first excerpt, we observed the spontaneity of the boys in speaking their heritage language, they did not need to be asked to do so. Joselito would talk to them in Portuguese and ask questions as he would a native child. Joselito's ability to improvise teaching-learning moments (e.g., writing on his palm and challenging the boys with riddles) enhanced rapport between grandfather and grandchildren. Their physical proximity and the intimacy between them also played their part in securing the boys' attention to what Joselito was saying and visualization of his writings and drawings;

unconsciously the boys had the benefit of the auditory and visual elements as they increased their Portuguese vocabulary.

The interaction reaffirms what the research has widely demonstrated – the nurturance of the relationship between HL children and their grandparents is one of the main reasons appointed by families for the maintenance of a heritage language. This analysis adds to our understanding of HLM because it shows us that language practices in daily routines can promote family membership. The analysis expands on FLP research because it shows us that families carry out a *de facto* language policy. The data give us a chance to see how it occurs within a HL family in real-time. Joselito, in his imaginative strategies and through his affection towards his grandsons, shows us how mundane activities can promote HLM. He can captivate his grandson’s imagination by playing with him, and by being a fun grandfather. We can glean from the excerpt that the Santos-Gomez family’s close ties to each other harness HL language learning and maintenance.

The second excerpt showed us Joselito’s eagerness to learn, which prompted Benjamin to learn in return. The boy had his eyes fixed on what his grandfather was doing with paper and pen while he was narrating the story: The multimodality of this exercise captivated Benjamin. When it was his turn to repeat the riddle, per Joselito’s request, he was successful. In return, the grandfather shows his pride in his grandson’s HL abilities, “*ele fez direitinho*” (**he did it perfectly**, line 20), and he excitedly tells everyone in the living room. Finally, humor manifests itself again. When Jose mistakes the name of the rock from “*Pedra da Cebola*” (**Onion Rock**) for “*Pedra da Cebolinha*” (**Scallion Rock**) all laughed kindheartedly.

In excerpt three, there is a clear exchange of affection between Jacob and Joselito. In the interaction, it was Jacob who took the “teacher’s post” and helped his grandfather with English. Jacob showed his determination in teaching Joselito by resorting to asking his aunt Flavia for words he did not know or did not remember in Portuguese; in exchange, he improved his knowledge of Portuguese (e.g., *Evangelho* [**Gospel**], *significa* [**means**]). Finally, translanguage does not escape Jacob’s reach either, “*Evangelho era primeiro passed by o palavra ... como que é ‘word of mouth?’*” (**The Gospel was first passed by word ... how do you say word of mouth?**). Finally, as a typical 9-year-old boy, Jacob grows impatient and leaves after a while, eager to play with his cousin Benjamin. In part, his hastiness to leave the activity at hand attests to his level of intimacy with his grandfather, proving that he is comfortable enough to act age-appropriately and that he is not pretending his interest in his grandfather’s needs.

The last analyzed excerpt presented us with an interaction between Jacob, Benjamin, and an old family friend, Helena, whom the boys affectionately call “tia” (aunt) and her granddaughter Mariana, a friend of the boys. The interaction highlighted the importance that the affection of elderly friends can bear on HL children, concomitantly impressing the vitality of intergenerational language transmission as a means of perpetuation and at the same time a tool of the revitalization of the language because, among other abilities, intergenerational transmission helps to maintain knowledge from previous generations, as Purkarthofer (2020) has observed.

In the exchange, Helena shared with Jacob, and indirectly with Benjamin, a personal family tradition she maintains with her beloved grandchildren, to an extent making Jacob and

Benjamin members of her family. Yet again, humor and playfulness could be observed when the children laugh at Tia Helena's irreverence in taking note of 'subversive' words such as "*meleca*" (**booger**) in her notes. The boys' ability to laugh at this irreverence is proof of Jacob and Benjamin's semantic understanding of Portuguese and level of comfort with their Brazilian friends.

In this chapter, I have discussed the centrality of yearly trips to Brazil for the Santos-Gomez' as a transnational family. I have shown how Flavia and Jose prioritize their yearly trips to maintain their familial bond with extended family and friends. Benjamin's and Jacob's visits are the only time they can be physically together with Flavia's family. Through the analysis of family interactions while in Brazil, I discussed the grandfather's transmission of HL through creative language use and his hands-on approach to language teaching. I also showed how Jacob switched roles with his grandfather and became his English teacher. Finally, I presented an intimate interaction with a family's old friend and her 8-year-old granddaughter. Then I synthesized my findings with prior research and discussed the importance of considering intergenerational relationships in the study of FLP and HLM.

Through my travels with the family to Brazil, I endeavored to show how through the trip, Benjamin and Jacob experienced Brazil's culture up close and gained perspective on aspects of their identity as American Brazilians that they cannot readily access when they are home in the U.S. During their stay, surrounded by extended family and friends who only speak Portuguese, their HL took center stage in all social interactions, creating the perfect niche for their linguistic development in Portuguese since the boys have no option but to speak the language. Seeing Portuguese through such a lens is not something they can

experience while at home in the U.S. where English takes precedence over all their life activities, except when they are performing HLM activities at home. Throughout their interactions with friends and family, Portuguese moved from being Jacob and Benjamin's nuclear family's idiosyncratic language—and a symbol of ethnic identity and family heritage—to a more fully functional means of authentic communication in the extended family and community.

Through the first excerpt, I showed the spontaneity of the boys in speaking their heritage language where they did not need to be asked to do so. The grandfather would talk to them in Portuguese and ask questions as he would a Portuguese native-speaker grandchild, which I consider to be a contributor to the boys' engagement with Portuguese. I assume it felt natural to them to speak their HL in a context where someone they love can only communicate with them fully in Portuguese.

Joselito's multimodal teaching methodology (e.g., writing in his palm, use of riddles, language creativity, use of pen and paper) enhanced the rapport between grandfather and grandchildren and promoted Portuguese. Their physical proximity and the intimacy between them also played an important part in securing the boys' attention to what Joselito was saying and facilitated the visualization of his writings and drawings. The imaginative language use Joselito is so fond of had a significant impact on how the boys received new knowledge of Portuguese. Additionally, the boys had the benefit of the auditory and visual elements as they learned Portuguese concepts and increased their vocabulary.

The second excerpt showed us Joselito sharing a riddle with his grandson and the boy's unquivering attention to his grandfather. It is worthwhile to remember the difficulties Flavia has had in the past to maintain Benjamin engaged in HLM activities back home in the U.S. (see Chapter 4, Religious Practices and HLM). In contrast, while Joselito told the "Duck Scratching" riddle (excerpt 6B), Benjamin had his eyes fixed on what his grandfather was doing with paper and pen at the same time that his grandfather narrated a story. The boy was captivated. When it was his turn to repeat the riddle, per Joselito's request, he was able to tell the story and draw the duck simultaneously. When asked to do it for his father and later his mother, the child did not hesitate. In return, the grandfather externalized his pride in his grandson's HL competency.

In the third excerpt, there is an exchange of affection between Jacob and Joselito. It was Jacob who took the "teacher's post" and helped his grandfather with English. Jacob recreates earlier HL real-life experiences he has had in language learning and through a role-play with his grandfather he reversed their roles (Gordon, 2002). The play frame, as a definition of a social situation, was crucial to making sense of the interaction (Goffman, 1974).

Jacob showed his determination in teaching Joselito and his limitations in Portuguese did not deter him from trying. The excerpt showed us that Jacob gained agency in his HL when he started to feel tired of the activity and wanted out – he counterargued with his aunt defending his position that the activity was not working. It is also important to note that as a typical 9-year-old boy, Jacob grew impatient and wanted to leave after a while, eager to play with his cousin Benjamin. In part, his hastiness to abandon his task attested to his level of

intimacy with his grandfather, proving that he is comfortable enough to express his wants in his HL and that he is not pretending his interest in his grandfather's desire to learn English.

The interactions reaffirmed what the literature has demonstrated that the nurturance from the relationship between HL children and grandparents is one of the main reasons appointed by families for the maintenance of a heritage language (Park and Sakar, 2007; Purkathofer, 2020; Ivanova, 2019). Importantly, as the Santos-Gomez strived to teach and maintain Portuguese to nurture the relationship with extended family in Brazil, we saw how their work paid off: their HL work promoted the relationship between the grandfather and friends, and consequently, the relationship with extended family and friends improved Jacob's and Benjamin's Portuguese fluency.

The last excerpt presents us with an interaction between Jacob, Benjamin, and an old family friend, Helena, whom the boys affectionately call "tia" (**aunt**) and her granddaughter Mariana, a friend of the boys. The interaction highlighted the importance that the affection of elderly friends can bear on HL children, concomitantly impressing the vitality of intergenerational language transmission as a means of perpetuation and at the same time a tool of the revitalization of the language because, among other prerogatives, intergenerational transmission helps to maintain knowledge from previous generations, as Purkathofer (2020) has observed.

In the exchange, as Helena shared with Benjamin a personal family tradition she maintains with her beloved grandchildren, she was to an extent making Jacob and Benjamin members of her family. Humor and playfulness were observed when the children laughed at



Tia Helena's irreverence in writing down 'subversive' words such as "*meleca*" (**booger**; Excerpt 6F, line 16) in her notes. Jacob's and Benjamin's ability to laugh at this irreverence is proof of their semantic understanding of Portuguese and level of comfort with their Brazilian friends while they speak Portuguese.

Through these analyses, I have contributed to the literature on intergenerational transmission and HLM by showing how the maintenance of a heritage language fosters familial bonds and conversely how the affection between family and friends strengthens HLM efforts. Most important, in my view, is the fact that through a multi-sited ethnography approach, I offered the opportunity to look at the Santos-Gomez family as they create, (re)create, and negotiate their family language policies in the US and Brazil, allowing for a comparison of how their HLM efforts play out differently in each country. In the U.S., the boys cannot see the immediate need for the need to speak Portuguese since English fulfills all their immediate schooling, social, and familial necessities. While in Brazil, their frame of reference is shifted, and they can see objectively the need for their bilingualism from a global perspective as if they live the language fully. In Brazil it seems that their efforts are palpable: they can speak a language that does things for them, and Jacob and Benjamin even receive recognition for it. And the rewards are authentic. It is no longer about getting a treat or getting an extra Christmas gift or the chance to use electronics, the rewards are an enriched life with their extended family and friends.

## CHAPTER 7

### CONCLUSIONS

The goal of this multi-sited ethnographic case study was to present a first-hand account of a trilingual family's socialization and heritage language maintenance practices they engage in within and outside of their home, which I conceptualize as enactments of their family language policies (FLP). I have presented analyses of the family's multiple forms of engagements with Portuguese as their focus heritage language. Specifically, I have illustrated how policies are reflected in HLM practices related to (a) the family's engagement in religious practices at home; (b) emotional displays enacted through playfulness, humor, and HL pride; and (c) a family trip to Brazil involving socialization with extended family and friends and the assimilation of Brazilian culture.

In this chapter, I first summarize the findings of each analytical chapter. Next, I show how this study contributes to the literature on heritage language maintenance. Finally, I present some ideas on how HLM families can implement the findings presented here to benefit their HLM practices.

Some of the research questions that worked as the guiding backdrop for the research and that I tried to answer were:

1. What discourse strategies are employed by the Santos-Gomez family in language and literacy socialization practices?
2. What linguistic, cultural, or religious ideologies influence these practices?
3. What are the explicit language planning initiatives made by the family with regard to the children's HLs and English?
4. What is the family language policy that is instantiated through these practices, ideologies, and planning initiatives?

### **7.1. Summary of Findings**

In this study, I proposed to investigate how the Santos-Gomez family engages in HLM practices to maintain their HL alive. First, I showed that religious practices have been a tool for language socialization, cultural assimilation, and the maintenance of Portuguese as Jacob's and Benjamin's heritage language. The second chapter discussed the intricate functions and aspects of humor and playfulness in HLM that are not always evident in HLM studies. In the final analytical chapter, I showed that while in Brazil, surrounded by friends and extended family who only speak Portuguese, Portuguese takes center stage in all social interactions, creating a conducive niche for the boys' linguistic development in Portuguese, greatly enriching the family's HLM practices.

#### **7.1.1. Chapter 4**

The chapter highlighted the interconnection between religious practices, cultural assimilation, and language socialization with HLM. The analysis demonstrated that the religious practices of the Santos-Gomez family are not only an opportunity for them to work

out their faith through the reading and discussion of the Bible, but that their religious education fosters the maintenance of their heritage language through opportunities for contextualization and social inclusion.

Narrative adaptations of ancient texts (e.g., King David's story about courage) during religious practices allowed for the transmission of family legends, facilitating intergenerational connection between Benjamin and his grandfather, and identity formation.

The data showed how the family openly incorporates Bible stories into their children-rearing practices. The findings of my study expand on the literature on intertextuality in action - the embedment of public texts into children's rearing practices (Tovares, 2020) by showing how biblical narratives are, for the family, a public text that enabled Jose and Flavia to interlace biblical narratives of faith and ethical takeaways to the lives of Jacob and Benjamin

Additionally, the study showed familial power and connection maneuvers in HLM as the family navigated the challenges of maintaining a heritage language (Tannen, 2007). Recall how Flavia interrupted a biblical study to use her cellular phone and called Jacob and Benjamin to look at a funny image on it when the use of electronics during Bible reading is not allowed by the parents, a rule established by Flavia and Jose. As a mother, Flavia felt she had the authority to break the rule.

On the other side of power maneuvering is language maneuvering to reinforce or regain intimacy. Recall Benjamin asking his father if they could go to the movies after he performed willingly in the Portuguese spelling game. He knew he did well, and, in his mind,

he felt he deserved a reward. Benjamin's agency in his HL reinforced what the research in HLM has revealed - that children speak their HL language for pragmatic purposes; and at other times to appease a tired parent or to obtain favors from them (Wilson, 2020).

The analysis demonstrated the challenges of gathering the family to start the Bible session at times. Often, the parents need to adjust their children's behaviors and address their own emotions during these sessions. It is challenging at times to maintain the two focus boys of this study engaged with their HL.

Finally, looking from a pragmatic view, I discussed the influence of HLM on fostering creativity in the face of heritage language vocabulary limitation. Recall that as Jacob prayed to end their Advent Celebration, he did not allow his Portuguese vocabulary limitation to keep him from expressing his ideas; rather, he efficiently used the vocabulary he had available to make his point across during prayer.

It is worth remembering that the interaction had begun in a positive atmosphere of relaxation and the boys had been speaking Portuguese voluntarily, without being asked to do so, as the family prepared for the Advent reflection. Jacob, as stated earlier, was sitting with his mother at their house; he did not get to spend a lot of time with her during the week and was happy that evening. Further, his eagerness to pray may be explained by, beyond his religious convictions, the fact that he wanted to share with his mother his knowledge of Portuguese, which he is acquiring mostly at Jose and Flavia's home.

Jacob is fond of sharing new puns and wordplays with Amanda in the evening when she picks him up. Previous research has reported on children's pride in demonstrating to

parents their HL knowledge during religious practices (Cho, 2002). Jacob's perceived lack of linguistic resources in Portuguese worked as a propeller that pushed him to use his vocabulary creatively.

There is ample research in second language acquisition more broadly pointing to the advantages of creativity used in the classroom as a resource for language learning. Creativity expands the brain's capacity and the ability to use knowledge in a second language creatively is empowering because it gives the learner a sense of agency, and knowledge capital when she uses humor in a language-learning setting and is understood. Further, the positive emotions generated by the ability to use the language creatively open up the individual for more learning (MacIntyre and Gregersen, 2012).

I concluded the chapter by demonstrating that the Santos-Gomez family's home religious practices are one of the most profitable HLM activities because they foster discussion, negotiations, and power management.

### **7.1.2. Chapter 5**

Initially in the chapter, I expanded on studies of psychology and emotions, proposing that HLM practitioners and researchers might want to look at emotions at work and how they can be used cognitively to help individuals reach their goals of general well-being and flourishing (Fredrickson, 2001) and applied it to HLM. The analyses provided real-time insights into how humor and playfulness influence parents and children in their HLM efforts and how language creativity – these instances taken as emotional responses - can be better utilized in the process of language maintenance through FLP. Succinctly put, creativity in

second language learning furnishes a sense of well-being because it engages the speaker intellectually.

The analyses of emotions and HLM within the intimacy of the Santos-Gomez interactions showed that Jacob and Benjamin's ability to understand and engage in humorous and playfulness HLM practices actively is facilitated by their travels across cultures – their encounter with Brazilian culture is facilitated both objectively (e.g., when they travel to Brazil) or subjectively (e.g., their sheer conviviality in a Brazilian household where Portuguese is the major language). The chapter demonstrated the family engaged in playing and creating humorous situations where learning was made pleasurable and natural, not static, creating situated meaning and family social spaces. The boys gained language agency as they became full participants in wordplays. In these interactions, Jacob and Benjamin demonstrated a keen ability to interpret intrinsic aspects of Brazil's culture by asking questions and understanding wordplays. They also did not hesitate to answer questions about their multilingualism to a stranger.

### **7.1.3. Chapter 6**

The chapter showed the centrality of trips to Brazil in Benjamin's and Jacob's experience as American Brazilians, a part of their identity that is more fully experienced while in Brazil amongst extended family and friends. Furthermore, in Brazil, surrounded by monolingual speakers of Portuguese, the language takes center stage in all social interactions, creating a conducive place for their linguistic development in Portuguese since the boys have no option but to speak the language.

The affectionate interactions between the grandfather and grandsons added to studies of HLM; specifically, it demonstrated the significance of intergenerational transmission and reaffirmed what the research has widely demonstrated – the nurturance of the relationship between HL children and their grandparents is one of the main reasons appointed by families for the maintenance of a heritage language (Ivanova, 2019; Kwon, 2019). This analysis adds to our understanding of HLM because it shows that language practices in daily routines can promote a sense of family membership.

Following, the chapter highlighted the importance that the affection of elderly friends can bear on HL children, concomitantly impressing the vitality of intergenerational language transmission as a means of perpetuation and at the same time a tool of the revitalization of the language because, among other prerogatives, intergenerational transmission helps to maintain knowledge from previous generations, as Purkarthofer (2020) has observed. Furthermore, being with their kin led to the spontaneity of the boys in speaking their heritage language, an attitude seldom occurring at home in the United States.

The grandfather's improvisations in teaching-learning moments (e.g., writing on his palm and challenging the boys with riddles) enhanced the rapport between grandfather and grandchildren, contributing to a healthy relationship between them. Their physical proximity and the intimacy between them also played a part in securing the boys' attention to what Joselito was saying. The visualization of their grandfather's writings and drawings afforded the boys the benefit of the auditory and visual elements as they increased their Portuguese vocabulary.



The data contributed to the literature by presenting vivid accounts of Benjamin and Jacob experiencing Brazil's culture personally. The study is important because it showed a shift of paradigm regarding the unbalanced weight that English and Portuguese carries for Jacob and Benjamin. In the United States, they do not always show an interest in speaking Portuguese because English is their primary language, fulfilling all their linguistic and practical needs. Portuguese may be seen by them as the language which the parents want them to speak. In Brazil, however, Portuguese takes center stage, and not only do they speak the language but often show pride in doing so.

The multi-sited ethnography approach offered the opportunity to look at the Santos-Gomez family as they create, (re)create, and negotiate their FLP, enacted through HLM activities, in the U.S. and Brazil daily. A major contribution of the study was the opportunity it created for comparison between the family's HLM initiatives in both their countries.

## **7.2 Contribution to the Literature**

In this section, I will discuss the dissertation's contributions to the current literature on (a) heritage language maintenance, especially regarding emotion as a focus of academic inquiry, (b) family language policy, (c) multilingual child development and education, and (d) family discourse and communication studies.

### **7.2.1. HLM and Emotion as a Field of Inquiry**

In the first stages of my dissertation writing, I felt it a challenge to define emotions because of emotions' intrinsic subjective nature. However, as I watched Santos Gomez's

interactions day in and day out, for over one year in several HLM interactions, it was impossible to ignore the extent to which emotions were embedded into their daily HLM efforts. In fact, there is an increase in research interest in the field of emotions and HLM in multiple contexts. For example, at home, via online studies, and at the tertiary level of education (Driver and Prada, 2024).

While most studies on emotion and language acquisition focus on language acquisition in classroom settings (MacIntyre & Gregersen, 2012); this case study offered first-hand insight into the emotions and language maintenance inside a trilingual home, offering an insider's view of children and their lived HLM experiences going through an array of emotions.

As in any social interaction, HL children play crucial roles in the creation of language maintenance opportunities when they respond favorably to positive emotions (e.g., humor and playfulness). The study expanded on the tenet that the creation of humor is a communal and not an individual endeavor (Carter, 2007), to which all participants might contribute. Jacob and Benjamin's HL agency is not only tested via the cognitive ability to comprehend wordplays, puns, and jokes, but they can also create their own jokes when they feel comfortable and good about themselves during HL practices.

The study demonstrated that the collective process of language creativity within HLM families is an agentive element, affording HL speakers a voice to express their knowledge and connection to their HLs. Thus, as the boys verbally displayed confidence in their HL

skills, they perceived that their language participation in family communication was valued and could generate laughter.

Furthermore, HL families can make use of the findings regarding emotions from this study to promote HLM and obtain a greater successful outcome rate; that is to say, when families better understand the potential positive psychological implications of creativity, play, and humor in HLM, they will be more likely to view their mundane everyday language practices as meaningful tools for HLM and value them as such. The study showed the importance of HL families' understanding that the most trivial interchanges carry tremendous HLM impact, contributing to positive emotions toward the HL. And that is important because positive emotions not only prepare the terrain for learning but also encourage young HL learners to show their HL abilities.

Emotions are a vital component of multilingualism enacted through FLPs because the maintenance of a minority language is an emotional endeavor. When children are exposed to positive emotions in their HL environment, they are prone to imitate that behavior from caregivers. For example, parents and caregivers who carry positive emotions towards their ethnic background have a greater chance of passing their HL to their children. Thus, studying emotion as a fundamental component of HLM is crucial because the lived emotional experiences of minority language learners in their homes are an integral part of who they are as transnational citizens. As has been stated earlier in this study, families are the main players in creating the conditions for their children's HL acquisition and maintenance (Smith-Christmas, Bergroth, & Bezcioglu-Göktolga, 2019; Schwartz & Verschik, 2013).

Although the field of emotions and HL is gaining more attention recently (Driver and Prada, 2024); additional in-depth studies of HL families would offer a greater view of what goes on when families engage in HL activities. There is overwhelming coverage of the demonstrations of negative emotions toward HL; for instance, embarrassment and anxiety (Prada et al., 2020) in comparison to positive emotions. However, the study of the Santos-Gomez families showed us that there is also a significant demonstration of positive emotions (e.g., pride, creativity, engagement) when they practice their HLs or talk about them. Moreover, if we are to understand these processes more integrally, we must pay closer attention to emotions in connection to HLM and how they help shape HLM outcomes.

Finally, it is important to highlight that parents feel emotional about their HLM efforts partly because they understand that if the house becomes a battleground where children feel that they must speak the language, children may associate their HLs with negative feelings. Thus, HL parents manage their own feelings so to try and avoid negative associations. Hence, language negotiations are constant in HL homes. There is research evidence the long-term influence of language practices on the development of children's linguistic abilities is "inextricably linked to emotions", an intrinsic component of FLP (Mirvahedi & Hosseini, 2022, p. 195).

### **7.2.2. Family Language Policy**

This study provided important insights into minority language family's FLP. Heritage language families' decision to continue speaking the HL is connected to their emotions and

to how they see themselves as minority language speakers in contrast to their existence within a majority language context.

The Santos-Gomez family does not hold explicit FLP, like for example, the one parent one language method (OPOL); they are also pro-bilingualism (meaning that they are not only favorable that their child and nephew speaking English, but also that they encourage vocabulary enrichment, reading, and other literacy practices in English); and the parents also adopt a maximal engagement approach (Curdt-Christiansen, 2022), where they use every possible opportunity in the home to encourage the children to speak Portuguese and Spanish. There is massive linguistic contact in the household. But that does not mean that they did not have any policies or policy. There was an unvoiced expectation that the boys spoke Portuguese during family exchanges. Perhaps given the structured nature of Bible study, it was during these events that their language policy was most visible.

The study showed Flavia and Jose's ideologies regarding their HL; for the couple the maintenance of Portuguese and Spanish (although the focus language of this study was Portuguese) represented the maintenance of their identity, their history, and their life experience as immigrants, revealing the deep emotional demands of HLM practices through FLP.

Sometimes, there were appeals to Benjamin's emotions, "*Português é a minha língua, é parte de quem eu sou, se você rejeitar minha língua, você está me recusando*" (Portuguese is my language; it is a part of who I am; if you refuse my language, you are refusing me), Flavia told her son. The Santos-Gomez FLP has been a solitary endeavor thus far. The family

is unaware of schools that teach Portuguese HLM programs, thus they have no support from their community in their initiatives. Aside from their decision to speak in Portuguese or Spanish to the boys when they are out in the community, their HLM voice, as far as their community at large is concerned, is a silenced voice.

Since HL families play an integral role in determining the maintenance or loss of a minority language, based on the parents' personal assessment of the sociocultural values attached to their minority language (e.g., prestige, familial bonds, intergenerational transmission), then it is crucial that the parents' attitudes, or voice, are considered in FLP research, particularly in FLP in connection to HLM research (Cangelosi, Borghetti & Bonifacci, 2024).

Curdt-Christiansen (2022) proposes a dialogue between families and schools aiming at an understanding of the constraints imposed by the educational system on FLP policies and also the affordances that can be provided to HL learners via a relationship between minority language families and schools. This study forged important questions to be reflected upon by myself and other researchers: 'How can a bridge be built between schools and homes concerning language policies? How can schools assist in making minority languages more visible or visible at all?' Though consensus answers to these questions will not be easily reached, it is evident that schools and families should collaborate to create "rich linguistics environments" for language learners (Curdt-Christiansen, 2022, p. 472).

### 7.2.3 Family Discourse and Communication Studies

The study contributed to the research on family communication in various ways. For example, it showed how the relationship between the grandfather and his grandchildren, while the boys were in Brazil, was enhanced via the use of their HL; in fact, Portuguese is the only language that can bridge the communicative gap since the grandfather, as well as the entire extended family, only speaks Portuguese.

The findings highlighted that for Jacob and Benjamin, as HL speakers living abroad, Grandpa is no longer the far away relative with whom they only speak on the phone, when the boys are home in the U.S., but a flesh-and-bone family member who is funny and with whom they learn Portuguese and use their Portuguese repertoire more broadly and creatively; grandfather made Portuguese more visible to Jacob and Benjamin.

Finally, the grandfather's multimodal semiotic strategies of teaching Portuguese to Jacob and Benjamin (e.g., gestures, verbal, toy confection, and writing on palms) proved effective. Joselito's performative nature maintained the boys engaged in the learning activities. What was also interesting was that through these effective interactions between the grandfather and grandson, the grandfather's manipulation of the multimodality of teaching created the children a receptive environment for learning Portuguese.

The strategy of creating meaning through various modalities, including body movement, highlighted what is known in second language acquisition: although language learning is largely based on standardized tests and print-based reading and writing (Choi & Yi, 2015), the study expanded on research claims that learning as well as teaching is

multimodal because “in a sense all communication is multimodal” (Dressman, 2020).

Additionally, the study made specific contributions in the area of multimodality and learning to the field of HL teaching and acquisition.

### **7.3. Critical Reflections and Potential Limitations of the Study**

The data analyzed in this study was only a fraction of the total amount of data collected during the research period of one year. Hence, there were areas of interest in the data that were not explored in depth. It is also important to point out that the study was data-rich given the intensity of data collection, which happened daily through multiple collection mediums for one year. However, it was a case study of a single family; I believe that similar multi-sited ethnographic studies of HL family ideologies and practices would greatly enrich the body of research in HLM.

I will now highlight two areas of interest that came up in the research but were not explored in depth; one was the overlapping tensions and competing ideologies and disciplinary strategies during Bible studies and the second one, was translanguaging practices:

#### **7.3.1 Overlapping Tensions and Competing Ideologies Regarding Religious Practices, Discipline and HL during Bible Study.**

The observations of the Santos-Gomez family showed that their Bible study sessions are, like many other activities in the home, a sociocultural affair. Through Bible sessions,



Jacob and Benjamin could exercise their rights to negotiate power and solidarity, as discussed previously, in their family's language negotiations as tension arose.

Throughout the family's interactions, there was constant pressure from the parents, and even from me, that the boys spoke Portuguese – and in Benjamin's case, Spanish too. Specifically, during Bible studies, the boys would have to concede and accept the proposed activity (e.g., sitting down to read) even when they did it against their will, by accepting the hierarchical dynamics of power in the family for the parents had the authority to decide the time and how their sessions would take place, though the story choice was always the boys'.

At other moments, the children eagerly engaged in the activity by reading the text, translating it, and activating their HL repertoire to answer the questions that Jose, Flavia and even I asked. Questions were asked to test both their Bible story knowledge and expressive language ability in Portuguese. Furthermore, they also socialized through these sessions by laughing at funny moments of language mixing and misunderstandings, assimilating the family's innate and often self-deprecating sense of humor.

As tension arose, the family had to continue negotiating their contentious ideologies. But it turned out to be a good thing because it created more opportunities for communication and language socialization, enhancing opportunities for HL identity formation.

Finally, the data did not present competing ideologies regarding the Bible teachings per se. On the contrary, Jacob and Benjamin showed their ability to engage with the text and the boys were always free to voice their opinions, even when they disagreed. When the boys asked challenging questions, and when they did, the parents did not shun away from trying to

answer them. For example, Flavia and Benjamin were reviewing the Cain and Abel murder story (the Bible's first narrative of murder registered in the book of Genesis; Cain murdered his brother Abel because of his jealousy).

As Benjamin reviewed the story, he asked his mother why God, an omnipresent, loving being, would allow for such a terrible thing to happen, "*Deus não sabia que Caim ia fazer isso?*" (would not God know that Caim would do it?). Flavia listened to him and reminded Benjamin of a conversation she had had with him weeks before about people's need to not let the "little seed of hate grow in their heart"; this metaphorical language was ongoing between mother and son as Flavia was trying to help Benjamin navigate his own feelings of anger and frustration.

Moreover, this exchange between mother and son illustrates how in an HL family, as their conversations become more egalitarian (as children develop more HL skills, their argumentative abilities increase), the children develop their dialogical skills. Furthermore, we gleaned that the family's language management was conflicting at times, but it also promoted constructive interactions. Other scholars should follow up by examining how these tensions play out in other HL families because it could help dispel myths about HL maintenance being a "distraction" or "too difficult" for families to manage; or even "confusing" for learners.

#### **7.4.2. Boys' Trilingual Repertoires and Translanguaging Practices**

Translanguaging practices were evident in several of the Santos-Gomez language activities if not all. It is important to note that during the Bible reading interactions, the boys would translate the text or answer questions even after their answers had been recast for a

grammatical error or the incorrect choice of word. There is no evidence in the data showing Jacob and Benjamin's disappointment or discouragement to continue speaking in Portuguese after having to recast a word or concept. Furthermore, I would like to point out that translanguaging was not only recurrent and accepted but also encouraged to help Jacob and Benjamin fill a communication gap. After utilizing English to fill the gap, the discussion would go on.

Benjamin was also free to use his third language, Spanish, as a scaffolding tool when exchanges were primarily in Portuguese. Curiously, Spanish, and not English – his primary language - was often the language Benjamin put against Portuguese to contrast the similarities and differences between the two languages' semantics and vocabulary, proving the boy's metalinguistic awareness. Given the dearth of research on HLM in trilingual families, these observations may prove useful for understanding how young children draw on their common underlying proficiency (Cummins, 1979), which can help us understand the social and cognitive processes involved in multilingual language development more broadly.

#### **7.4 Pedagogical Implications and Future Research**

It is a well-known fact that the world is multilingual. Although there is an effort in education to recognize the fact that classrooms are plurilingual arenas, there is still a prevalence of treatment of the classroom as a monolingual space where only the state language is or should be the only language spoken. It is still prevalent too that the academic standards of learning are based on monolingualism beliefs. Hence, the linguistic practices of bi/multilingual families are often ignored by the school.

However, the research of the Santos-Gomez family suggests that it would be emotionally profitable for schools, educators, and students to recognize and acknowledge the multiplicity of languages spoken or at least present to varied degrees in students' lives as a component of their social and cultural identity. For example, teachers can assess the heritage languages of their students as a segway into teaching the required second language; they can find ways to encourage HL students to share their HL knowledge with their peers. More practically, scholars have suggested that schools could add books in languages other than English to their libraries.

#### **7.4.1 Multilingual Child Development and Education**

The valorization of students' diverse heritage languages creates an atmosphere of acceptance and recognition where languages, and in consequence, students' ethnic backgrounds are honored. This recognition would resonate with what HL learners experience at home, reaffirming caretakers' efforts in the maintenance of their heritage languages. Moreover, the recognition of the heritage language by teachers promotes greater self-esteem and self-confidence, research shows. It is, therefore, advantageous for schools to acknowledge and affirm HLM practices because HL learners, ample research shows, are better equipped cognitively to understand grammatical and semantical structures at the sentence level and beyond; they show an advantage in understanding puns, and word games which words do not necessarily connect in a semantic and lexical level, for example. Additionally, bilinguals show an academic and social advantage over monolinguals.

The ability of bilinguals to understand cultural differences is also enhanced. Therefore, they are better equipped than monolinguals, generally speaking, to navigate the cross-cultural worlds that are unquestionably evident in American classrooms today. Just as an example, during the period of this research, Jacob assisted two newcomers from Brazil in his elementary and middle school. He became the unofficial interpreter until the boy acquired English proficiency to navigate his classroom and school routine. On one of these occasions, after Jacob assisted a new Brazilian student by interpreting for him in his middle school classroom, the school principal communicated to Jacob's family his appreciation for Jacob's linguistic abilities and his kindness in helping a new student who was taking his first steps into learning English. This showed that HL speakers help build communities.

### **7.5. Future Research**

Throughout my research, I was positively surprised to see my colleagues and fellow conference attendants' positive, and even excited reactions when I shared with them the data collected from my observations of the Santos-Gomez family. This positive reaction confirmed my instinct that there is more acceptance of heritage language maintenance efforts than not. In my conversations with friends – people who are not necessarily engaged in HLM activities, the reaction was always positive, even when I had to explain what a heritage language was. Even laypeople seem to intuitively understand the need for the maintenance of a language as a basic human right.

Part of the positive reaction from my counterparts, I believe, was due to the rawness of the data – given the qualitative, multi-sited ethnographic nature of the research, friends had a glimpse of HLM activities and interactions naturally happening at home.

But it is not enough. On a personal level, now that I close this chapter, I wonder what Portuguese will represent for Jacob and Benjamin in a five or ten years period, when they will be older and probably more independent in making life decisions, including the maintenance, or not, of their heritage language. Obviously, I am rooting and working for the former. Moreover, it is important to highlight that routine and constant input and parental HL conversations are essential to maintain a language alive (Mirvahedi & Hosseini, 2022), precisely what the Santos-Gomez family is trying to do.

Longitudinal studies of heritage language learners could be enlightening by offering a panorama of HL learners' success in keeping their languages alive and appreciating them not only for their practical advantage (e.g., ability to speak another language, employment opportunities) but also for the array of symbolic and representations it carries within HL families.

APPENDIX A  
RESEARCH BACKGROUND

As I have previously stated, my interest in the study of heritage language maintenance was born from a personal desire. I wanted to understand it so that I could be better equipped to implement Portuguese as a HL in my own household. My first readings on HL and HLM started a few semesters ago in Professor Etienne's Issues in Sociolinguistics class when one of our assignments was to create a literature review for a topic/field we had an interest in. Later in the program, when Professor Lourdes Ortega presented her research at one of the applied linguistics conferences, I had the opportunity to talk to her about my interest in HLs. She later sent me an e-mail highlighting some authors I should consider.

As I "went down the list," I became acquainted with the works of King & Flog, Spolsky; Braun & Cline; and Smith-Christmas, Bergroth & Göktolga, to name a few. As their research became more informative to mine (and as I realized how much more I needed to learn), I started to check their reference lists in search of additional pertinent studies. Names such as Fishman, Valdés, Filmore, and Ochs proved to be indispensable for any studies of HLM. Through a broader search, I came across books written both in Portuguese and in English about efforts toward the maintenance of Portuguese as a HL in the U.S., Germany, and Japan. More recently, from the moment I decided that I wanted to research specifically the processes of language socialization and FLP and HLM in a trilingual family, Professor Sclafani has been instrumental in pointing me to some authors who have indeed

greatly informed my initial efforts toward my research. In all phases so far, I have utilized Google Scholar, the Healey Library, and its databases for my research. I have also searched the Heritage Language Journal and several other academic journals, several books, and I have searched the Brazilian Consulate in Boston (website) and The Florida Department of Education (website).



APPENDIX B  
RESEARCH TIMELINE

My observations of the Santos-Gomez family were frequent and ongoing from September 2021 to October 2022. It would have been unrealistic to try and log every observation detail and date at present. However, I took note of all the direct observations individually as they occurred, accompanied by notes of my interpretation and self-reflection (sample in Appendix D, Table 2). The timeline presented here attempts to offer a general idea of the main activities, their goals, the places, and the dates on which they occurred. I remained attentive to other activities and realities that unfolded during the data-collecting period.

Table 1: Research Timeline

<b>Start Date</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Activity</b>	<b>Goal:</b>	<b>End Date</b>	<b>Notes</b>
			To observe if FLPs stand and what negotiation strategies the family adopts		Note-taking will be ongoing during the data collection period

September 10, 2021	Florida	Presentation of research plan to Jose & Flavia Initial research arrangements with the couple.	To hear their opinions and comments; to obtain unofficial consent	September 10, 2021	
June/July 2021  Grandparents' interview (6/23/21)	Brazil	Explanation of research to the grandparents and friends. Participant observation, Fieldnotes, Interviews with grandparents in Brazil,	To learn grandparents' thoughts on HLM; to observe language practices between the boys, grandparents, extended family, and friends. Attention to	July 4, 2021	Data collection in Brazil started exceptionally before the scheduled data for data collection, as was noted on the methodolog

		Research presentation to grandparents .	language use as they may indicate deference, respect for elders.		y chapter.
December 27, 2021	Florida	Interview with Jose and Flavia.	Learn about Jose's and Flavia's thoughts on HLM (are there official FLPs ? What are they?), family communication for maintenance of HL (linguistic), respect for elders and family sacrifices	July 7, 2021	I revisited their answers numerous times during the analytical phase and writing period of the dissertation

			(cultural), creativity/language play, expressions of affect/emotion, metalinguistic discourse, resistance or acceptance of Portuguese as the boys' HL		
September 10, 2021 ongoing	Library , church, comm. events	Observe the boys and family interactions among themselves and with library staff and patrons	Main language used among family, occurrences of Portuguese or allusions to their Brazilian heritage?	Once a week (activity will follow family's schedule) June 2022	
September	Home	Family	Language most	At least	This activity

10 2021 ongoing		prayer time	used Occurrence of translanguaging. Is prayer time/religious practices used as moments for language teaching and as HLM strategies?.	four times a week until October 2022.	accounted for a large amount of data collection
September 10, 2021 (ongoing)	Home	Book reading, movie and You Tube video, watching and games (Portuguese)	Number of books in English x Portuguese x Spanish. Requests for meanings of words If requests are made – in which language?	Once a week until October 2022.	During the initial phase of the research, Benjamin was interested in watching the Brazilian children’s show “Sítio de Picapau

					<p>Amarelo” (reruns on YouTube). Jacob was interested in Brazilian country music and during a few weeks would hum two songs around the house. There was also an interest from his part to hum the Brazilian National Anthem.</p>
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Table 1: Research Timeline cont. (second phase)

<b>Transcription of select recordings</b>	<b>Analytic Memos</b>	<b>Analysis of Interviews</b>	<b>Analysis of Field Notes</b>	<b>Writing of Rest of Dissertation</b>	<b>Proposed Defense Date</b>
Transcriptions started in February 2023.	Ongoing (weekly) throughout the observation process.	Official analysis of Jose and Flavia interview, January 2022. Official analysis of grandparents' interview, August 2021.	Ongoing (weekly) throughout the observations process	March 2023 December 2023	March 2024

## APPENDIX C

### INTERVIEW QUESTIONS SAMPLE

Based on Borowczyk's (2020) assertion that "Language is a tool for emotional integrity, intergenerational connection, and identity building" (p. 182), and on my personal knowledge of the importance of Portuguese as a heritage language in my family, I will ask the following questions:

#### *To the Grandparents*

The interviews to the grandparents were conducted in Portuguese, individually, and in person, to each grandparent during our trip to Brazil in 2021.

- Is it important for you to speak to your grandchildren? Why?
- How often do you talk to them on the phone?
- What are some of the things you think you have been able to do with them because they speak Portuguese?
- Is there anything else you think the family should be doing to maintain Portuguese as their HL?
- What motivates you to send them videos via the telephone?
- Can you think of a meaningful moment between you and the boys?
- What does it mean to you to be able to communicate in Portuguese with your grandchildren?



- What do you think it would be like if Jacob and Benjamin did not speak Portuguese?
- Do you think that Benjamin and Jacob’s family in the U.S. is supporting them and you in maintaining Portuguese? (I will explain to the grandparents what a HL is).

***To the Parents***

**The** interviews were conducted face-to-face in English since Jose does not have full proficiency in Portuguese and Flavia and Jose have full proficiency in English. I interviewed Jose and Flavia together in their home in Florida. I interviewed Amanda, Jacobo’s mother, separately at Jose’s and Flavia’s home at a different date.

The questions below helped me gauge how languages are used in the home, who speaks which language to whom, and what sorts of “cultural spaces” (Fishman, 1991) are created in the home to facilitate HLM. For example, games, reading of books, storytelling, and family craft projects.

- Why did you decide to maintain Portuguese (Jacob) and Portuguese and Spanish (Benjamin) as their HL?
- Do you think that it is important to maintain Portuguese as a vehicle of communication with extended family in Brazil, particularly grandparents?
- What has been your most significant challenge in maintaining Portuguese and Spanish as their HL?
- What has been the greatest joy in maintaining Portuguese and Spanish as their HL? (as has been pointed out, Portuguese will be the focus of the research; however, it is to be expected that Spanish will also be mentioned).

- Do you think anything is missing in terms of the boys' maintenance of Portuguese? I mean, are you satisfied with their level of proficiency?
- What kinds of things do you do to maintain Portuguese as their heritage language; for example, do you read books, play games, do arts and crafts projects, etc.? Please give some examples.
- Do you think they enjoy it? Please give examples. Or do they resist learning Portuguese? Please give examples.
- What is your ultimate goal in maintaining Portuguese as a heritage language?
- Do you have any support in the community (e.g., school) to keep your efforts toward maintaining Portuguese as your heritage language?

APPENDIX D

RESEARCH QUESTIONS, DATA COLLECTION, METHODS OF ANALYSIS, AND  
HYPOTHESIZED FINDINGS & POTENTIAL AREAS OF FOCUS

Table 2: Research Questions, Data Collection, Methods of Analysis, and Hypothesized Findings & Potential Areas of Focus

<b>Research Question</b>	<b>Data Collection</b>	<b>Methods of Analysis</b>	<b>Hypothesized Findings &amp; Potential Areas of Focus</b>
(1) What discourse strategies are employed by the Santos-Gomez family in	Audio/video recordings of family interaction (e.g., mealtimes, homework help, storybook reading, family Bible reading), and Fieldnotes	Discourse analysis, thematic coding of fieldnotes (grounded theory/constant comparative), Gumperz's (1982)	Based on past observations of the family: creativity/language play, expressions of affect/emotion, metalinguistic discourse, references to family

<p>language and literacy socialization practices?</p>		<p>discourse strategy.</p>	<p>members in Brazil, translinguaging, resistance or acceptance of Portuguese as the boys' HL, recasts (e.g., grammatical and pronunciation errors).</p>
<p>(2) What linguistic, cultural, or religious ideologies influence these practices?</p>	<p>Interviews, fieldnotes, cultural artifacts (e.g., photos, drawings, displayed art?)</p>	<p>Narrative analysis of interviews, Analytic memos and thematic coding of fieldnotes (grounded theory/constant comparative), Family discourse analysis</p>	<p>Importance of family communication for maintenance of HL (linguistic), respect for elders and family sacrifices (cultural). Contextualization of biblical themes in their own lives and use of prayer as moments for</p>

		(Tannen, 2007; Gordon, 2020); intertextuality in action (Tovares, 2020) and	religious practices, family bonding (these practices may be used as language teaching and as HLM strategies).
(3) What are the explicit language planning initiatives made by family members with regard to the children's HLs and English?	Interviews, Fieldnotes (e.g., How often do the boys talk to grandparents/extended family in Brazil?) cultural artifacts (e.g., how many books in each language in the home)	Description of decision-making, language use, and choice within the home, descriptive statistics of language choice in interactions (reading, conversations with extended family in Brazil	Playful and humorous strategies for HLM, encouragement for the boys to think about an answer when they ask for a word/meaning in Portuguese, and translanguaging.

<p>(4) What is the family language policy that is instantiated through these practices, ideologies, and planning initiatives?</p>	<p>Fieldnotes, analysis of video/audio recordings, interaction among the kids and parents/uncle and aunt</p>	<p>Synthesis of findings from RQs 1, 2, 3</p>	<p>“Portuguese only policy”, show of deference to elders as the boys speak Portuguese to them (e.g., through the use of treatment pronouns and greetings)</p>
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APPENDIX E

A LOG SAMPLE OF DIRECT OBSERVATIONS, PERSONAL INTERPRETATION,  
AND SELF-REFLECTION NOTATIONS

Table 3: A Log Sample of Direct Observations, Personal Interpretation, and Self-reflection

<b>Site</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Direct observations</b>	<b>Personal interpretation</b>	<b>Self-reflection Notation</b>
Home	1/7/22	Rosiane was holding the foster baby. Jacob held baby's hands and started playing with it. Then pretended that baby was talking: <i>“Oi nenezinho, eu tenho um garfo, eu vou comer, um</i>	Curiously Noah spoke in Portuguese as he pretended it was the baby talking.	To endeavor to maintain a HL is a task embedded in emotions. Sometimes, I feel that the effort is not paying off - Jacob and Benjamin are constantly being reminded that they need to speak Portuguese; they

		<i>delicioso... (Hi little baby. I have a fork, I'm going to eat a delicious...).</i>		seldom choose to speak it voluntarily. But situations like this one renews the hope that Portuguese is more meaningful to them than they demonstrate.
Brazil	7/1/21	Grandfather teaches the boys how to write words with the tilde accent	Benjamin in upset this day. His hands are crossed behind his back, he is not responding. His mood lifts once his grandfather starts drawing in his palm.	It was interesting to note that Joselito is using the same strategies to teach his grandson that he used with his children. Also, he does not introduce the topic and prefaces his "lesson" by asking the boys to speak Portuguese; he goes



				<p>on speaking Portuguese because that is the only language he speaks. Ultimately, facilitating HLM.</p>
Out in community	2/20/21	Flower stand at Safety Harbor, FL Open market	HL children may feel more pride regarding their HL that they normally externalize	<p>I sense that Jacob and Benjamin are observing more Portuguese than they let out. For example, when Jacob told me “Don’t say anything”, in reference to his conversation with the flower stand lady, he knew what his family would have told him – that it is a good thing to speak Portuguese. Jokingly</p>

				he both admitted it and repelled it.
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APPENDIX F

A SUMMARY SAMPLE OF DATA COLLECTION

Table 4: A Summary Sample of Data Collection

<b>Site</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Number of visits</b>	<b>Hours of observation</b>
Home and community	9/10/21- 10/25/22		Approximately 83 hours of video and audio.
Brazil	6/2/21 – 7/4/21	Daily during our stay	Approximately 10 hours
Field notes			Several notations were taken
Total amount of video and audio			93 hours

APPENDIX G  
TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

(Adapted from the Jefferson Transcription System)

Asterisks (\*) for overlapping talk.

Continuous colons (:::) for prolonged vowel or consonant.

Period (.) for short pause.

Number within parenthesis (#) for longer pause.

Up and down arrows (↑↓) for change in pitch ↑ (up) and ↓ (down).

CAPITAL LETTERS for words or syllables that are louder than surrounding speech.

Exclamation mark (!) for emphasis

Degree symbol (°) for a soft, low pitch.

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