Indian parents' perspective of maintaining heritage language in the metropolitan Jakarta

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Abstract

The present study examines the role of Indian parents residing in Indonesia in maintaining heritage languages at home. The report presents parents' attitudes towards languages and the strategies used by these parents to promote heritage-language maintenance (HLM) while residing in Indonesia. Two research instruments were used: a questionnaire and a semi-structured interview. 23 Indian respondents (22 mothers and 1 father) residing in Jakarta participated in an online survey. Four participants volunteered for a follow-up interview to explore their language beliefs and attitudes. The majority of these parents regard Hindi or other Indian regional languages to be their heritage language, yet they use English to communicate with their children because of the ease—and lack of time to teach their children their heritage language. They also valorize English and the learning of other languages because of the benefits they entail, such as a better future and economic stability. Most of these parents agree that preserving and maintaining their heritage language is vital; however, they have only been somewhat successful in maintaining it.

Keywords: heritage language, Indian parents' language attitudes, language maintenance

Introduction

Language maintenance can be defined as the preservation of a language by a community of speakers—even when it competes with a more powerful language. A language can only be maintained if the members of the community constantly use that language as their main or favored language. Language maintenance encompasses the actual use of a minority language, as well as the attitudes of immigrants toward their respective languages (Tannenbaum, 2003). World languages are declining; however, based on the critical communication value found in mother tongues, it is important to preserve these languages and their dialects. There are a variety of factors that influence the preservation or loss of a heritage language (HL), such as personal conviction and commitment (Krashen, 1998), ethnic nationalism

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(Brown, 2011), and the accessibility of heritage-language schools in neighborhoods (Shibata, 2000). The most significant support, though, is that of a parent, since maintenance starts in the home.

Parents are the first heritage-language contact for children and therefore have the responsibility of passing on the native language to their children. The particular ways in which parents validate the HL also seem to play a crucial role in its preservation. The main point is that, if the language is to be preserved, it must be passed on to and acquired by each subsequent generation. Because language is not only related to family interaction but also culture and identity, parents often want to teach their children their native language (Fishman, 1991). Some of the methods commonly used by parents include speaking the language at home, giving their children exposure to the native language, or taking vacations back to the country of origin (Hinton, 1999). If true language preservation is to take place, the language must be integrated; otherwise, it may result in the loss of language (with the potential of revitalization of language later on in life) or the death of a language.

There is very little research on the challenges faced by Indian parents in trying to maintain their heritage language while living abroad. Most Indians are bilingual by birth: they grow up using at least two languages, including English, which is a mandatory subject at school, and Hindi, which is the native language. Since the independence of India from the British, Indians have tended to give much significance to the English language, one of the most commonly spoken languages in the world. According to the Indian Ministry of External Affairs (n.d.), as of January 2012, there are approximately 120,000 residents of Indian origin and 9,000 Indian citizens working and living in Indonesia. The Indian community is very well-respected in Indonesia; it is marked by stability and encompasses individuals holding executive positions in regional and multinational corporations. The children of most Indians study at international schools, making it interesting to study the perspectives of their parents toward the maintenance of their HL while living in Indonesia.

The present study examines the role of Indian parents residing in Indonesia in maintaining the HL at home while raising children in a multilingual world. The report also presents the attitude of parents toward languages and the strategies used by these parents to promote heritage-language maintenance while residing in Indonesia. The study reported here, therefore, discusses some larger implications of parents involvement in heritage-language maintenance, addressing the following questions:

1. What do Indian parents' think of the importance of their heritage language and other languages in their current host country?
2. What do Indian parents' do to promote their heritage language to their children in their current host country?

Literature Review

Heritage Language Maintenance (HLM)

The issue of maintaining Minority or Heritage languages has been discussed from geographic, economic, educational, social, and political perspectives. In the case of immigrants family, Heritage Languages (HL) are generally retained by the first generation, who commonly display a trend of additive bilingualism, with skills declining in the second generation and the majority language becoming the first language of the fifth-generation (Ben-Rafael, 1994). According to Holmes (1992), language can be maintained and preserved by a family in which grandparents, parents, and children reside together and use the same minority language. Heritage languages can be retained in a number of domains predicated on the preferences and inclinations of the speakers. Fishman (1970) has proposed the notion of "domains" as the main spaces or fields of a culture where language use can be contextualized in particular circumstances. These fields include family, education, religion, employment, and friendship (Fishman, 1991). Fishman regards family as a highly important domain for language use and language retention.

World languages are declining; however, based on the critical communication value found in mother tongues, it is important to preserve these languages and their dialects. Studies on language socialization have shown that children's language choices and interactional practices significantly influence parental language behavior, with children actively contributing to language maintenance or language shift (e.g., by resisting the adults' heritage languages) (Kheirkhah & Cekaite, 2015, p. 323). Heritage language maintenance (HLM) can only go so far, and the preservation of a mother tongue should be addressed first through the family at home.

HLM usually relates to attitudes and actions linked to maintaining a particular heritage language used by immigrants who have a strong connection with their native language (Kelleher, 2010). In a cultural framework, the term *heritage language* is used to distinguish it from the predominant or majority language. Heritage languages can also be called "community languages," "native languages," and "home languages" (Baker & Jones, 1998). Heritage language is often defined as a "non-majority language spoken by an individual or group considered to be a linguistic

minority" (Yearwood, 2008, p.62). The term heritage language is inclusive of all first languages of immigrant minorities residing in various host countries. The ability to use that language to interact efficiently with family members, assert social affiliation, and express affection can be described as "Heritage Language Skills" (Yu, 2013).

Parents' roles and attitudes in HLM

According to Park (2013), there are many advantages of HLM. In his study on heritage language and cultural identity of immigrant students in the United States and Canada, Park highlighted the significant part a family plays in preserving language and cultural identity. He suggests that the family's role is an important factor in the development of children's language and that the language ideologies of parents will influence children's preferred language. In a study conducted by Brown (2011) on "Maintaining Heritage Language Perspectives of Korean Parents," the involvement of parents is shown to be more crucial than schools that teach heritage languages. The study also suggests that migrant parents should avoid interactions in English with their children and should encourage the use of the heritage language at home.

Hashimoto and Lee (2011) claim that parenting plays a key role in the motivation of children in learning heritage languages. Their study concludes that children are more inclined to communicate in Japanese when exposed to a broad variety of Japanese-language materials, such as storybooks, manga comics, Japanese cards for cartoons, and Game Boy games. The main obstacle to maintaining the heritage language skills of the second generation is that parents are the first source of encouragement. If children receive a lack of encouragement from their parents to use the heritage language at home, it is more likely that children will lose interest in acquiring or maintaining the heritage language.

Park & Sarkar (2007) examine the perceptions of Korean immigrant parents toward HLM and their attempts to help their children maintain Korean as their legacy language in Montreal. The results of the study reveal that attitudes toward bilingualism and language use have a significant effect on HLM: a positive attitude toward a language can have a positive effect on children as they discover other languages besides their mother tongue. Moreover, favorable reactions toward one's language and culture, and opposition to the powerful use of dominant language, can contribute to an eagerness to enhance native-language abilities (Gibbons & Ramirez, 2004). Parental language practices significantly influence their children's behavior toward both the language of the home and the target majority language (DeCapua & Wintergerst, 2009). Supportive conversations in the heritage

language between parents and children are regarded as having a positive impact on the maintenance of home language (Tannenbaum & Howie, 2002).

Case studies conducted by Kondo (1998) and Tse (2000) show that the family unit at home, and particularly mothers, have a critical impact on the growth of heritage-language retention and biliteracy improvement. Findings from their studies reveal the main contributor to the growth of HL retention and biliteracy: the environment at home. This finding supports Fishman's (1991) assertion about the vital position that a family plays in maintaining HL and developing literacy. According to Luo and Wiseman (2000), household dynamics, including parent-child cohesiveness, are also connected to HL maintenance, and act as a mediator between parents and children, making it simpler for parents and children to share a positive attitude toward heritage-language learning.

Parents, both implicitly and explicitly, create an environment that can either foster or hinder the acquisition of language. Clyne & Kipp (1999) note that "the home has often been cited as a key element in language maintenance—if a language is not maintained in the home domain, then it cannot be maintained elsewhere" (p. 47). The current literature has identified a number of strategies used by parents in the maintenance of the heritage-language. These strategies are discussed in the next part of the article.

Strategies to promote HLM

Heritage-Language-Only (HLO) policy can generally be described as a strategy in which HL is exclusively used as the language of communication at home. Studies conducted by Kung (2013) have documented parents strictly using the patrimonial language at home, with some even pursuing a heritage-language-only policy. A survey conducted by Yan (2013) shows that out of the 16 Chinese parents surveyed, all of them claimed to use a strict policy of speaking only Chinese at home. Another study conducted by Leung and Uchikoshi (2012) found that out of 56 Cantonese-speaking parents, 41 of them had a Cantonese-only policy at home. Immigrant parents also encourage watching television, listening to the radio, and reading books in the HL.

One-Parent-One-Language (OPOL) policy is a strategy in which one parent maintains the use of only the heritage language in all conversations with the child, while the other parent uses only the target language in all interactions with the child. In Bain and Yu's (1980) study, the mother reported that she only used Mandarin while the father only used English with the child. Most studies have found that language input, the consistency

of the choice of language by parents, and the responsiveness of parents all affect the bilingual development of children (Mishina-Mori, 2011; Olmedo, 2005). The OPOL strategy can be difficult to follow because it also depends on children's language choices and the consistency with which parents use this strategy.

Many immigrant parents also prefer to send their children to *heritage-language schools or programs* as a systematic way for their children to acquire the heritage language. Parents may prefer their children to commingle with children from the same cultural background. Besides providing language socialization for children, parents also like to broaden their network with other parents from the same ethnicity (Liao & Larke, 2008). Another reason why parents send their children to language schools is that they would like for their children to be able to read and write in their heritage language (Li, 2006). Bilingual programs and tutors may be additional resources for the maintenance of the first language, but they cannot fully offset the absence of interaction in the heritage language at home.

Lanza (1992) introduces *Parental Discourse Hypothesis (PDH)* which classified parental speech responses into five main strategies within "a continuum from the most monolingual (i.e. discouraging the child from using the inappropriate language) to the most bilingual (i.e. fully accepting the child's use of inappropriate language)" (cited in Deuchar & Muntz, 2003, p. 163). Lanza suggested that a bilingual child's language choice can be affected by the caretaker's (code-mixing) responses. Lanza shows that parents who fail to grasp the code-mixing behavior of their children might indicate that they do not comprehend the child's code-mixed utterance and thus promote monolingual discussions with their kids, thereby enhancing the development of a Heritage-Language-Only Policy. On the other hand, parents who understand their children's code-mixing utterances encourage bilingualism at home, and this can also result in the development of heritage-language maintenance. The Parental Discourse Code-mixing Hypothesis (PDH) has considerable merit. Juan-Garau & Pérez-Vidal (2001), Mishina (1999), and others show that PDH has a positive effect on the child's choice of language. The hypothesis promotes monolingual discussions because it acknowledges parents' lack of recognition and/or understanding of the child's code-mixing behavior as well as their promotion of bilingualism at the same time.

Research methodology

To explore the role of Indian parents in the maintenance of their heritage languages, a small-scale survey was carried out to probe Indian parents'

attitudes toward languages and the approaches used by these parents to facilitate the maintenance of heritage languages while living in Indonesia. Two research instruments were used: a questionnaire and a semi-structured interview. There are 23 Indian Respondents (22 mothers and 1 father) residing in Jakarta participated in an online survey. The online survey was created using Google Forms and then distributed via the Whatsapp messaging application. Four participants volunteered for a follow-up interview to evaluate their language beliefs and attitudes. The questionnaire comprised of 20 questions about topics ranging from cultural and linguistic background to attitudes toward heritage and other languages and the parents' effort in maintaining heritage languages.

The interview was recorded and transcribed, and then analyzed qualitatively to address research questions in the context of an interpretive framework. Throughout the interview, all four respondents chose to speak in English, and after several questions, a variety of follow-up questions were answered. Interview questions covered topics on Indian parents' attitudes towards heritage language and other languages they acquired and use reasons for adopting particular FLP, and efforts of maintaining heritage language. As discussed in the next section, the data from the survey and the interviews reveal many ways in which families impact the maintenance of the mother tongue in the home.

Findings and discussion

Parental involvement, as noted in the literature, is considered one of the most important factors affecting the maintenance of heritage languages. However, parental involvement in maintaining the heritage language is not as simple as it may seem. The following subsections present the key findings from the analysis. These concern parents' cultural and linguistic background, the importance of the preservation of HL, strategies used by the parents, the use of English and other languages, and the challenges faced by the parents in promoting HLM.

Parents' language repertoire

The 23 parents in the sample currently live and reside in Jakarta. 22 mothers and 1 father participated in this study. The majority of respondents are in the 31-50 age group, with an average age of 40.5 years. As shown in Appendix A, all parents who took part in this study are of Indian origin, though they belong to different Indian ethnicities. The majority of them consider Hindi to be their heritage or native language.

As shown in Appendix B the first and second languages used by most of these participants are Hindi and English, respectively, followed by other regional languages and Indonesian. The first and second languages are mostly used to communicate with friends, family, and relatives. Many respondents claimed that they use English with other fellow global citizens as it enables them to communicate easily. 45% of these participants claim to use English to communicate with their children, followed by Hindi at 27%.

The first language for 77% of the participants' children is English (see Appendix B). Participants claimed that their children use English mostly as their primary language and that their proficiency level is either advanced or intermediate. Other languages used by their children are Hindi, *Bahasa Indonesia*, Mandarin, and Indian regional languages, at beginner or high-beginner level. The first language used by children to communicate with their parents is English, followed by Hindi and other regional languages. It is evident from Appendix A and B that these parents use Hindi, English, *Bahasa Indonesia*, and other regional languages with family, friends, and relatives. The language of communication with other wider speakers is English, which, as a global language, is the lingua franca.

Parents' opinion on the importance of Heritage Language

As shown in Figures 1 and 2, parents expressed a strong desire for their children to maintain and use their heritage language. Parents believe that maintaining the heritage language may benefit their children in terms of obtaining a deeper understanding of the culture; being bilingual speakers, enhancing their brainpower and boosts memory, and building a sense of cultural identity. 56.5% of the parents agreed that all these reasons would warrant their children becoming proficient in their heritage language. These beliefs are best represented by Anu, a mother from the Southern part of India. Anu can speak English, Hindi, Kannada, Tamil, Mandarin, and *Bahasa Indonesia*. Anu expressed her perspective on the importance of knowing the mother tongue as follows:

> *Honestly, yes. If not everything else, at least the native tongue that parents have grown up with, because it builds a sense of unity and identity. And it should be the language of comfort, because then your child grows up with that sense of belonging as well. …The importance of preserving? I'm all for it. Every language has its beautiful literature and has its richness. And I think each language's uniqueness should be preserved, though right now we are all about globalization, and raising third-culture kids. It's all the more important for us to preserve what we have as a heritage language. Because that's part of who we are.*

Anu makes a direct connection of the heritage language with the sense of cultural identity. It is clear that a sense of being rooted in and belonging to her culture is essential in today's heavy wave of globalization flow.

Figure 1
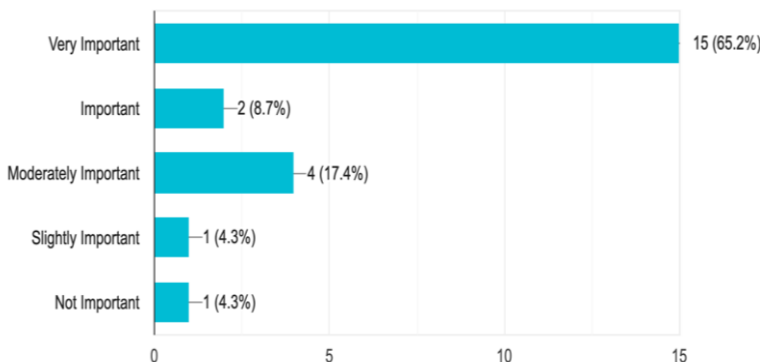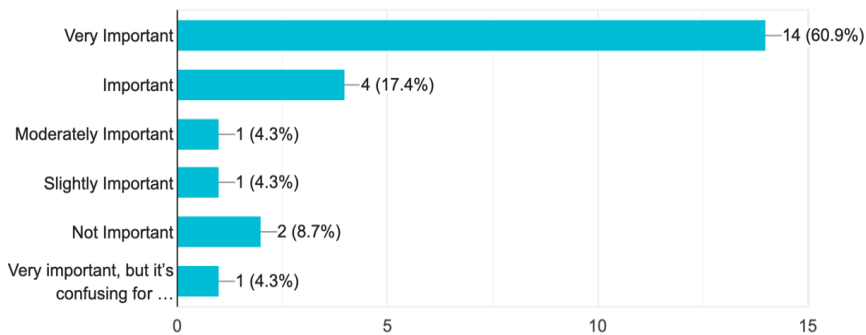
Importance of Preserving Heritage Language

Category	Value
Very Important	15 (65.2%)
Important	2 (8.7%)
Moderately Important	4 (17.4%)
Slightly Important	1 (4.3%)
Not Important	1 (4.3%)

Figure 2

Use of Heritage Language

Category	Value
Very Important	14 (60.9%)
Important	4 (17.4%)
Moderately Important	1 (4.3%)
Slightly Important	1 (4.3%)
Not Important	2 (8.7%)
Very important, but it's confusing for …	1 (4.3%)

Despite the participants' desire to maintain their heritage language, the interviews with the parents revealed that they did not always put their convictions into action. The contradictions between the parents' demonstrated desire to maintain the heritage language and the actual practices used at home will be discussed in the next section.

Parents' strategies to promote Heritage Language

The primary means by which parents try to preserve their heritage language is through the use of a heritage-language-only (HLO) policy at home with

their spouse and children. The data show that 65% of Indian parents only use their heritage language with their children at home, even though most parents and the children are proficient in English (see Table 3). Also, 9% of parents replied that they used Indian books to help their children maintain their native language. They had their children read Indian literature books by themselves, or they tried reading these books together with their children. Since there is no Hindi- or other Indian- regional-language schools in Jakarta, most parents rely on promoting their heritage language at home. Also, 4.5% of participants reported that they enabled their children to communicate with Indian grandparents and other relatives via phone and through the use of social media.

Table 3

Strategies Used by the Parents to Promote Heritage Language

Strategies	Percentage
Only heritage language is spoken at home	65%
One Parent One Language	13%
Read heritage-language books	9%
Watching regional TV	4.5%
Talking to grandparents and other relatives	4.5%
No strategy used	4%

The following passage is an excerpt from the interview with Prapti, a mother from India. She is Tamilian by birth, but grew up and lived in different parts of India because her father was in the army and was posted to many different parts of India during his tenure. Currently, she has been residing in Jakarta for over 17 years. When asked what HLM strategies she used at home, she explained as follows:

> *Ya, my husband and I both try to speak in Tamil whenever possible. My mother tongue I speak with a huge accent, so it's my husband who does more of the talking and all that and the kids respond. Sometimes they respond in Hindi as well. …Communicate in the language because neither of us knows how to read it. Neither of us can write it. So the only other medium is verbal. That's how it is.*

Prapti, interestingly, points out how she speaks with a heavy Tamil accent that often shies her away from using Tamil with her children as if there is a

standard accent of Tamil. Her husband, whom she considered to have a better command of (Standard) Tamil, would do most of the communication with her children.

Another participant, Anu, also shared her strategies in maintaining her heritage language. Anu shared her experiences as follows:

> *Number one is to speak it because that's the way that you build the language and vocabulary with your kids. Of course, there is media that can help you, stories, books, and movies. Though there are a lot more purists in language, but they do help bring a sense of how widely the language is used and provide better exposure to our children.*

Anu makes use of other resources in maintaining her HL, in addition, to verbally use it with her children. It seems that exposing her children to HL resources is essential to bring awareness to her children on the various purposes and functions of their HL.

Parents' view of languages in their lives

Most parents agreed that English is the primary language for their children because it is the language they find their children using the most. The parents are mindful of the global hegemony, status, and position of the English language and this mindfulness informs the parents' decision to send their children to international schools. The stability of bilingualism in India is a prominent feature; therefore, Indian-language speakers tend to retain their languages even when they live outside of their country (Pandit, 1977). This study shows that Indian parents' language use is merely an extension of their attitudes toward—and the complexities of—their position in their host country. They see themselves as a prosperous group with a clear prospect of moving upward. Unlike their equivalents in the United Kingdom and the United States, these Asian-Indians do not feel discriminated against by the host country. This view of the prospect of upward mobility contributes significantly to their acknowledgment and use of English.

Most parents and children in this study use English as their primary language of communication. Although parents do realize the importance of preserving and passing on the heritage language, yet they are practical and liberal in their approach toward English and other languages. They are fully aware that learning the lingua franca along with other languages will benefit their children. This issue is best represented by Asha in the interview session. Her ethnicity is Punjabi, and she has been living in Jakarta for 15 years.

> *I think English is necessary because it's a medium of conversation, medium of communication which is universal. So we cannot just, you know, given a choice. I will always choose English as the first language for the kids. But of course, Hindi and Bahasa are also required. Hindi, because when most of the time, when we got back to India, that is the time the kids feel a little left out. But in terms of Bahasa, because they are learning it in school, and they are interacting with the helpers, they are picking it up. …I think yes, we do. Because it's [English] a universal language. We find it very comfortable. That's a language that we, while growing up, used and our kids find it quite comfortable. So, yes.*

In Asha's account, there is an indication of preferring English than the HL. Considering their current living situation as a transnational family, English is more benefitting to them. It has an international capital appeal for her and her children's future.

Parents do try to preserve their cultural beliefs and heritage language, as they recognize it to be essential. Yet, they encounter immense obstacles that can at times be beyond their control because of the setting of their country, workplace, and children's school system. Parents in the study revealed that they have been somewhat successful in maintaining the heritage language. One possibility is that, as the home language setting becomes more influential in English, these parents probably feel that their motivation or commitment alone will not be sufficient to counteract the phenomenon of English used in the home. Parents may have given up fighting with their children about the use of heritage languages due to the ease of communication they have with their children using English.

Another challenge for the parents is that their children spend more time at school, where all subjects are taught in English and everyone communicates in English in and outside of the classroom. Unfortunately, there is not much time left for anything else. Moreover, there are no Indian-language schools in Jakarta, which makes the maintenance of the language even more difficult. This concern was brought up by Rahul, a father from India. He has been living in Jakarta for 17 years and speaks 3 languages: English, *Bahasa Indonesia*, and Hindi.

> *First and foremost that we use English mostly at home as it eases communication. Children use English at school and when they are with their friends. There is no place where they can learn Hindi. They speak a bit of Hindi with their grandparents and that's about it. For me, my kids are*

> *comfortable with English and I am comfortable with English,*
> *so that's what we converse in. They also spend most of their*
> *time at school, so we really don't have the time to practice*
> *our native language.*

Rahul explains how it is more practical and easier to communicate in English due to the various functions English have in their familial, educational, and professional contexts. The wider use of English in their current living contexts affects his decision to lean towards English and shift away from the heritage language.

Closing remarks

The results of this study showcase the complexity of parents' involvement in helping their children retain the heritage language at home. The study thus suggests that parents' contributions to HLM may be far more constrained than previously assumed. Maintaining the heritage language is indeed a complex phenomenon in which the attempts of the parents alone may not establish the final results. These findings indicate that it would take an enormous, diligent effort on the part of parents to be a significant force in the provision and maintenance of heritage language. Even though a majority of these parents regard Hindi and other Indian regional languages to be their heritage language, they still use English to communicate with their children because of the ease and the lack of time they have to teach their children the heritage language. They also valorize English and the learning of other languages because of the benefits they entail, such as a better future and economic stability. Most of these parents agree that preserving and maintaining the heritage language is vital and yet have only been somewhat successful in maintaining it. They have made some efforts at home to sustain the language, yet it will take a more serious effort from the side of the parents in order to fully maintain it. While these parents agree that it is necessary to maintain their patrimonial language, they find the usage of English as vital as the use of their patrimonial language.

Family-language policy deserves more attention as these strategies and their execution shape children's growth and determines whether a specific language will be retained or not. The use of heritage languages in households impacts children's cognitive growth and achievement. In addition to being essential for a child's growth, the household language strategy sets the basis for the preservation of heritage language. Absence of language planning can result in language shift, language endangerment, and language death. More research is required in this field, particularly observing how globalization flow will impact heritage language. Finally,

research in the future should also examine how parents define "achievement" vis-à-vis heritage language maintenance and how this concept changes with time.

The author

Munmun Gupta is presently working as an English language lecturer at Binus International University in Indonesia. She has over ten years of experience in teaching English to students from different cultural backgrounds in India and Indonesia. She is able to integrate theoretical concepts and practical ideas in the classroom while treating teaching and learning as dynamic, interactive processes. She is also a recognized author of children's books and novels. She is currently pursuing a Doctoral Degree in Applied English Linguistics at the Atma Jaya Catholic University of Indonesia.

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Appendix A

Participants demographic information

Participant (Pseudonym)	Nationality(passport)	Ethnicity	Spouse's Nationality	Spouse's Ethnicity	No. of years in Jakarta	Heritage Language
Rahul	Indonesian	Indian	Indian	Indian	15	Hindi
Asha	Indian	Khatri	Indian	Punjabi	15	Hindi
Bhawna	Indian	Indian	Indian	Indian	6	Hindi
Divya	Indian	Indian	Indian	Indian	8	Hindi
Esha	Indian	Hindu	Indian	Kashmiri	7	Hindi
Geeti	Indian	Telegu	Indian	Oriya	less than a year	Hindi
Hema	Indian	Hindu	Indian	Hindu	3	Marathi
Jyoti	Indian	Indian	Indian	Indian	8	Tamil
Karishma	Indian	Hindu	Indian	Hindu	9	Hindi
Maya	Indian	Hindu	Indian	Hindu	15	Hindi
Noopur	Indian	Indian	Indian	Indian	5	Telegu
Prapti	Indian	Tamilian	indian	Tamilian	17	Tamil
Ritu	Indian	Hindu	Indian	Hindu	7	Hindi
Sita	Indian	Tamilian	Indian	Indian	1	Tamil
Tanu	Indian	Indian	Indian	Indian	less than 6 months	Hindi
Vibha	Indian	Indian	Indian	Indian	23	Tamil
Aanchal	Indian	Indian	Indian	Indian	4	Hindi
Dimpy	Indian	Indian	Indian	Indian	3	Marathi
Anu	Indian	Indian	Indian	Indian	6	Kannada
Palak	Indian	Indian	Indian	Indian	7	Hindi
Shanti	Singaporean	Indian	Singaporean	Indian	1	Hindi
Rupa	Indian	Hindu	Indian	Hindu	4	Hindi
Deepti	Indian	Indian	Filipino	Indian	6	Sindhi

Appendix B

Participants Language Repertoire

Participant (Pseudonym)	First Language of use	Second Language of use	Third Language of use	Child(ren)'s first language	Language used to interact with children	Language children use with the parent
Rahul	English	Hindi	Bahasa Indonesia	English	English	English
Asha	English	Hindi	Bahasa Indonesia	English	English	English and Hindi
Bhawna	Hindi	English	Bahasa Indonesia	Hindi	English and Hindi	English and Hindi
Divya	English	Hindi	Gujarati	English	English and Hindi	English and Hindi
Esha	Hindi	English	Bengali	English	English and Hindi	English and Hindi
Geeti	Hindi	English	Telegu	Hindi	English, Hindi and Oriya	English, Hindi and Oriya
Hema	Marathi	Bahasa	English	Marathi	Marathi and English	Marathi and English
Jyoti	Tamil	English	Hindi	Tamil	English and Tamil	English and Tamil
Karishma	Hindi	English	Bahasa Indonesia	English	English and Hindi	Hindi
Maya	Hindi	English		Hindi	Hindi	Hindi
Noopur	Telegu	Kannada	English	English	English and Telegu	English and Telegu
Prapti	English	Hindi	Bahasa Indonesia	English	English,Hindi and Tamil	English and Bahasa Indonesia
Ritu	Hindi	English	Bengali	English	English and Hindi	English and Hindi
Sita	Tamil	English	Bahasa Indonesia	English	Tamil	Tamil
Tanu	English	Hindi	Kannada	English	English,Hindi and Kannada	English,Hindi and Kannada
Vibha	English	Hindi	Tamil	English	English,Hindi and Tamil	English
Aanchal	Hindi	English	Bahasa Indonesia	English	English and Hindi	English and Hindi
Dimpy	Marathi	English	Hindi	Marathi	Marathi,English and Hindi	Marathi,English and Hindi
Anu	English	Kannada	Hindi	English	English and Kannada	English and Kannada
Palak	Hindi	English		English	English and Hindi	English and Hindi
Shanti	Hindi	English		English	English and Hindi	English and Hindi
Rupa	Hindi	English		English	English	English and Hindi
Deepti	English	Sindhi	Bahasa Indonesia	English	English and Bahasa	English