A Study of Multilingual Families in Helsinki and Cardiff: Parental Language Ideologies, Family Language Policy, Intergenerational Language Transmission Experiences, and Children's Perspectives

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Summary

This study examines multilingual language transmission in contexts of official societal bilingualism. Specifically, the research focuses on the experiences of families in two superdiverse contexts, Cardiff (Wales) and Helsinki (Finland), whereby the family (heritage) languages of migrants are acquired alongside both national minority and majority languages. The thesis will contribute to relatively recent studies of language transmission in the Family Language Policy (FLP) paradigm insofar as the focus is on multilingual rather than bilingual transmission. In addition, both parent and child data are analysed to gain a more holistic view of experiences of multilingual language transmission.

A cross-cultural, multiple-case study design was used to examine parental language ideologies, strategies, and experiences as well as children's perceptions. Primary data were collected during semi-structured interviews in family homes with parents and children separately, supported by data from *in situ* observations and online questionnaires. Altogether 60 people (27 parents, 31 children, and two external family members) were interviewed within seven Helsinki and seven Cardiff families. Thematic analysis was used to code and analyse the qualitative data.

The findings reveal that, as in bilingual families, parents were driven by specific language ideologies to raise children with multiple languages, such as the wish to transmit heritage and identity, increased cognitive abilities, and viewing multilingualism as a gift. The investigation of minority and heritage language transmission indicates that a local language community is critical: transmission of a language that is not an official language of the country was considered especially challenging. The analysis of the parent and child data highlighted that children felt pride in their heritage and multilingual identities, but there were challenges around the management of languages and the impact of social factors such as Brexit. The results suggest that these impacted the families' wellbeing negatively, potentially leading to them dropping a language altogether.

Dedication

I dedicate this book to two influential women in my life: my mother, Liisa, who supported me financially and emotionally to finish countless projects and seek knowledge, and my late stepmother Helena, who created a positive model of bilingualism in my other childhood home and inspired me to reach higher.

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Glossary of terms and acronyms

Ambilingualism "100 per cent mastery of two languages" (Hoffmann 1991, p. 35), nearly impossible to achieve (see Halliday et al. 1970, p. 141; Hoffmann 1991).

Autochthonous, or indigenous linguistic minority People sharing a common language (and possibly other traits), who perceive themselves to be different from the majority group. Usually (i.e. unless they have been displaced) they are settled in a given area where they have lived for a considerable length of time (Ștavans and Hoffman 2015).

Bilingual A person who uses "two or more languages in their everyday lives" (Grosjean 1989, p. 4).

BFLA Bilingual First Language Acquisition (Cunningham-Andersson and Andersson 2004; Genesee and Nicoladis 2007; De Houwer 2009a), acquisition of two first languages before age three.

Borrowing Integration of a feature from one language into another (Grosjean 2015). Specific items borrowed, e.g. café latte.

Child bilingual A child who has been exposed to two languages from birth as well as those who have acquired a second language in early childhood after the first language had already been established after age three (Hoffmann 1985, p. 33). See language learning below.

Code-mixing Co-occurrence of elements (morphemes, words, phrases, clauses, and sentences) from both languages in a single utterance (intra-utterance mixing) (Genesee et al. 1995, p. 612; Ștavans and Hoffman 2015).

Code-switching "The use of two or more languages in the same conversation or utterance" (Gardner-Chloros 1997, p. 361), complete shift to the other language for a word, phrase, a sentence, or an utterance, e.g. "On est pas assez QUICK" or "On a BRUNCHÉ chez eux" (Grosjean 1989). Mixing linguistic units: words, phrases, clauses, and sentences; speakers alternate between different codes (Ștavans and Hoffman 2015). Fundamental integration that may include grammar as above.

Dilingual conversation Each interlocutor speaks a different language (De Houwer 1995,2009a), incomprehensible to each other (Saville-Troike 1987).

Dual-lingual conversation Interlocutors speak different languages, comprehensible to each other (Saville-Troike 1987).

ESLA Early Second Language Acquisition. Acquiring two languages before age three (see infant bilingual below).

ETLA Early Third Language Acquisition. Acquiring three languages before age three (see TFLA below).

Infant bilingual A child who has been exposed to two languages from birth or has acquired the languages simultaneously before age three (Hoffmann 1985, p. 480).

Intergenerational language donation A language is donated via schooling rather than transmitted via older generations who are able to speak the language to offspring (Lyon 1996, Evas 1999).

Intergenerational language transmission The use of minority languages (both heritage languages and autochthonous minority languages) in bilingual and multilingual families (Evas et al. 2017, p. 12). Intergenerational transmission of a language (also referred to as direct transmission, when parents speak a language to their children, see Chantreau and Moal 2022, p. 101) has been said to be the foundation of language maintenance to reverse language shift because the family environment acts like a boundary against outside pressures (Fishman 1991; King et al. 2008, p. 917) where a language is passed on to future generations in the home.

Harmonious bilingual development "Experience of wellbeing in a language contact situation involving young children and their families"; other side of the continuum: frustrated or conflictive bilingual development (De Houwer 2015, p. 169).

Language acquisition Language/s acquired by an infant (see infant bilingual above) before age three.

Language ideology Sets of beliefs about a language that develop through language socialisation throughout an individual's lifespan. These may include language choice, the way speakers talk about languages, language policies, or parental language strategies (Guardado 2018, pp. 66-69). Language ideology has been described as "the underlying force in language practices and planning" (King et al. 2008, p. 911).

Language learning Language(s) learned by a child (or adult) after age three (see child bilingual above).

Language shift Language spread from one area to another in society, often consciously facilitated (e.g. conquest, major changes), may occur with governmental support (Fishman 2006, pp. 317-318). Most studies look at wider macro-social processes of a language's change (Smith-Christmas 2016a).

Language socialisation A theory, a framework of analysis, and a habit that originates from anthropology. Children become socialised to speak a language through that language (see e.g. Barnes 2011; Smith-Christmas 2014; De Houwer 2015; Kheirkhah and Cekaite 2015; Guardado 2018).

Language transmission A language can be transmitted to a child e.g., through language donation via formal education (see Evas 1999; Evas et al. 2017); language socialisation (Barnes 2011; Smith-Christmas 2014; De Houwer 2015; Kheirkhah and Cekaite 2015); intergenerational transmission in the family home (see above); immigration; living in a migrant community; close contact with other linguistic groups (Hoffmann 1991, pp. 40-46); non-native bilingualism; schooling; or exposure to community languages.

Lingua franca A common language of communication (Grosjean 2015) between people.

Linguistic mudes (sing. muda) "Specific biographical junctures where individuals enact significant changes in their linguistic repertoire" (Pujolar and Gonzàlez 2013, p. 139) or transformations in linguistic practices involving an individual adopting new forms of self-presentation (Puigdevall et al. 2018, p. 446). *Mudes* are associated with changes in everyday life, e.g. when entering school, high school, university, or the labour market—or moments when an individual creates a new family or becomes a parent (Pujolar and Gonzàlez 2013, p. 143).

Mother tongue Someone's native, home, or primary language. The first language acquired, possibly the one that one knows best and the language that defines the group identity. Ambiguities occur when the term is used in multilingual contexts (Ștavans and Hoffmann 2015). Native language and mother tongue are often used interchangeably (e.g. Yamamoto 2001), whereas some scholars have separated the terms, thus the terms having distinctive meanings. This thesis uses the terms interchangeably.

Multilinguality "An individual's store of languages at any level of proficiency, including partial competence and incomplete fluency, as well as metalinguistic awareness, learning strategies and opinions, preferences and passive or active knowledge on languages, language use and language learning/acquisition" (Aronin and Ó Laoire 2004, pp. 17-18).

NNB Non-native bilingualism. Parents share the same native language L1, the community dominant language is L1. One parent speaks a non-native language L2 to the child (Romaine 1995, p. 185). Example of non-native bilingual parenting: Polish parent speaks English to their children in Poland.

OPOL One parent, one language (or one person, one language). Initiated by Ronjat (1913) from "une personne, une langue". Each parent speaks only a different, chosen language to the child.

Plurilingual Plurilingualism is the capacity and practice of using or being familiar with more than one language and culture in a variety of contexts but without the emphasis on native-like proficiency in each language. "Plurilingualism is the dynamic and developing linguistic repertoire of an individual user/learner. An uneven and changing competence, in which the user/learner's resources in one language or variety may be very different in nature from their resources in another" (Council of Europe 2020, p. 30).

TFLA Trilingual First Language Acquisition; development of three languages from birth (Ștavans and Hoffmann 2015).

Trilingualism The use of three languages (Ștavans and Hoffman 2015, p. 1).

Translanguaging Does not view the languages of bilinguals as separate linguistic systems. Language flexibility and fluidity selecting features in linguistic repertoire to communicate appropriately. TL is more than code-switching, which considers that the two languages are separate systems (or codes) and are 'switched' for communicative purposes (Velasco and García 2014). Originated by Williams (1994) and further developed by several scholars, such as Lewis, Jones, and Baker (2012) and García (2011). E.g. One language is used in a reading task, and a child's more accessible language is used in discussion (Song 2016). Speakers move between languages, possibly receiving information in one language and using another.

Abbreviations

FLP	Family Language Policy
mL@H	Minority language at home
MFL	Modern foreign languages
OPOL	One parent, one language (or one person, one language)
TA	Thematic analysis
T&P	Time and place
2P2L	Two persons, two languages (or two parents, two languages)

1 Chapter one: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Superdiversity, migration, and globalisation have led to an increasing number of potentially multilingual children growing up worldwide. Not all children born into transnational homes grow up speaking two or more languages (Yamamoto 2002; King and Fogle 2006; De Houwer 2007,2015,2020); it is quite common that children do not acquire a minority or heritage language (De Houwer 2017, p. 238). Some families manage to transmit a minority or a heritage language, whereas others do not, resulting in the children having only passive or limited knowledge of their other language(s). Language shift may happen in second-generation immigrants but also in situations where a minority language is spoken in the community or by several family members (Tuominen 1999; Smith-Christmas 2014).

Multilingual language development is a nonlinear, dynamic, reversible, and complex process (Jessner 2008, pp. 270, 271). Individual circumstances and contexts can differ significantly from family to family, affecting the degree of a child's multilinguality—which may also change over time (Ștavans and Hoffman 2015; Smith-Christmas 2016a).

Work on bilingual and multilingual language transmission has shown that the type of language learning environment (De Houwer 2021a) and a variety of psychological, social, and educational factors that interact in complex ways (Ștavans and Hoffman 2015, p. 154) determine the outcomes of language acquisition (Yamamoto 2002; Evas et al. 2017; Guardado 2018). These factors may include different forms of contact with the language, such as media, reading, and conversation (Gibbons and Ramirez 2004b, p. 130). In addition, language policy, the status of the linguistic community, the discursive construction of a place, language attitudes, parental perceptions of the status of a language, space for creative language use, and children's perceptions regarding multilingualism or certain languages (Schwartz and Verschik 2013, p. 17) impact language transmission. Other factors affecting transmission are social networks, the existence of an older sibling born in a country where a heritage language is being spoken (Yates and Terraschke 2013, p. 116), or crosslinguistic influence between languages (Jessner 2008, p. 271). No one set of rules guarantees successful heritage or minority language transmission (Schwartz and Verschik 2013, p. 17). Often, no simple correlations indicate success (Thomas 2012, p. 205).

More recent work in transmission of more than one language to children has used the Family Language Policy (henceforth FLP) framework, which will be further investigated in Chapter two (see 2.6). Most FLP work explores parental perceptions, experiences, or strategies in a bilingual context. Less work has been undertaken on multilingual language transmission, concentrating on distinct superdiverse bilingual areas, from children's points of view, or investigating multilingual families' wellbeing.

This study adds a body of work in FLP, looking at multilingual families in two bilingual societies in a superdiverse context whereby potentially multilingual children have been immersed in both the official languages of the country and a foreign language. Most transmission research focuses on bilingualism rather than multilingualism although some studies have scrutinised similar contexts in terms of multilingual or bilingual societies. For instance, Chevalier (2012,2013,2015) looked at the conversational style of caregivers and how it affects children's language acquisition in multilingual Switzerland, Barnes (2006; 2011) investigated trilingual language acquisition in the bilingual Basque country, and Schwartz and Moin (2012) examined parents' assessment of children's language development in linguistically diverse Israel.

Often studies concentrate on a particular language community. Only a few investigate multilingual families in two monolingual areas (e.g. Braun 2007) or autochthonous communities in separate bilingual or monolingual areas (e.g. Nandi 2022). A handful have looked at a selection of different language communities within one place (e.g. Mieszkowska et al. 2017). This study contributes to our understanding by examining multilingual transmission in two superdiverse areas, specifically those where heritage languages are being acquired alongside both official majority and minority languages. Using a diverse group of case study families in two locations allows deeper analytic insight, making a worthwhile original contribution to knowledge.

In addition, the study includes an analysis of children's experiences and perceptions. The study, therefore, allows us to look at common and disparate themes in the experiences of parents and children, as well as in the experiences of families in two superdiverse yet different contexts. Including children's interview data creates a more rounded approach to the issues that affect transmission. The data uncovered complications regarding the influence of transmission on family members' wellbeing. Indeed, an area that lacks

investigations is the wellbeing of potentially multilingual families (De Houwer 2015,2017) and how different language management practices or sociolinguistic environments impact the family members.

The reason for exploring the officially bilingual Helsinki and Cardiff areas is that they have similar population structures. Both cities have a visible official minority language population and substantial minority language support from the governments. Both countries also have a large and rapidly increasing immigrant population consisting of people from different social classes, countries, and linguistic backgrounds, which has led to the capitals becoming superdiverse cities (see e.g.Vertovec 2007; Rock 2017; Rock and Hallak 2017, p. 278). The Helsinki City Executive Office (2019) predicted that by 2035 a quarter of Helsinki's citizens will speak a first language other than the official languages of the country, Finnish or Swedish.[1] This means an increase in foreign-born population of 164,000-170,000 in just over ten years in a city with 658,457 inhabitants (Nordberg 2022). It has been estimated that the fastest-growing groups of immigrants in the area will originate from Africa and Asia (Tainio et al. 2019). In Cardiff, Welsh and English have a similar status as Swedish and Finnish in Helsinki. The city itself is equally diverse. The growing group of foreign language speakers consists of several old or established ethnic groups (e.g. from Somalia), a result of decades of international migration, and more recent arrivals, such as asylum seekers and international students (Rock and Hallak 2017). The current Cardiff population is 362,310; the foreign-born population between 2001 and 2011 increased by 22,849 additional residents, and between 2011 and 2021, the increase was 13,386 residents (Office For National Statistics 2022a). Only 6.9% of the Welsh population are born outside the UK; Cardiff has the highest population share (16.5%) of residents born outside the UK in Wales (Office For National Statistics 2022b).

Language policy and political decisions influence parental preferences for transmitting a heritage language (Curdt-Christiansen 2013a, p. 3; 2016, p. 695), which is why the two countries' policies and their impact on multilingual families are investigated in detail. Previous studies (e.g. David et al. 2009) have indicated that language policies can positively

[1] Indigenous Sámi languages are spoken in Finnish Lapland, where Sámi has an official language status.

impact official minority language policy maintenance, stopping language shift to the majority language, or they can negatively impact language. Despite the similarities regarding large foreign-born populations and official minority languages, the two capitals have different approaches to minority language promotion, language learning, bilingual education, and heritage language support. The areas have various language promotion schemes regarding the national minority languages. Both Welsh and Swedish currently benefit from considerable support from government: the minority languages have official status, there are public sector and private language maintenance programmes and bodies, as well as minority language promotion programmes. There is no real suppression from the elite language majority (Hoffmann 1991, p. 163) like in certain other countries. In any community with a majority and minority language, the issue of language in education is certainly controversial (Davies 2014, p. 79). The socialisation process and the education system are crucial to the transmission of a language (Williams 2010, p. 59). Indeed, the education system has been viewed as a central institution in revitalising the Welsh language (Morris 2010). Therefore, I will look at how these, and other languages are represented in education.

The aim of the remainder of this chapter is twofold. First, it will introduce the sociolinguistic context of both countries by looking at the historical background, population structures, and demolinguistic development. It will then highlight differences in the ways in which languages are dealt with in education. Second, I will introduce the research aims and questions, as well as the structure of this thesis.

1.2 Sociolinguistic context of Helsinki and Cardiff

1.2.1 The historical context of Finland

Finland has had a complex history under the rule of its neighbours. Alongside Finno-Ugric Finnish, North Germanic Swedish has been spoken in Finland since the 11th century (Heikkilä 2011); Finland was a part of the Kingdom of Sweden until the 1809 Cold War when the Russian army invaded the area. Finland then became a relatively autonomous part of the Russian empire, the Grand Duchy of Finland (Vahtola 2003). After this time, Russian military forces were stationed in Finland, and the number of Russian speakers increased considerably (Moin et al. 2013, p. 55). However, the autonomy allowed the Swedish

language to remain in education and administration (Heikkilä 2011).

In 1863, during Russian rule, the Finnish national movement achieved an official status for the Finnish language in administration and the courts (Jarva 2008; Heikkilä 2011). As a result of the 1863 language regulation, some Swedish speakers then sent their children to Finnish medium education despite not mastering the language themselves; others wanted to keep Swedish as the only national language of Finland. The struggle was called kielitaistelu (Fi) [2] språkkampen (Sv) (the language strife) (Jarva 2008).

In the 1870s, Finnish-speaking workers started settling in the peripheries of the capital, but the elite were predominantly Swedish speakers (Jarva 2008). Even today, finlandssvenskar (Sv), or Finland's Swedish speakers (see Appendix A), have a reputation of being svenska talande bättre folk (Sv) (Swedish-speaking better people). They are thought to be more successful in the labour market and earn more than the Finnish-speaking Finns (Heikkilä 2011, pp. 3-4). In reality, the Swedish Finns today are a very heterogeneous group (Heikkilä 2011), much like the Finnish speakers, consisting of people from different scales of income and backgrounds. However, some negative attitudes towards the minority—reflected in in the accounts of some Swedish-speaking parents—still exist today (Polanowska 2015). A report called Mikä suomenruotsalaisissa ärsyttää? (Fi) (What annoys us in the Finnish Swedes?) (Saukkonen 2011) concludes that some Finnish speakers feel that the minority group are segregated, privileged upper-class people who despise the majority language speakers.

In the late nineteenth century, the number and percentage of Finnish speakers started increasing rapidly. As a reaction to that, several organisations promoting the Swedish language were established (see Appendix B for more information). Svenska folkskolans vänner (Sv) (Friends of the Swedish public school) was set up in 1882 to cater for basic schooling and libraries and to publish educational books for the Swedish-speaking population (Heikkilä 2011). As presented in Table 1 below, several organisations, which are still in operation, followed.

[2] ISO 639-1 two-letter codes are used for the languages throughout this thesis (see Table 5)

Organisation	Year of establishment
The society of Swedish Literature in Finland *Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland (Sv)*	1885
Friends of work *Arbetets Vänner (Sv)*	1897
The Swedish Cultural Foundation in Finland *Svenska kulturfonden (Sv)*	1908
The political party Swedish People's Party of Finland *Svenska folkpartiet i Finland (Sv)*	1906

Table 1 Organisations promoting the Swedish language in Finland
(Heikkilä 2011)

In December 1917, Finland gained its independence from Russia. By then, the Swedish elite had lost its authority in Finnish society (Jarva 2008). The newly independent Finnish government set both Finnish and Swedish as the country's official languages in its 1919 constitution (Heikkilä 2011).

Finland joining the European Union in 1995 did not manifest immediately in the immigration figures and linguistic diversity. Labour migration only took hold in the new millennium as the movement between the EU member states became more widespread. Since the 2010s, a rapidly increasing number of people speaking foreign languages have arrived in Finland (Portin 2017). The immigrants come from a diverse selection of countries; currently, 160 languages have been registered as being spoken in Finland (Tainio et al. 2019).

The population of Finland at the end of 2021 stood at 5,548,241 people. In one year, the number of people speaking Finnish, Swedish, or Sámi had decreased by 10,747. In contrast, the number of foreign-language speakers in the country grew by 26,195, which is the highest number recorded (Tilastokeskus 2022b). Half of the foreign language speakers live in the capital city area (Tainio et al. 2022).

1.2.2 The current linguistic situation in Helsinki

Helsinki's population trebled between 1879 and 1914 from 61,000 to 170,000, primarily due

to the migration of the Finnish-speaking working-class population. At the very beginning of the 20th century the population of the capital stood at 100,000—with an equal number of Swedish-speaking and Finnish-speaking residents—before the Finnish-speaking citizens started to dominate (Jarva 2008).

Figure 1, below, shows the population growth of different language groups in the capital city area consisting of the cities of Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa, and Kauniainen as well as ten peripheries: Hyvinkää, Järvenpää, Kerava, Kirkkonummi, Mäntsälä, Nurmijärvi, Pornainen, Sipoo, Tuusula, and Vihti. The group representing all foreign language speakers has overtaken the Swedish-speaking population. In 1950, 79.7% of the Helsinki population were Finnish speakers, 19.2% were Swedish speakers, and 1.1% were foreign language speakers. In December 2021, 77% were Finnish speakers, 5.6% were Swedish speakers, and 17.3% spoke a foreign language (Tilastokeskus 2022a).

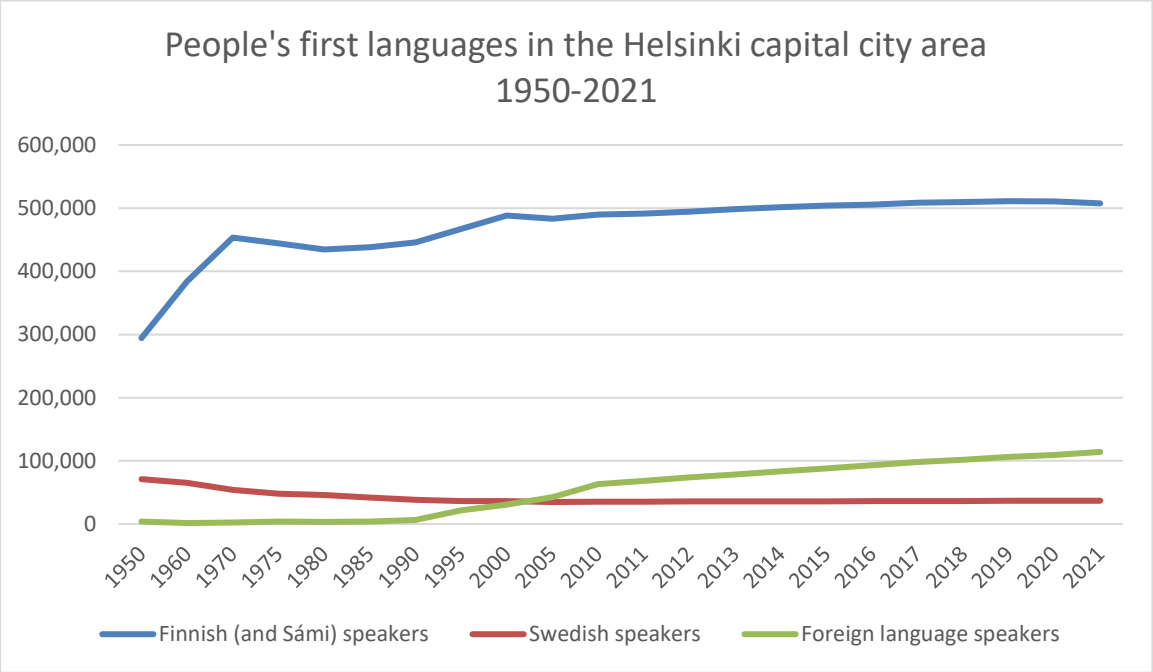

Figure 1 People's first languages in the Helsinki capital city area 1950-2021
(Tilastokeskus 2019,2022a)

The decline of Swedish speakers is a result of bilingual marriages, non-transmission of Swedish in families where only one parent is a Swedish speaker, low birth rates, and migration (Heikkilä 2011; Polanowska 2015). Obućina and Saarela (2020) looked at interethnic children in Finland born between 1988 and 2014 to couples where one parent was a Swedish speaker and one a Finnish speaker. They found that around 60% of first

children were affiliated with the Swedish-speaking minority, and there was a strong connection between parental education level and the likelihood of the first-born speaking Swedish. This suggests that the non-transmission of Swedish in interethnic couples could be one of the primary reasons for the gradual decline of the Swedish-speaking minority.

However, it is worth pointing out that only one language can be declared as the first language in the Finnish population register väestötietojärjestelmä (Fi). The register was initially introduced to establish Swedish and Finnish speakers in municipalities or local authorities to provide bilingual services (Palviainen and Bergroth 2018, pp. 263, 264). It does not allow those who speak two or more languages as home languages to register them, although you can change the mother tongue at any point. It also does not allow registering the linguistic level of the mother tongue. Therefore second-generation immigrants or bilinguals are not visible in these statistics, and neither are asylum seekers—for instance, in 2015, a record-high number of 32,476 people sought asylum in Finland (Portin 2017), which is not visible in the population register data. The 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine raised the numbers considerably (Sisäministeriö 2022), and the previous record was broken in 2022 as over 40,000 Ukrainians fleeing the invasion were granted temporary protection in Finland (Korpela 2023). Virtually all finlandssvenskar (Sv) are bilingual, and most speak Finnish at a near-native level (Jarva 2008). In the 1970s, parents tended to register the bilinguals as Finnish speakers, but in the new millennium, parents prefer to register Swedish as their child's first language (Heikkilä 2011). All this means that the population register is not necessarily a reliable source to give exact numbers of different language groups in Finland.

School and early education are where the phenomenon of newly arrived foreign language speakers can be primarily observed. The number of pupils in Helsinki speaking a foreign language grew by a third in the 2010s; now a quarter of pupils in Helsinki are registered as foreign language speakers. Linguistic diversity has been rapidly increasing among all early education children (Paavola 2017), and schools have had to adjust quickly to accommodate the new generation of foreign-born pupils.

1.2.3 Languages in education in Helsinki

1.2.3.1 Early education and care

Language education in Finland starts with early childhood education and care (ECEC) before the pre-school age of six. The Finnish ECEC is based on an integrated approach to care, education, and teaching, the so-called “educare” model, where learning through play is essential (Opetushallitus 2019). ECEC is guided by the national regulation issued by the Finnish National Agency for Education called Varhaiskasvatussuunnitelman perusteet (Fi) (the National Core Curriculum for Early Childhood Education and Care) (Opetushallitus 2014,2016,2018,2022). Within this, a conscious decision has been made regarding an education policy promoting multilingual skills and identities (Palviainen and Bergroth 2018, p. 262). The Core Curriculum is the basis for preparing local early childhood education and care curricula. The newest (2022) version acknowledges linguistic diversity and supports children's cultural identity and self-respect in a culturally changing society. It also stresses that cultural diversity is considered an asset, and the right to one’s own language, culture, religion, and belief is a basic right. Also, the Finnish Early Education Law (Oikeusministeriö 2018) promotes respect for other languages, cultures, and equal opportunities for all children (Opetus- ja kulttuuriministeriö 2018) (see Appendix C).

A government study (Tainio et al. 2019) found that specialist teachers were a central resource in early education to plan and carry out language instruction. Pupils who have not registered as speakers of the official languages of the country can choose to learn them as a second language. About half of early education organisers felt that Finnish and Swedish as a second language needed more resources; in most of the 309 Finnish municipalities, this teaching was only carried out by visiting special education teachers. Home language maintenance was mainly the responsibility of homes. Parents were primarily supported with discussions with educators regarding how a strong home language supports overall language learning (Tainio et al. 2019, p. 184).

1.2.3.2 Formal schooling

Free, compulsory, part-time pre-primary education is organised in day-care centres and schools (Opetushallitus 2019) for children aged five and six. Compulsory basic education

begins in the year a child turns seven. In 2021 the school leaving age was raised to 18, or the end of completion of education. Every pupil is allocated a place in a nearby school, but they can also choose another school, with some restrictions. All schools draw up their own curricula within the framework of the national core curriculum (Oikeusministeriö 1998). The basic education act states that the language of instruction in Finnish schools can be Finnish, Swedish, Sámi, Roma, or sign language reflecting a pupil's native language (Oikeusministeriö 1998).

Multilingualism is widely recognised as prestigious, and parents tend to favour schools with several languages of instruction (Moin et al. 2013, p. 54). In Helsinki, there are 15 Swedish medium and 89 Finnish medium schools for pupils aged 7-16 (Takala 2022). In addition to that, some state owned and private schools provide bilingual instruction including Englantilainen koulu (Fi) (the English School); Helsingin eurooppalainen koulu (Fi) (the European School of Helsinki); Helsingin ranskalais-suomalainen koulu (Fi) Le Lycée franco-finlandais d'Helsinki (Fr) (the French-Finnish school of Helsinki); Deutsche Schule Helsinki (Ge) (the German School of Helsinki); the International School of Helsinki; and Suomalais-venäläinen koulu (Fi) Финско-русская школа (Ru) (the Finnish-Russian School) (Helsingin kaupunki 2021). Kielikylpy (Fi) (language bath), where at least half of the instruction is in Swedish, is provided by 11 Helsinki schools and 12 nurseries (Bergroth 2015; Sydkustens landskapförbund r.f. 2019).

Since the 1970s, immigrants' home language tuition has been organised through schools at a national level. At first it was just refugee children who were provided with home language tuition and in 1987 the Finnish Ministry of Education included all immigrant children. By 1993 altogether 2,870 pupils were taught 35 different languages. At the time the teaching was a part of the curriculum alongside the national languages of the country. The rise has been steady: in 2005, 10,907 pupils were taught 49 languages in Finland (Ikonen 2007; Latomaa 2007). Russian, Arabic, Estonian, and English were the largest language groups presented. Now the pupils who have acquired another mother tongue at home, and children who may have learned a language while living abroad, also have the right to home language instruction (Hautakoski and Salin 2018; Jenu 2019). In Helsinki, sign language is also taught as a home language (Jenu 2019). In September 2022, the city of Helsinki offered home language instruction in 48 languages in 307 different groups (Takala 2022). A group

can be set up if there are at least 8 pupils studying the language (Jenu 2019). Some minority language instruction is therefore not organised due to small group sizes. There has been, for instance no Welsh home language instruction although there were at least four Welsh speaking pupils living in Helsinki in 2021-2022.

1.2.3.3 Swedish or Finnish as a second language

Instruction preparing for basic education, perusopetukseen valmistava opetus (Fi), involves teaching a pupil during the first year after immigration. It also aims to promote and support pupils' mother tongues and knowledge of their culture. Pupils that have reached the targets to move to mainstream education before reaching the allocated hours can join their peers in class earlier. In September 2022, there were 817 pupils taking part in preparatory instruction in Helsinki and 70 pupils in pre-primary education (Salo 2022). Some children are placed directly in basic education with other pupils. This is often the case if the new arrival is a single case, in Swedish medium education, or in Northern Finland (Tainio et al. 2019).

Most schools in Finland have their own Finnish as a second language teacher or a visiting teacher. Swedish as a second language instruction for those that do not speak it as a first language is organised mainly in Åland, western, and central Finland (Tainio et al. 2019).

1.2.3.4 Modern foreign language (MFL) instruction

The new regulations from 2020 set the first foreign language to start in the first school year when children are six or seven. The second language can be chosen in the 4th or 5th grade at age 10 or 11. In the 6th grade (age 12-13), a compulsory language which is either Swedish or Finnish, is carried on until the end of compulsory education. The historical language issue is occasionally raised when the term with a negative connotation, Pakkoruotsi (Fi), mandatory Swedish taught in Finnish schools, is under discussion in the parliament. The recent increasing support for the populist and nationalist party Perussuomalaiset (Fi) True Finns Party among Finnish speakers, has resulted in abolishing Swedish as a mandatory school subject for Finnish-speaking pupils at the matriculation exams at the end of compulsory education (Polanowska 2015). An optional language can also be selected in the 7th or 8th grade (Grönholm 2019) at the age of 13 or 14. The choice in the capital city area is more comprehensive than in some rural areas: German, English, Russian, French, Spanish, or Chinese can be chosen as MFL (Grönholm 2019).

1.2.4 The historical context of Wales

From the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the influence of English in Wales increased and has continued to impact the Welsh language (Jones and Lewis 2019, p. 97) to this day. The translation of the Bible into Welsh in 1588 on the orders of the English Crown in an attempt to integrate Wales into Greater England (Brooks 2017 p.36) has been said to have saved the Welsh language from extinction (Jones and Jones 2014). In the nineteenth century, the Welsh language and Welsh Christianity still seemed to promote each other (Jones 2013).

Following The Acts of Union of 1536 and 1542, English became the language of the law, education, and administration in Wales, thus damaging the public status of Welsh (Jones and Jones 2014; Durham and Morris 2016, p. 7; Jones and Lewis 2019). However, Welsh remained an important means of communication and was integral to the collective identity of the Welsh people (Jones and Lewis 2019, p. 98).

The first official Census in 1801 registered 587,000 people in Wales (Davies 2014). According to estimates at the time most of the population were monolingual Welsh speakers (Jones and Lewis 2019, p. 98). In 1891 the Welsh language was included in the Census for the first time and 910,289 Welsh speakers over the age of two were counted—of which over half a million were monoglots (Davies 2014, p. 56). The number of Welsh speakers peaked at almost one million (977,366) in 1911 (Jones 2012). However, while the number of Welsh speakers rose as a result of the demographic explosion during the 19th and early 20th century which saw the population of Wales increase from 601,767 to 2,442,041 between 1801 and 1911, the percentage of Welsh speakers fell from 80-95% to 43.5% (Jones and Lewis 2019, p. 99). The decline of Welsh speakers continued throughout the twentieth century as English became the dominant language of Wales (Bermingham and Higham 2018); the last Welsh-speaking monoglots were recorded in the 1970s and 1980s (Brooks 2017 p.45).

Several unprecedented social, economic, and demographic changes resulted in English becoming the most widely spoken language (Durham and Morris 2016, p. 4; Jones and Lewis 2019, p. 99). Language shift from Welsh to English saw a sudden demolinguistic change in Y Fro Gymraeg (Cy), or the heartland area in the West, during 1961-1991, which had traditionally been a major Welsh-speaking area (Jones and Lewis 2019, pp. 106, 108). Mass migration re-distributed Welsh people, moving towards new industrial urban centres in

search of work, and flows of English-born migrants relocated to Welsh-speaking areas (Jones and Jones 2014, p. 6; Carlin and Mac Giolla Chríost 2016, p. 97). Other factors contributing to the declining number of Welsh speakers were: perceptions of the usefulness of the language, low prestige and links with notions of backwardness and poverty (Jones and Jones 2014, p. 6; Durham and Morris 2016, p. 8; Jones and Lewis 2019, pp. 99, 103); the increased popularity of Anglo-American culture through film, radio, and television (Jones and Jones 2014, p. 6; Jones and Lewis 2019, p. 108); lack of support and often active discouragement within the education system; a general secularisation of society and decline of Welsh medium chapel attendance (Jones and Jones 2014, p. 6); the economic collapse of the inter-war years; the loss of life from the First World War among young Welsh speakers; and an ageing Welsh-speaking population which resulted from non-transmission of Welsh to younger generations (Jones and Lewis 2019, pp. 104, 105).

1.2.4.1 Welsh language revitalisation efforts from the 20th century onwards

There have been conscious efforts to reverse the language shift in the last century (Durham and Morris 2016, p. 9). In 1907 the Westminster government established a Welsh Department within the central board of education. Several reports highlighted the desirability of increasing Welsh, and the central government did not object (Jones and Lewis 2019, p. 125). However, efforts to promote Welsh were left largely to local education authorities (LEAs) and individual head teachers' discretion—people who often had hostile attitudes towards the language (Jones and Lewis 2019, p. 125). The first half of the 20th century saw the first language revitalisation efforts when a number of cultural societies including the 1913 Undeb Cenedlaethol y Cymdeithasau Cymraeg (Cy) (National Union of Welsh Societies) and the 1922 Welsh League of Youth, Urdd Gobaith Cymru (Jones and Lewis 2019, p. 124) were established. Welsh language campaigners from the Welsh Language Petition Committee set up in 1938 collected 360,000 signatures supporting the official status of the language. Thirty of the thirty-six Welsh MPs supported the petition. The Welsh Courts Act was passed in 1942 allowing Welsh to be used in any court in Wales. It was the first piece of legislation granting public recognition to the Welsh language and it served to revoke some of the language clauses of the 1536 Act of Union. Post-war social and economic challenges slowed down language revitalisation in the 1940s and 1950s (Jones and Lewis 2019, p. 126).

In February 1962, former right-wing nationalist party (Brooks 2017 p.120) Plaid Cymru president and author Saunders Lewis delivered a historic radio lecture Tynged yr Iaith (Cy) (The Fate of the Language), warning that the Welsh language would disappear unless action was taken. The lecture has been considered the first event of the more intense revitalisation that commenced during the 1960s. The lecture kickstarted modern Welsh language activism (Brooks 2017, p. 5; Jones and Lewis 2019, p. 126), which saw the formation of pressure groups, the most significant being Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg (Cy) (the Welsh Language Society) in 1962, which carried out radical campaigning (Davies 2014, p. 72). The establishment of the Welsh office in the UK government followed in 1965. The Welsh Language Act of 1967 acknowledged the equal status of the Welsh and English languages but did not place a duty on public bodies to use Welsh or provide Welsh medium services (Jones and Lewis 2019, p. 128). Welsh medium radio BBC Radio Cymru first broadcast in 1977, and after remarkable campaigning, Sianel Pedwar Cymru (S4C) was launched in 1982 (Jones and Lewis 2019, pp. 128-129).

At the end of the 20th century, two events increased the number of Welsh speakers: the growth of the Welsh medium education sector in the 1970s and the introduction of the Welsh Education Act of 1988 (Jones and Lewis 2019, pp. 110-111, 129), which made Welsh one of the compulsory core subjects of the National Curriculum in Wales (Jones and Jones 2014). Welsh medium provision now exists from nursery up to postgraduate education, and higher education has been strengthened with the establishment of Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol (Cy), providing funding, courses, and training at Welsh universities (Durham and Morris 2016, p. 10). The Welsh Language Act of 1993 transformed the role of Welsh in public administration across Wales. It led to a drastic rise in the status of Welsh across the public sector despite campaigners feeling it fell short of expectations, much like the previous acts (Jones and Lewis 2019, p. 130).

A gradually more planned approach to language revitalisation emerged in Wales following the establishment of two institutions (Jones and Lewis 2019, p. 96): the Welsh Language Board in 1993 and the National Assembly for Wales in 1999. The former was abolished in 2012 following the approval of the Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011 (Welsh Government 2023), which initially had roughly the same powers as the Welsh Office (Carlin and Mac Giolla Chriost 2017 p.102). Full law-making powers were gradually transferred to

the National Assembly for Wales following the 2011 referendum (Carlin and Mac Giolla Chríost 2016, p. 102); Wales has gained legislative autonomy over a significant range of policy areas despite not having full economic autonomy (Cole and Stafford 2014 p.134). The Welsh language (Wales) measure 2011 (Appendix C) created the role of the Welsh Language Commissioner, and granted the official status of the Welsh language in Wales (Carlin and Mac Giolla Chríost 2016, p. 94; Durham and Morris 2016, p. 4). The formation of the two institutions created additional employment opportunities around Cardiff drawing younger Welsh speakers to the capital city. In addition to this, the existence of the National Museum (officially opened in 1927) and the St Fagans Natural History Museum, Sain Ffagan Amgueddfa Werin Cymru (Cy) (opened in 1948), further created opportunities for Welsh speakers in the city (Aitchison and Carter 1987, pp. 489-490).

The 2001 Census recorded the first increase in a century (Thomas and Williams 2013 p. 34) in the percentage of Welsh speakers across the whole of Wales up to 20.8% from 18.7% in the previous 1991 Census. The number of Welsh speakers also rose for the first time in a century from 508,098 to 582,368. However, the Census in 2011 saw a fall back to 19% and 562,000 people, and again in 2021, the percentage fell to 17.8% and 538,300 Welsh speakers. The factors driving these changes were similar to those identified during earlier decades: continued in-migration of non-Welsh speakers, primarily from England, and out-migration of a young, socially mobile, Welsh-speaking generation of working-age people (Jones 2010; Bermingham and Higham 2018; Jones and Lewis 2019). The decrease in the percentage and number of Welsh speakers in the 2021 Census could be explained by the reporting of the low number of children and young people aged 3 to 15 years who were able to speak Welsh (Office For National Statistics 2022c).

The growth of the Welsh language is dependent to a large extent on the growth of Welsh medium education (Jones 2010; The Welsh Language Commissioner 2017), rather than intergenerational transmission among family members (Jones 2010; Jones and Lewis 2019, p. 115). According to the chief statistician for the Welsh Government, the decreased number of children and young people reported as being able to speak Welsh could be due to the coronavirus pandemic. Periods of lockdown, remote learning for children, and many people working from home impacted how people reported their own Welsh language ability and their children's Welsh language ability (Howarth 2022).

There have been several official Welsh Government[3] strategy documents promoting the Welsh language. Iaith Pawb (2003) had a target of increasing the proportion of Welsh speakers through initiatives of intergenerational language transmission, early years education, social use of language in the community and the link between language use, and economic development (Jones and Lewis 2019, pp. 132-133). A Living Language: A Language for Living (2012) set targets until 2017. The Welsh Medium Education Strategy (2010) sought to respond to the growing demand for Welsh medium education. The most recent document, Cymraeg 2050 (2017b), aims to increase the number of Welsh speakers to one million by 2050.

1.2.5 The current linguistic situation in Cardiff

Cardiff has a long history of immigration. The 1911 Census registered a large immigrant population from England and overseas in Cardiff as seafarers and people travelling in search of work arrived in the city. New Cardiff residents came from places including Somalia, Yemen, West Africa, the West Indies, India, China, Scandinavia, Spain, Greece, Malta, and Ireland (Rock and Hallak 2017, p. 278). The small village of just over a thousand people in 1801 grew to an urban centre of 128,000 residents by 1901, gaining city status in 1905 (Rock and Hallak 2017). The 1990s saw an increasing influx of immigrants to the whole of the UK through various migration channels and statuses. These included workers, students, spouses and family members, asylum seekers and refugees, undocumented migrants and new citizens, or those that were granted British citizenship (Vertovec 2007, pp. 1036-1039). Since the late 1980s, and in particular, since Wales became a devolved nation in 1999, Cardiff has experienced social and cultural transformation (Goncalves 2016, p. 7). It is considered Britain's fastest-growing major city behind London (Cardiff Council 2022, p. 6).

Cardiff and its surroundings went through “a quiet middle-class revolution” that had profound consequences for the future of the Welsh language; speaking Welsh was essential for high-status jobs, “pulling upwardly mobile, city-seeking Welsh speakers” (Aitchison and Carter 1987, p. 492). There was a significant rise in Welsh speakers in the capital city area between 1991 and 2001 (Jones and Lewis 2019, p. 96) and since then the number has been

[3] The Welsh Assembly Government was renamed the Welsh Government in 2011 by practice and by law in 2014.

steadily rising, as can be observed in Figure 2.

Figure 2, below, shows the number of Welsh speakers in Wales and its capital city. In the 2011 Census, in total 11.1% of Cardiff residents were registered as Welsh speakers; the Annual Population Survey (APS) registered 18.5% of Cardiff residents as Welsh speakers. The most recent APS data from 2021 estimated there to be 22.4% Welsh-speaking Cardiff residents and the 2021 Census indicated 12.2% of Cardiff residents as Welsh speakers. The type of survey can explain the differences between the two statistics. Census questions may be misinterpreted, and people's view of their own skills can be subjective. In contrast, the APS has an interviewer assisting the respondents, which may also lead to a more socially desirable response (Jones 2019). Since the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic in March 2020, the APS survey has been carried out by telephone, which may also affect the survey results (StatsWales 2022a).

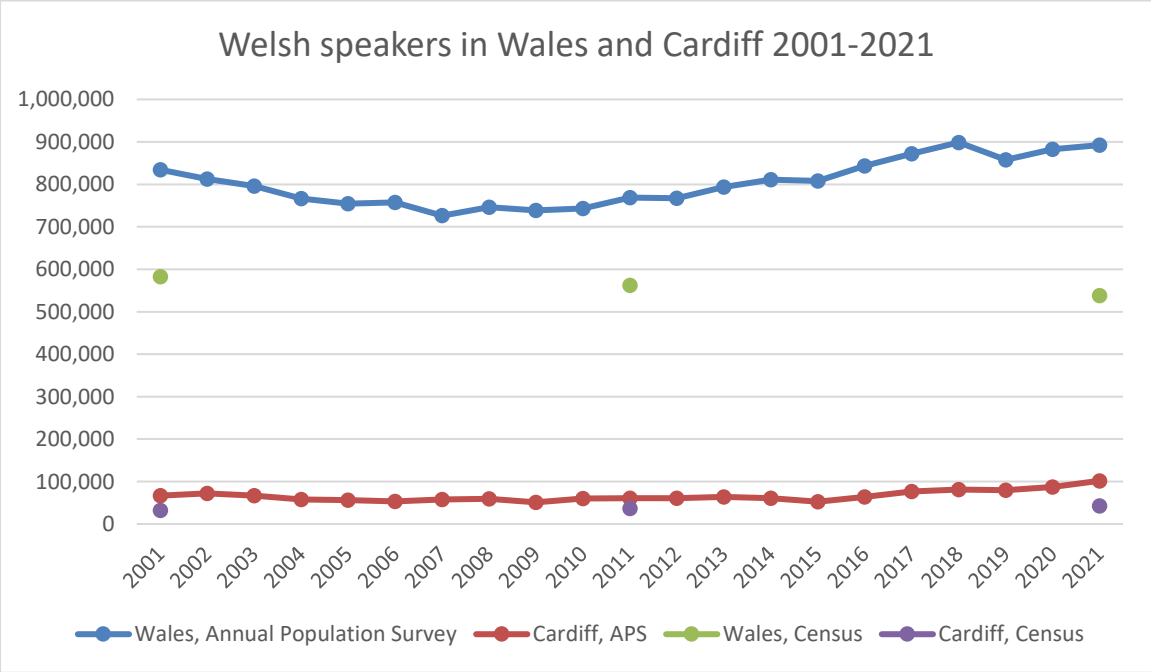

Figure 2 Welsh speakers in Wales and Cardiff 2001-2021

(StatsWales 2019b,2022a)

Cardiff's foreign background population differs from the general population of Wales. The largest groups of foreign background Cardiff residents came from India (5,147 people or 1.4% of Cardiff population), Pakistan (3,316 or 0.9% of Cardiff population), Poland (3,288), Bangladesh (2,859), China (2,505), Italy (1,679), Somalia (1,624), Iraq (1,591), Ireland (1,576), Romania (1,563), Nigeria (1,366), and Germany (1,348). In 2011, the largest foreign-

born groups were India, Pakistan, Poland, Bangladesh, China, Somalia, and Germany (Office For National Statistics 2022a).

Cardiff set a five-year Bilingual Cardiff strategy for 2017-2022 in line with Welsh Government's Cymraeg 2050 vision. It aims to double the number of Welsh speakers in Cardiff by 2050 by working in three sectors: families, children, and young people; community and infrastructure; and Welsh language services and the workplace. One of its delivery partners, Menter Caerdydd, established in 1998, is a charity promoting the use of Welsh across the city by organising training opportunities, the Welsh language festival Tafwyl, weekly children's clubs, workshops, and care plans as well as activities for learners and families (Cardiff Council 2022, pp. 25-33). It has had a lead role in promoting the benefits of transferring the Welsh language within the family and giving children and young people the opportunity to grow into bilingual adults.

1.2.6 Languages in education in Cardiff

1.2.6.1 Early education and care

Childcare for under three-year-olds is largely organised by independent care providers. In 2021, there were altogether 674 settings in Cardiff for childcare with 12,468 places (StatsWales 2019a). These consisted of childminders, full-day, or sessional day-care providers, out-of-school care, crèches, and open-access play provisions. All childminders, nurseries and after-school clubs are regulated and inspected by the Care Inspectorate Wales (Arolygiaeth Gofal Cymru/Care Inspectorate Wales 2022). All Welsh children are entitled to free part-time Foundation Phase education place in a school, nursery, playgroup, or with a registered childminder in the term following their third birthday until admission to a school for full-time compulsory education (Welsh Government 2017a). Some schools admit pupils before the statutory age (Jones and Jones 2014). Similar to the Finnish recommendation National Core Curriculum for Early Childhood Education and Care, the Foundation Phase curriculum (Welsh Assembly Government 2008) also mentions the diversity of languages and cultures in Wales (see Appendix C Legislative support for language rights). The implementation of the new Curriculum for Wales for 3-16-year-olds, rolled out between 2022 and 2026, introduced plurilingualism to Welsh schools (Welsh Government 2022).[4]

[4] The fieldwork for this study was conducted prior to the emergence of the new curriculum.

Although plurilingualism is a new term in the new curriculum, Arfon (2023) argues that the pedagogy is, in fact, not new to the education system in Wales; since 2005 the Welsh Government has encouraged triple literacy approaches (see Welsh Government 2011) to language learning invoving English, Welsh, and International Languages.[5]

1.2.6.2 Formal schooling

Free compulsory school education in Wales lasts from age five until age 16.

The campaigning of parents, teachers, political leaders, and activists led to the establishment of Ysgolion Cymraeg (Cy) Welsh medium schools (Thomas and Williams 2013 p. 3, 12). In the 1930s, the only Welsh schools (that also taught through the medium of English to some extent) existed in Gwynedd, Dyfed, rural Montgomeryshire, and the Swansea valley (Thomas and Williams 2013 p. 211). The first modern Welsh School, Ysgol Gymraeg Aberystwyth, was founded in September 1939 (Baker 2010, p. 61; Thomas and Williams 2013, pp. 27-28). Following the Education Act of 1944 stating that children should be educated according to parents' wishes (Thomas and Williams 2013; Jones and Jones 2014, p. 212), the first LEA Welsh medium primary school Dewi Sant in Llanelli, opened its doors in 1947 (Welsh Assembly Government 2010, p. 212; Thomas and Williams 2013) and the first Welsh school in Cardiff established by the LEA opened in 1949 (Thomas and Williams 2013 p. 27). In the 1950s, parent-led local campaigns led to the founding of more Welsh medium schools; also some English-speaking parents sent their children to these schools (Davies 2014, p. 80). Still, most schools were English-medium in the 1960s and about half of the pupils had no exposure to Welsh at school (Jones and Lewis 2019, p. 129). The number of pupils taught in Welsh medium schools in Cardiff has nearly doubled in the last decade from 3,714 pupils in 2003/2004 to 6,864 in 2021/2022 (StatsWales 2022b). The parent-led campaigning has continued: the re-establishment of a new large Welsh medium primary school, Ysgol Treganna, announced in 2011, was the result of parents exercising their power and influence on Cardiff Council authorities (Thomas and Williams 2013 p. 19).

The number of Welsh medium schools has been growing steadily in Cardiff (Thomas and Williams 2013, pp. 28-31). There are now seventeen Welsh medium primary schools and

[5] International Languages is a new term in the curriculum, replacing Modern foreign languages (MFL).

three Welsh medium secondary schools in Cardiff (Cardiff Council 2019). All Welsh medium schools are state schools, and the opinion of several educational observers is that the standard of these schools in terms of teaching and achievement is high (Thomas and Williams 2013 p. 27, 60). Parents wanting their children to learn through the medium of English can choose from 82 English medium primary schools and 15 secondary schools across the city (Welsh Government 2020b).

1.2.6.3 English or Welsh as a second language and heritage language groups

All schools have Welsh or English language support available for newcomers that depend on the needs of the child and the expertise within the school. Some schools have bespoke provisions for new arrivals; others offer support within mainstream classes. Over 20 language centres across Wales offer language courses for latecomers to the Welsh language and other immersion provision is provided in some areas (Jones and Jones 2014). Late immersion education is available in most local authorities and to anyone new to the area or who wishes to change the medium of education to Welsh after age seven (Young 2022). Cardiff Council has both a primary and secondary Welsh Immersion Unit offering intensive Welsh language learning enabling children to gain a level of fluency to transfer to education in a Welsh-medium School (Cardiff Council 2019).

Promoting multilingualism or heritage languages is mostly taken at the level of schools, voluntary or community organisations, and parents rather than at a national policy level. The organisations receive no funding from the Welsh Government, but some receive funding from other countries. For instance, the Finnish Saturday School in Cardiff receives funding from the Finnish Ministry of Education. Complementary Finnish schools are a network of 130 schools worldwide (Pankakoski 2020). Several other community language groups exist within Cardiff including The Learning Pond that has Russian, Italian, Mandarin, French, Spanish, and German supplementary classes; Nuestra Escuela Cardiff (Es) (Our Cardiff School); La Petite École de Cardiff (Fr) (the little Cardiff School); the Hungarian School; the Cardiff Chinese Church School; the Italian Cultural Centre Wales; and the Polish Saturday School. These groups organise language maintenance classes for children, language tuition, and cultural events.

1.2.6.4 MFL instruction

In 1993 Welsh became a compulsory subject for all pupils aged 5-16 in Wales in both English and Welsh medium schools (Jones and Jones 2014).

Like elsewhere in the UK, there has been a decline in GCSE and A-Level MFL uptake in Wales. According to a British Council report (2018), the number of Welsh school children choosing to study international languages continues to decline, with Brexit having a considerable negative impact on attitudes to language learning. French, German, and Spanish A-level entries have halved since 2001. MFL are perceived as more difficult than other subjects and less prestigious than STEM subjects (science, technology, engineering, maths). There has also been a reduction in subject choices to make room for the Welsh Baccalaureate (Tinsley 2018). There is an option to take GCSE in particular home languages, such as Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, Gujarati, Panjabi, Turkish, Polish, Portuguese, and Urdu (Vidal Rodeiro 2009).

The Welsh Government steering group Global Futures (Welsh Government 2020a) works to increase the number of young people choosing to study MFL subjects, improve MFL teaching and learning, raise awareness, and provide guidance. Despite Welsh government language promotion strategies, there is no mention of heritage languages, suggesting Welsh language policy only promotes a selection of languages; namely Welsh and MFL in schools, and some children with the potential to speak languages other than the select few above are prevented from gaining provision or GCSE qualifications in them (Arfon 2019, pp. 5, 65).

1.2.7 Summary

This chapter has demonstrated that the capital city areas of both Wales and Finland have vibrant minority language communities and comparable autochthonous minority language groups. The rapid demographic growth of the 19th and early 20th century, the in-migration of majority language (Finnish or English) speakers and more recent waves of immigration changed the linguistic landscape of both cities. Superdiversity, or the demographic changes and migration from diverse areas, for different reasons, has shaped both countries' populations. Both Helsinki and Cardiff have transformed into superdiverse spaces in a relatively short period of time, thus consisting of a large variety of minority language communities and individuals. At the same time, a decrease of transmission of the official

minority languages (Swedish or Welsh) occurred in both areas. Both governments offer extensive support for autochthonous minority language speakers. Swedish and Welsh medium education is equally well established. Spolsky (2012) argues that the school is indeed a powerful institution influencing language development as there is a need for everyone to speak the language of instruction (see 2.5.5 below for language learning outside the home and 5.2.6 below for school language as a parental language strategy). Both capital city areas have a relatively large percentage of autochthonous minority language schools.

Formal MFL instruction in Helsinki starts at age six or seven, whereas most pupils in Cardiff will learn a foreign language at age ten or eleven. However, in Wales, all children are introduced to Welsh from the start whereas in Finland some pupils will only begin learning the second official language of the country at the age of 12.

Both capital city areas have a fast-growing group of foreign language speakers whose heritage languages are promoted to a certain degree at a national, municipal, or local level, resulting in considerably different outcomes for the language repertoires of young speakers. Both the Finnish National Core Curriculum for Early Childhood Education and Care, and the Welsh Foundation Phase specifically recommend the promotion of multilingual children's languages, identity, and self-esteem. Research funded by the Finnish Government (2019) found that Finnish schools and other educational institutions, including teacher education, have not been fully able to adapt to the situation of new arrivals. Only about half of those that receive Finnish or Swedish as a second language tuition in Finland are also studying their first language. In Wales, this figure is probably a fraction of that as there is no nationwide home language instruction policy. In other words, children in the case-study families who speak a widely-spoken foreign language, such as Russian or English receive considerable heritage language support in Helsinki. This has been left largely to the community groups in Cardiff.

The two minority language speaker groups have very distinct characteristics. Davies (2014, pp. 105-108) points out that Swedish has a full status in neighbouring Sweden whereas Welsh—like Catalan, Basque, Irish, or Scots—is not a majority language anywhere else. It is also crucial to consider that the basis and change of status of the two now minority languages are very different. Thanks to vigorous Welsh revitalisation efforts the language is

still very much in use today; English did not replace it over time. In contrast, during the Swedish rule Finnish, now a majority language, was once considered inferior—like Welsh.

1.3 Research aims and questions

In light of the above information, this thesis attempts to discover the perceptions and experiences of multilingual family members by focusing on the following research questions:

i. *How do parents of potentially multilingual children describe their language ideologies?*

ii. *What are the parents' self-reported language strategies, and what are the parental experiences of implementing these strategies?*

iii. *How do parents perceive their experiences of raising multilingual children; and to what extent are these experiences shaped by their local community?*

iv. *What are the multilingual children's own perceptions of becoming and being multilingual?*

1.4 Thesis structure

This thesis consists of eight chapters. This first chapter has provided a sociolinguistic and demolinguistic context to the study. It was found that despite differing histories, language policies, and linguistic trajectories, the two officially bilingual countries' superdiverse (Vertovec 2007) capital cities have similarities. They now have comparable population structures: a large majority language population, a smaller official minority language population, and a growing foreign language population. This creates a good basis to study the two areas' multilingual families.

Chapter two offers definitions of key terms and reviews literature focusing on multilingual language transmission in the home. It was found that most studies looking at multilingual children concentrate on linguistic development or are individual case studies; few investigations of two areas or multiple case studies were detected. This shows a gap in the field: a study examining the sociolinguistic impact and adding multiple multilingual case study families, from a variety of language communities is warranted. FLP was chosen as the primary theoretical framework of this study because it looks at the families, their

perceptions, experiences, and ideologies; thus, it is the most suitable framework to answer the research questions above.

After having reviewed the literature, I detail my research methods in Chapter three. It shows how this research project is a qualitative study, using interviews as primary data, and observations and self-administered online questionnaires as secondary data. I provide an explanation and justification of each research method, demonstrating that triangulation enhanced the reliability and validity of the results. The chapter shows how the themes developed over time from both top-down and bottom-up approaches (looking at previous research and interview data separately), resulting in rich and varied data.

The results and findings of the study are discussed in Chapters four, five, six, and seven. The first three present data analysis based on the parental interviews, and Chapter seven reveals results drawn from the interviews with children. Chapter four provides an overview of parental language ideologies, or why and how parents want to raise multilingual children. Chapter five explores parental language strategy use. All families had implemented a variety of methods to support children's multilinguality. Chapter six identifies the parental experiences of multilingual families. The findings expose several factors negatively impacting the families' wellbeing and language approaches. Chapter seven concentrates on the perceptions and views of the case study children. Three aspects were identified from the data: FLP, wellbeing, and language ideologies.

Finally, Chapter eight brings together the findings from the results and discussion chapters, attempting to address the research questions. This chapter also outlines the limitations, considers the research implications of the study, and looks at what future research is yet to discover. Appendices include language rights legislation as well as supplementary research material, which is why they are placed before the bibliography.

2 Chapter two: Researching language transmission in multilingual families

2.1 Introduction

Early multilingualism and multilingual families have become significant aspects of sociolinguistic and linguistic research in recent years (Ó hIfearnáin 2013; Devlin 2014; Smith-Christmas 2014; De Houwer 2015; Kheirkhah and Cekaite 2015; Sṭavans and Hoffman 2015; Song 2016; Mieszkowska et al. 2017; Hornsby et al. 2022). Two approaches with distinct theoretical and methodological origins contribute to the study of the multilingual child in the family: developmental psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics (Lanza and Gomes 2020, p. 157). The research, however, has tended to focus on bilingualism rather than multilingualism (e.g. Haugen 1956; Volterra and Taeschner 1978; Grosjean 1989; Hoffmann 1991; Baker and Jones 1998; De Houwer 2009b; García 2011); and the majority of studies emphasise the language acquisition of early multilinguals rather than the sociolinguistic aspects of transmission (e.g. Murrell 1966; Oksaar 1977; Barnes 2006; Montanari 2011; Gonzales-Barrero and Byers-Heinlein 2022).

The objective of this chapter is to review the language transmission and early multilingualism literature. Firstly, the chapter defines individual multilingualism, secondly, it gives a brief introduction to early multilingualism research, thirdly, it looks at factors that impact language transmission, and fourthly it investigates language strategies that parents may employ.

The field investigating transmission of minority languages has developed from mainly focusing on the macro level: the community, authorities, and language revitalisation (see e.g. research by Fishman 1991,2001; 2006; 2013), to micro-level examination from the point of view of individuals. Fishman (2013, p. 493) suggested that for reversing language shift intergenerationally, the focus—in addition to school, place of worship, or the workplace—should be on the home, family, neighbourhood, and community. These bind adults and children together, creating spontaneous affect, intimacy, identity, and loyalty. Fishman's reversing language shift model (see Fishman 2001, p. 466) suggests efforts on all levels from macro to micro levels involving the community and language policy level.

Certainly, a closer investigation of the family environment is required, in addition to the sociolinguistic context, to answer the research questions. Therefore, in the final section of this chapter, the concept of a relatively new field of research, FLP, that has the potential to take the study of multilingual families to a new level by using a range of academic fields, is introduced. FLP is of crucial relevance to the current research as it is able to seek answers to the research questions.

2.2 Defining individual multilingualism

Defining individual multilingualism can be complex. Early bilingualism, multilingualism, and transmission studies draw on distinct disciplines, including psycholinguistics, psychology, ethnography, linguistics, sociology, and sociolinguistics. Thus, many definitions within the language transmission and bilingualism field are contradictory or vague due to the interdisciplinary nature of the research (De Houwer 2015; Grosjean 2015). For instance, language transmission is often used interchangeably with language maintenance (Smith-Christmas and Ruiséal 2022, p. 18). In addition, due to the bilingualism field having a more extended history and significantly more research, multilingualism has often been defined in relation to bilingualism, and many definitions are directly borrowed from bilingualism research. For example, Einar Haugen's book from 1956 investigated bilingualism in the Americas and described multilingualism as “a kind of multiple bilingualism” (p. 19). Therefore, this section defines the terms relevant to this study.

Children can grow up to be bilingual for a variety of reasons. These include immigration; migrant communities; close contact with other linguistic groups, such as in the case of Wales, the Basque country, Friesland, and South Tyrol; schooling; or growing up in a bilingual family where one parent may speak the community language and the other a minority language (Hoffmann 1991, pp. 40-46). Stavans and Hoffmann (2015, pp. 141-142) distinguish five types of trilinguals according to how individuals acquire languages:

1) children who are brought up with two home languages that are different from the one spoken in the wider community
2) children who grow up in a bilingual community and whose home language (used by one or both parents) is different from the community languages
3) children and adult third language learners, i.e., either monolinguals who learn two

languages in a school or other study context or bilinguals who learn a third language primarily in an academic context

4) children and adults who become trilingual through immigration, i.e. either monolinguals acquiring two new languages or bilinguals acquiring another new language in a natural context

5) children and adults in trilingual communities.

The authors state that individuals may extend beyond one category, especially people of the third and fourth groups; also, several subgroups could be established to categorise the multilinguals further. The study of multilingualism has mainly looked at the first three groups, especially the third type. They note that there are hardly any studies of type 5 multilinguals because trilingual communities primarily exist in countries in Africa and Asia. Therefore, although population-wise, this is the largest group of trilinguals, only a few studies concentrate on them due to western academics' lack of access to these communities. The reason for the majority of studies looking at the first groups is that most accessible data on language acquisition of trilingual children involves children acquiring two or three European languages in European (English-speaking), North American, or Australian contexts (Ștavans and Hoffman 2015, pp. 142-143). Indeed, the case study children in my study are a mix, belonging to the first, second, third, and/or fourth groups.

2.2.1 Multilingualism defined by linguistic competence

An ambilingual is a speaker who may have complete mastery of two (or more) languages and makes use of them in all situations. However, usually, one language tends to predominate, and the individual may restrict at least one language to specific uses (Halliday et al. 1970, pp. 141-142). Indeed, Hoffmann suggests that achieving ambilingualism or “100 per cent mastery of two languages” is virtually impossible (1991, p. 35) and, in fact, unrealistic (Hoffmann 2001).

As some researchers (e.g. Grosjean 1989; Dewaele 2000, p. 44) point out, a bilingual is not the sum of two monolinguals—neither is a trilingual three times a monolingual nor a multilingual Haugen's (1956) multiple bilingual. Indeed, multilingualism is not additive monolingualism but a different system with different rules (Jessner 2008, p. 280).

At its most basic form, trilingualism could just be described as “the use of three languages”,

as Stavans and Hoffmann (2015, p. 1) propose, and multilingualism as the use of three or more languages. Multilinguality, as defined by Aronin and Ó Laoire (2004, pp. 17-18), refers to: "an individual's store of languages at any level of proficiency, including partial competence and incomplete fluency, as well as metalinguistic awareness, learning strategies and opinions, preferences and passive or active knowledge on languages, language use and language learning/acquisition". It is described as the process and the result of language acquisition, each multilingual individual having a concrete multilinguality of their own. Thus, each multilingual has their unique multilinguality. For the purpose of this thesis, this latter definition is most appropriate.

2.2.2 Definitions by the manner of acquisition or learning

This study examines multilingual children who have acquired one or more languages through intergenerational transmission. The key domains of the traditional model of language transmission are the home and school; at home primary, informal, natural transmission takes place whereas at school secondary, formal transmission would occur (Kasares 2022, p. 227). However, the case study children were exposed to more than just an official minority language; languages can be acquired in a number of ways. Some may have gained languages through language donation, where language skills are learned via the education system even if a parent may have the language skills (see Evas 1999; Evas et al. 2017). Children may have gained their languages through the dynamic process of language socialisation (Barnes 2011; Smith-Christmas 2014; De Houwer 2015; Kheirkhah and Cekaite 2015), which involves them learning cultural influences, linguistic practices, social norms, and values becoming participating members of a social group (Kasares 2022, pp. 224-227). A language can also be learned or acquired through immigration; living in a migrant community; close contact with other linguistic groups, such as in the case of Wales and Finland (Hoffmann 1991, pp. 40-46); non-native bilingualism; schooling; or exposure to community languages. In other words, there are several ways of becoming multilingual during childhood. The way in which a language is acquired and maintained can somewhat determine its transmission success and value to the individual.

One way to identify multilingualism is to examine how the languages were acquired. Stavans and Hoffmann (2015, p. 138) talk about a natural multilingual, or "someone whose dual or multiple language acquisition occurred in a largely untutored or informal manner".

Therefore, plurilingual children, immigrants, refugees, and displaced persons in a new language environment who learned a language or two in a natural environment by immersion rather than formal language tuition belong in this group.

The most widespread but debated way of breaking up the term multilingual is according to the age when an individual's languages were acquired. There have been differing views regarding the cut-off point between infant and child language acquisition, early and later language acquisition, or simultaneous and successive language acquisition (Barnes 2006, p. 9). Research on the psychology of language acquisition demonstrates that the most dramatic changes in language ability and postnatal brain development are observed within the first three years. Development is quick indeed; children start properly comprehending words at around eight to ten months, and the onset of grammar takes place from 20-36 months (Bates et al. 1995, p. 97). Wesche and McLaughlin set the cut-off point at age three (1987). They describe the simultaneous acquisition of two languages, where the two languages were acquired before age three. Successive acquisition of two languages happens when a second language is acquired after age three when children usually form clear utterances of several words rather than toddlers' shorter utterances. By the time a child is three years old, they typically have acquired a language to a certain extent and can speak it. Thus, the successive language or languages are not being acquired simultaneously but successively. Several researchers agree with the cut-off point of three years of age in terms of defining multilingual children (e.g. Hoffmann 1985; Barnes 2006, pp. 9-10).

2.3 Early multilingualism research

Child language acquisition research looks at linguistic aspects including the emergence of phonological, morphological, and syntactic systems, the processing of linguistic items, and developmental features, such as the progression of language (Hoffmann 1991, p. 74). Research regarding the acquisition of two first languages has been given much more attention than the acquisition of more than two first languages. Consequently, the research on bilingual first language acquisition has largely influenced, for instance, Trilingual First Language Acquisition (TFLA) (Ivir-Ashworth 2011, pp. 22, 46); it is only since the 1990s that TFLA has received an increasing amount of interest and research (Ivir-Ashworth 2011, p. 53). Early multilingualism studies show similarities and differences between early bilingual and multilingual development (Montanari 2011, p. 6), which will be discussed further in this

section.

Murrell (1966) was the first to publish an early multilingualism study. He looked at the acquisition of Swedish, English, and Finnish of his daughter, Sandra, who was born in Helsinki. For the first six months of her life, Sandra stayed at home with her Swedish-speaking mother and after that was cared for in a Finnish-speaking environment. The mother spoke finlandssvenska, or Finland Swedish, with Sandra. Murrell spoke both Swedish and English and the parents spoke English together. When Sandra was two years old, the family moved from Finland to England and Sandra's English then quickly caught up with her Swedish. In contrast, the Finnish language that had been used in childcare rapidly deteriorated in just four months. However, there is no linguistic evidence that Sandra's Finnish language was “almost beyond recall” (p. 11) as Murrell himself states “no special tests were devised for assessing the vocabulary range at any particular time” (p. 12).

Hoffmann's (1985) longitudinal case study looks at the development and language acquisition of her own trilingual children for a period of eight years. Her research is based on notes, diary entries from her husband and herself, recordings, and language test results. The acquisition of the three languages (Spanish, English, and German) was slightly different for each child. Her older child, Christina, is referred to as an infant bilingual (German and Spanish) and child trilingual (plus English). Christina’s younger brother Pascual had contact with all three languages from birth, thus being an infant trilingual (p. 480). Hoffmann forms a hypothesis that the young trilingual child may take longer to acquire the languages than a young bilingual child because it is more demanding (p. 486). However, Pascual’s language development, although well documented, is but one example of a simultaneous infant trilingual. His lower degree of achievement could be attributed to a number of psycho-social factors.

Quay (2008) looked at a girl, Xiaoxiao, between the ages of 1;10 and 2;4. Her parents used the OPOL method: her mother spoke Mandarin Chinese, her father American English, and her day-care and community language was Japanese. In the first five months of Xiaxiao's life, she was exposed to her parents' languages, and after starting day-care at 0;5 Japanese was introduced. Quay found that parents' language mixing is not necessarily detrimental in terms of language development as a child may understand that not all people know the three languages and that mixing languages may not be appropriate or comprehensible to

others outside the home environment. Xiaoxiao selected language(s) according to the interlocutors' linguistic knowledge as well as the language they spoke to her.

Studies investigating the development of three or more languages include case studies that explore specific themes (Ștavans and Hoffman 2015, pp. 145-147), such as cross-linguistic influence (Kazzazi 2011; Montanari 2011), code-switching after age three (Stavans 1992; Hoffmann and Widdicombe 1999; Edwards and Dewaele 2007), different aspects of language development (Quay 2008; Barnes 2011; Einfeldt et al. 2022; Gonzales-Barrero and Byers-Heinlein 2022), the relationship between input and development in one language (Oksaar 1977; Hoffmann 1985; Barnes 2006; Stavans and Swisher 2006), lexical differentiation (Mikes 1991), and identity or language ideology formation of children (Wang 2008; Choi 2021). Many are anecdotal reports of individual cases of language acquisition (such as Dewaele 2000). Most of the studies concentrate only on one or two subjects—often the children of the researchers, creating a natural environment but, on the other hand, reducing objectivity. The studies are largely conducted in a European or North American context looking at pre-teen multilingual children. In addition to this, there has been a lot of work on language acquisition but not on language transmission, which is where this study is situated.

2.4 Factors affecting children's multilinguality

Chevalier (2012) indicates four factors which may promote or hinder language transmission. First, a family's language constellation (languages spoken) is crucial, as the absence of parents' use of community language in the home will motivate children to speak the non-community language with the parents and siblings. Second, languages that receive considerably less input may not be acquired and, therefore, must be promoted actively in conversation. Third, certain interactional styles of caregivers (see 2.5.3) can motivate children to speak a particular language. Fourth, she notes that the use of English in the home, which is often seen as a prestige language, might also affect the extent to which children acquire other languages (p. 450).

Yamamoto (2001, pp. 18-20; 2002) proposes three types of factors which influence the transmission of minority languages:

1. linguistic environment factors, such as families' language strategies and methods of

transmission, the pattern of language use by parents, parental language choice, medium of instruction at school or quality and quantity of exposure to languages;

2. sociocultural factors, including parental and societal attitudes, the roles or status of the languages and parental and societal support;
3. familial factors that may involve the existence of siblings, extended family, and possible family mobility.

The remainder of this section examines these factors in more detail.

2.4.1 Linguistic environment factors: quality and quantity

The manner in which a child is exposed to their different languages and the quantity and quality (style of speech, refraining from code-switching) of the language input influence the language acquisition process (Smith-Christmas 2016a; Mieszkowska et al. 2017). For instance, in a migration context, a dominant home language may lose its status as the exposure (quality and quantity) to community language increases when a child enters school or pre-school (Mieszkowska et al. 2017). The impact of school is discussed further in section 2.5.5 below.

De Houwer (2020, p. 13) implies that there is no conclusive answer to how much input is necessary or optimal for successful language transmission. The assumption from several case studies is that the more a child hears a language, the more likely they are to speak it (De Houwer 2015; Smith-Christmas 2016a). Gathercole and Thomas (2009) combined six large-scale studies of bilinguals in Wales and found that the timing of acquisition and linguistic skills are directly related to input levels in the language. In other words, those who had received a higher level of input had greater abilities.

Still, exposure on its own, even in large quantities, does not guarantee successful transmission of a minority language. Smith-Christmas (2014) extensively researched a Gaelic-English family on the Isle of Skye, Scotland, in an ethnography that included recordings of numerous occasions observing mealtimes, playtimes, driving in the car, and household tasks, as well as discussions with family members. Smith-Christmas explains that the language use of the children does not appear to reflect this “potential advantage” (p. 523) despite the mother and paternal grandmother insisting on Gaelic and using discourse strategies which should reinforce the use of Gaelic (see Döpke 1992; Lanza 1997b; Chevalier

2013). Smith-Christmas (p. 523) describes that the children's lack of development in Gaelic could be due to the rest of the family socialising the children into the norms of language shift while using dual-lingual discourse where they respond in English to Gaelic. Although all members occasionally speak Gaelic to the children, the Campbells participate and reproduce a model of language shift within the family. The family's overall language use creates a perception of "vertical Gaelic use" (Smith-Christmas 2014). The overwhelming use of English in the family thus socialised the children to use English instead of Gaelic. Indeed, De Houwer (2015) stresses that the frequency of language input is an important factor. Absolute input frequency (how much is actually spoken in each language) could be more important than relative input frequency (which language is heard more often) (p. 178).

Some research suggests that the quality of the language is more important than the quantity; the emotional attachment to a parent is imperative in determining whether a child acquires the parental language (Nurmi et al. 2014, p. 55). Certainly, the quality of input is crucial for minority language development because multilinguals will receive less input in each of their languages than their monolingual peers. Rich and varied language is important to maintain the quality of the child-directed input (Mieszkowska et al. 2017).

2.4.2 Sociocultural factors

The roles or prestige of the languages, as well as the attitudes of communities, parents (Yamamoto 2002; Smith-Christmas 2016a), teachers, and children towards the minority and majority languages and multilingualism more generally, are reflected in the choices made at a family level regarding the transmission of languages (Ștavans and Hoffman 2015, p. 214). Yamamoto found in her (2002) study of 157 bilingual families living in Japan that families having English as the minority language used the minority language more often than those that had another minority language. She explains that this is possibly due to the prestige of English in Japanese society, or the fact that those whose native language was not English used an additional non-native language in the family, such as English. Therefore, the families may have had a third language in addition to a non-English minority (heritage) language and Japanese.

Often linguistic competence of parents is not enough if the desire to speak the minority language is not there (Ó hIfearnáin 2013, p. 165; Guardado 2018). Previous research reveals

a wealth of factors that influence children's language attitudes, which then impact the level of language a child is to achieve. These factors may include parents, siblings, families, teachers, peers, classrooms, schools, playgrounds, communities, political and sociocultural changes, school instructions, familiarity with the languages, the status of the languages in the children's circle of friends, the country of birth, the number of years spent in the country, second language support in the country, and the trend of English as the world language (Kinzler et al. 2012; Lee 2018, p. 126). I therefore felt it necessary to scrutinise the children's attitudes and perceptions towards their languages in this study.

Positive attitudes alone do not guarantee success either. Guardado's (2002) study of Hispanic families in Canada discovered that despite families holding positive and optimistic attitudes towards the heritage language, this did not automatically result in successful heritage language maintenance. Three factors had a strong positive influence on the families' heritage language transmission: the nature and tone of discourse of the parents encouraging children to use it; cohesive family relations; and an active engagement in fostering ethnic identity (Guardado 2018, p. 23). Guardado stresses the importance of affective factors in successful heritage language transmission. Intimacy, excitement, identification with the heritage language country and culture, and the child's interest in the heritage language and heritage language-related activities pave a more successful path for transmitting the parent's language (Guardado 2018, p. 165).

Some studies contest the importance of attitudinal factors. Evas et al. (2017) looked at Welsh language transmission and use in families. The study included 60 interviews and questionnaires from primary caregivers for children aged 0-4 from north west and south east Wales. The study suggested that it was, in fact, demographic rather than psychological factors that influenced the transmission of Welsh in the areas surveyed. Aspects such as region, Welsh-language upbringing, and the habit of speaking Welsh were more significant factors in the transmission of the Welsh language to children than parents' orientation towards Welsh. Generally, those from Welsh-speaking families tended to speak Welsh to their children. Transmission was less likely and children's exposure to Welsh more limited in families where one parent spoke English rather than Welsh or where the parents came from English-speaking homes having gained Welsh through the Welsh-medium education system.

2.4.3 Familial factors

Some studies (e.g. Lee 2018) demonstrated that the type of family impacts the children's language attitudes and, as a consequence, language development.

The existence of siblings may play a crucial role in developing and maintaining a heritage language (Yates and Terraschke 2013; Hoff et al. 2014), as does birth order. First-borns have more individualised attention and child-directed speech from mothers. In contrast, younger children interact with older siblings and often learn language by overhearing conversations between caregivers and older children (Brooks and Kempe 2012, pp. 138-139). Children from single-child families have no interaction with siblings but may have more opportunities for interaction with parents (Karpava 2022, p. 281). Therefore, the composition of the nuclear family (siblings, half-siblings, parents, stepparents, etc.) was defined for each case study family.

Regular interaction with people speaking a minority language, other than parents or primary carers, has been shown to influence transmission in a positive manner (Evas et al. 2017). Indeed, Sorace (2021) argues that children need to have the opportunity to be engaged in a language with a wide range of people to learn it. However, the relationship between bilingual children and extended family is yet to be widely researched (Smith-Christmas 2016a, p. 19). Apart from a few case studies (such as Quay 2011; Braun 2012), there is little research concentrating on other caregivers' influence. The quantity of exposure to a minority-language-speaking caregiver might be a significant factor in a child's language development (Smith-Christmas 2016a, p. 3). Barnes (2006) mentions in passing the effect of a Spanish-speaking caregiver on her daughter's Spanish language skills. Braun (2012) highlights the impact of grandparents as an important affective factor in children's minority language development. The effect of other relatives did not seem as important.

2.5 Multilingual families' language strategies

The approach of multilingual parents to transmitting languages may consist of individual transmission strategies on a conscious or unconscious level. Not all families have a clearly formulated FLP. Sometimes parents instinctively speak a language to the children, and no major planning is involved. Evas et al. (2017) revealed that for many Welsh-speaking couples speaking Welsh was automatic, and the choice to speak Welsh to their offspring was

determined by their own experiences. The transmission of languages was a more conscious decision for couples where just one partner was a Welsh speaker.

Guardado's (2018) study suggests that explicit policies and strategies set by parents are more likely to result in successful language transmission. Many families constantly readjust their policy or abandon their initial approach altogether (Ștavans and Hoffman 2015). As the child grows, a heritage language in particular may need additional support as the child becomes increasingly socialised in the majority language (Evas et al. 2017). Although considerable research has been devoted to other aspects of language transmission, less attention has been paid to language strategies (see e.g. Barnes 2006; Edwards and Dewaele 2007; Ivir-Ashworth 2011; Chevalier 2013; Devlin 2014).

Wilson's (2020a, p. 135) study suggests that different approaches may produce similar results in children's heritage language ability. She argues that, due to children's individual experiences, attempting to predict the level of linguistic ability when using a particular parental language management method is unrealistic and even unproductive. The outcome of an FLP cannot be predicted from the length of residence in an area or type of multilingual family (Yates and Terraschke 2013). To a certain degree, in some societal contexts, an FLP is "necessary but not sufficient for children's bilingual development" (King et al. 2008, p. 916).

Language transmission studies mention a variety of strategies, methods, principles, or tools used by parents (see e.g. Park and Sarkar 2007; Song 2016; Said and Zhu 2019). The next section will introduce some of the parental strategies used to develop and maintain languages. First, I will discuss OPOL, as it was an overlapping theme within many case study families. I will briefly introduce general parental approaches concerning the family language pattern within the home, including 2P2L, mL@H, and T&P. Second, I introduce in-situ discourse approaches. The role of language input providers is then examined. Finally, I will move away from familial factors to social factors by looking at language learning outside the home environment.

2.5.1 One parent, one language

Research has praised and criticised the OPOL approach (Gathercole and Thomas 2009) as the go-to method for parents of bilingual children. It was long believed to be the ideal approach to transmit languages (De Houwer 2017, p. 232), providing children with the right

amount of exposure to both languages and avoiding confusion between them.

Several researchers, themselves parents, looked at different aspects of OPOL (e.g. Leopold 1939; Porsché 1983; Taeschner 1983; Kielhöfer & Jonekeit 1983; Hoffmann 1985; Saunders 1988; Kravin 1992). A few scholars who were not raising bilingual children also thoroughly researched the topic (e.g. Harding & Riley 1986; Arnberg 1981, 1987; Döpke 1992). Currently, the belief in the field seems to be that OPOL is not a necessary tool to raise a multilingual child.

2.5.1.1 The historical development of OPOL approach

Ronjat (1913) was the first scholar to publish a large academic bilingualism study. He investigated his own son Louis' acquisition of French and German, using the OPOL approach. In his own words, by age four Louis' language skills were equal to those of a native speaker in both languages. Ronjat had received a letter from Maurice Grammont, whose family and friends had been successful in bringing up bilingual children, advising him:

> *When we have something to say to him it is simply said in one of the languages, we want him to know. But here is an important point: each language should be represented by a different person. For example, you always speak to him in French, his mum in German. Do not ever swap the roles. In this manner, when he starts to talk, he will speak two languages without hesitation and without having to make any special effort to learn them.[6](Ronjat 1913, p. 3).*

Ronjat's study is a detailed diary account of bilingual language acquisition that looks at language exposure; borrowing; linguistic awareness; formation of the two languages; and analysis of whether bilingualism delays the correct pronunciation of a language. However, he completely overlooks a few issues. Although he identifies Louis' superior exposure to German from maids, visits to Germany, and contact with the German side of the family, which lead to a rich German vocabulary, he fails to mention any strategies used in the transmission of the two languages. Ronjat's response when Louis spoke to him in a non-

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[6] *Il suffit que lorsqu'on a quelque chose à lui dire on le lui dise dans l'une des langues qu'on veut qu'il sache. Mais voici le point important : que chaque langue soit représentée par une personne différente. Que vous par exemple vous lui parliez toujours français, sa mère allemand. N'intervertissez jamais les rôles. De cette façon, quand il commencera à parler, il parlera deux langues sans s'en douter et sans avoir fait aucun effort spécial pour les apprendre.*

target language, German, was repeating the word in French to him (p. 7), but there is no mention of any other specific parental discourse strategies used (see Döpke 1992; Lanza 1997b; Chevalier 2013).

Ronjat alleges that the “une personne, une langue” or OPOL gives the expected results: the child ends up speaking the appropriate language to each parent (Ronjat 1913, p. 4). He relies on Grammont's findings from a book chapter on children's language observations (Grammont 1902) to back up the effectiveness of the OPOL method. Ronjat only looks at one other German-French bilingual child Addi, whose parents did not use OPOL and did not correct the girl's mixing as much. However, Addi's language development was similar to that of Louis, with just a few differences when it came to pronunciation and linguistic awareness. Ronjat admits that this may be just the feature of one child and may have nothing to do with the methods used. He had expected different results for Addi, for example, more borrowing or mixing the two languages. Indeed, we have seen that different approaches can lead to the same outcome (see 2.4 above).

2.5.1.2 Arguments against the necessity of OPOL

The OPOL method was not properly contested until the 1990s when researchers proposed it was not necessarily the only way to achieve successful transmission of a minority language (see Romaine 1995; Lyon 1996; Lanza 1997a; Döpke 1998; Nicoladis and Genesee 1998). OPOL was, in fact, not always observed in families despite the parents stating the strict use of the approach (Goodz 1994). Several studies did not consider the reality that OPOL was not used in the case study families which may then mean that if OPOL was not used, it was not a necessary tool if children still ended up speaking two languages.

Genesee et al. (1995) observed five bilingual parents with young children in bilingual Montreal. They show that bilingual children between the one-and two-word stage can differentiate their languages. The study found that all the children code-mixed at times (Genesee et al. 1995, p. 624) but two of the children who were tested with a monolingual English speaker used more English-only utterances with a stranger than French-only or French-plus-English (mixed) utterances, indicating once again clear differentiation (Genesee et al. 1995, p. 624). Their results indicate that the degree of a child's mixing was not, after all, associated with parental mixing. Every family in the study mixed to a certain extent, but

adults' input and mixing was not necessarily reflected in the children's utterances. Other factors, such as children's preferences for a particular language or word, children's language dominance, and the use of favourite words, "family-specific lingo" in a family may have played a role in the mixing. Children tended to mix more when using their non-dominant language than when using their dominant language (Genesee et al. 1995, p. 628).

Döpke (1998) states that OPOL does not automatically guarantee acquisition of the minority language but sometimes a child ends up with a passive competence in the minority language (Döpke 1998, p. 10). She noted that many bilingual case study families consisted of linguists or middle-class families and therefore the conditions were elitist and atypical. She argues that a clear OPOL strategy is not evidenced in many multilingual families and may therefore not actually guarantee a child acquiring the minority language. Döpke states that OPOL is not even a strategy but "a language choice framework. It provides a macrostructure, which needs to be realised through micro-structure moves" (Döpke 1998, p. 10). Although she writes that some see OPOL as "artificial and an unnecessary restriction of the natural interaction between people who speak more than one language" (p. 4) she goes on to show that families' language use, much like bilinguals (see Grosjean 1998) can actually be placed on a continuum. At one end you have rigid OPOL families with strict language differentiation, and other end "very bilingual" families where code-mixing and code-switching are frequent. In this continuum in the families whose strategies were towards the bilingual end (bilingual modes, code mixing, etc.) the child was less likely to "develop an active command of the minority language". The parents who created a monolingual context for the minority language exposed the child to the widest possible vocabulary and grammatical structures (Döpke 1998, pp. 10-11).

Gathercole and Thomas (2009) suggest that parents also need to be sensitive to the context in which a bilingual child is raised. They found that the Welsh-English bilingual children in their study performed equally well in English regardless of home language patterns, early exposure, or age of acquisition—possibly due to the dominance of the English language. They found more variability in the scores for the Welsh tests, however, and significant differences between children from Welsh-speaking and non-Welsh-speaking homes. They go as far as to suggest that to learn a minority language in a stable bilingual community, such as in Wales, the optimal learning pattern might be if both parents spoke Welsh to

expose children only to Welsh at home rather than the OPOL method (Gathercole and Thomas 2009).

Similar findings were reported by Mieszkowska et al. (2017). They tested the vocabulary of 56 monolingual, bilingual, and trilingual children aged 4;5–6;7 living in the UK. They found that there were no differences in the receptive or productive vocabulary of each group's majority language, English. In other words, the majority language may develop equally well to monolingual peers, but the minority language requires more attention. The bilinguals also spoke Polish, and the trilinguals an additional language. The group differed in their Polish minority language performance; it was not at the level of Polish monolinguals.

Other researchers (e.g. De Houwer 2007) deemed OPOL unnecessary and not sufficient to transmit a minority language. OPOL indeed has its uses, but a less rigid strategy may be more suitable for some families. Even if a person is functioning in a monolingual mode (see Grosjean 1989; 1998 regarding monolingual-bilingual continuum), languages are not completely separate; the arguments supporting the necessity of OPOL reason that languages are separate and they have to be “clean”, or not include code-switching (Verschik 2022).

2.5.2 Other parental approaches within the home

The consistency aspect in families' interactions has been proven to be crucial in terms of successful transmission (King et al. 2008, pp. 915-916). However, not all families opt for a consistent pattern of language use (Hoffmann 1991, p. 45) or consistent use of a language in a specific situation or place. The previous section clarified that OPOL is not necessarily the best strategy for every family. Recent literature has investigated other language use patterns in family homes (King et al. 2008, p. 914), which aid parents in immersing children in multiple languages. Multilingual parents may choose to speak two languages to their child and use the two persons two languages strategy (2P2L). Many case study families of this study reported as OPOL families actually used 2P2L or 2P3L, or even 2P4L to a certain extent. Parents may have decided to employ the minority language at home strategy (mL@H) (previously referred to as the ”hot-house” approach, see King et al. 2008, p. 914), whereby the family members speak one or more foreign heritage languages that are not spoken in the wider community to guarantee exposure, within the family environment

(Barron-Hauwaert 2004, p. 169; Rosenback 2015; Limacher-Riebold 2021). Sometimes within immigrant background families this is due to parents not yet having the ability to speak a majority language (see 2.4 above and 2.5.4 below). For instance, a family that has recently arrived may initially speak their language of origin only. Families could use the time and place strategy (T&P) to concentrate on a particular language depending on the time and/or place (Rosenback 2015). The T&P strategy is based on a schedule; parents may decide to speak a target language during a certain time (e.g. a specific day, or time such as evening or morning) or place (e.g. speaking a minority language at home or another setting, and a different language during other times). Minority language schools (see 5.2.6) are an example of the T&P strategy, as children are immersed in the school language during the school day (Limacher-Riebold 2021).

2.5.3 Parental discourse strategies

Parental discourse strategies have been proven to be effective in getting a child to speak a target language (Barnes 2006, pp. 19-20). Table 2 below shows Lanza's (1997b, pp. 115-197, Chapter 4) five parental discourse strategies in response to a child's replies in a non-target language. Her bilingual family interaction model (BIFIM) socialises children into speaking a specific language; it has been said to help explain why not all young, potentially bilingual children speak their two languages (De Houwer and Nakamura 2022, pp. 32, 34). De Houwer and Nakamura (2022) expanded the BIFIM to a trilingual context and confirmed the BIFIM's validity for promoting active multilingualism.

Monolingual context
Minimal grasp
Expressed guess
Adult repetition
Move on strategy
Code-switching
Bilingual context

Table 2 Lanza's five parental discourse strategies

(Lanza 1997b, pp. 115-197)

The strictest form of monolingual context or *minimal grasp* includes incomprehension of the utterance where an adult may pretend not to understand the child's utterance. *Expressed guess* involves the adult asking the child in the target language what they mean and *adult repetition* signifies simply repeating the word in the parental language. On the other side of the scale are the *move on strategy* where the adult may just move on with the conversation. *Code-switching* here signifies the adult switching to the non-target language, or the language the child is speaking. With certain responses to a child's language mixing the carers can intend to create a monolingual context for the target language whereas other responses are more likely to create a bilingual context (or bilingual mode) where the child will use any language to respond.

Döpke (1992) had identified a similar categorisation but also included *instruction to translate*. Table 3, below, shows how Chevalier (2013) uses a combination of the six categories varying from monolingual context to bilingual context for carers' response merging the two linguists' categories in her study. During the fieldwork in the family homes Chevalier's model was used to see if any parental discourse strategies were observed within the case study families (see 5.2.9).

Carer's response to mixing	Explanation	Example
Instruction to translate	Most constraining response because usually not open to more than one interpretation: the child understands her language choice has been deemed inappropriate.	*How do you say that in xx language?* *How do I say it?* *Say: xx*
Minimal grasp	Next most constraining response. Can include a feigned lack of comprehension.	*What?* *Huh?* *I don't understand.*
Expressed guess	Constraining with instruction to translate and minimal grasp. Adult requires the child to respond in some way.	*What are you doing?* *Are you going to write?*
Adult repetition	Caregiver translates at least one lexical item of the child's utterance =adult translates what child said in target language.	*Ah, you are writing.* *Ok, so you don't want milk.*
Moving on	Dilingual (dual-lingual) conversation where both parties speak their own language; carer in target language and child in non-target language.	*A: Beth wyt ti eisiau? [Cy]* *C: Can I have milk please?* *A: Dyna ti. [Cy}*
Code-switching	Adult changes language to non-target language.	*A: Beth wyt ti eisiau yfed? [Cy]* *C: Can I have milk please?* *A: Ok, I'll get you milk.*

Table 3 Chevalier's responses to mixing

(Chevalier 2013)

Chevalier's (2012,2013) case study of a two-year-old trilingual girl, Lina, living in German-speaking Switzerland, explores the conversational style of parents and caretakers. It provides evidence that caregiver responses are crucially influential in nurturing a non-dominant language of a child. The study includes extended family—an aunt—the main English language source of the little girl. The child's exposure in terms of quantity is equal for the French-speaking father and the English-speaking aunt. Still, Lina's utterances in English are much more consistent with 54% being in the target language compared to 13% French utterances with her father. Chevalier found that the father's responses are consistent with Lanza's and Döpke's theories: the child's use of code-mixing in her three languages is related to carers' responses to mixing. The father's most common strategies of *moving on, adult repetition*, and *code-switching* were unsuccessful in encouraging the use of adult language, sending Lina the message to use a non-paternal language. Unlike the father, her aunt keeps insisting on English so that in ten cases out of 28 Lina produces the item in question. The strategies of Lina's aunt are on the monolingual end of the scale, whereas her

father's strategies are on the other end. The father allows dual-lingual conversations (see De Houwer 2009a, p. 361) where each interlocutor speaks a different language, to become the norm.

The term dilingual discourse was initially used in Saville-Troike's (1987) longitudinal study of 40 children aged 18 months to 12 years. The children spoke eight different native languages (Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Arabic, Hebrew, Spanish, Icelandic, and Polish) and they were videotaped between 1981 and 1985. Saville-Troike described dilingual discourse as "speakers of mutually unintelligible languages who lacked any knowledge—or had very limited knowledge—of the language of their interactional partner" (Saville-Troike 1987, p. 82). For him, dilingual conversations were two speakers talking in non-mutually comprehended languages or interactions without a common linguistic code. Dual-lingual communication, he described as "the use of different languages by speakers who have at least receptive competence in the other's language" (Saville-Troike 1987, p. 82).

Lina had internalised the way of talking with her father as she also responded to her visiting French-speaking Belgian grandmother in Swiss German—a language the grandmother doesn't understand (Chevalier 2013, p. 20), thus having a dilingual discourse with her. De Houwer (2015) contends that (dilingual or) dual-lingual conversations can, in fact, be problematic, causing distress to family members (monolingual members not being understood, children wanting to hear their language of choice, embarrassment of the child for their inability to speak two languages, emotional distance, frustration or anger from parents) and could lead to children avoiding a language, or only using one language whenever they speak.

Wilson (2020a, p. 137) argues that family members' language choices do not hinder harmonious bilingual development, but parents' restrictive discourse methods and possible sanctions can generate conflicts. She stresses the significance of considering strict language rules at home, e.g. sanctioning the children's responses in a non-target language. She suggests seeking a balance between the necessity and desire to develop the heritage language and children's unique sense of linguistic and cultural identity.

A child's multilinguality is built on the different factors affecting each individual. Lina's parents, for instance, communicated in English. This may play a role in her better achievements in the English language but on the other hand, she had more opportunities

for interaction in French than in English. Also, caregivers have different roles; her aunt is a teacher, and her father's main goal was to communicate with his daughter.

Kheirkhah and Cekaite (2015) looked at language socialisation and heritage language efforts in a trilingual Persian-Kurdish family in Sweden. The parents used various conversational styles to achieve a monolingual mode with the child: non-understanding, modelled responses for the child, and requests to translate into the target language. Although parental strategies are beneficial to the development of a child's minority language, the authors point out that they are associated with some problematic features. The conversational style interrupts the conversational contribution and flow and criticises the child's language choice. In this case, this resulted in the child's recurrent resistance and blatant refusals to participate in these practices.

Guardado (2018) examined the topic from a different angle, using conversation analysis to investigate language-regulating practices amongst Hispanic caregivers in Canada. He looked at the continuum from complete explicitness to relative implicitness and suggests that successful strategies may not necessarily have to be the most explicit conversational strategies—the interactional turn was crucial to promoting interaction (p. 187). He found that *commands* or *clarification requests* to speak the target language (Spanish) ended conversations between caregivers and children whereas *requests* tended to foster negotiation (Guardado 2018, p. 199). He agrees that the analyses resemble Lanza's (1997, 2004) findings where both metapragmatic strategies attempt to create a monolingual context (p. 200). Table 4 below represents a continuum highlighting Guardado's conversational strategies where the conversational closing strategy, and *commands* were observed to frustrate (p. 198) and annoy children, producing a strong resistance resulting in oppressing children, and leading to silence (p. 201). *Cross-code recasts* and *requests* have different effects on conversations, but both show respect for the agency of the child. The agency of the child in this thesis relates to how “the child is aware of and has possibilities to make their own choices” (Arvola et al. 2020, p. 3). *Cross-code recasts* led to conversational expansions, which Guardado argues would be conductive to heritage language development as they expanded the caregiver-child interaction (2018, p. 202).

Conversational closing

	Explanation	
Commands	The imperative form, most common type of regulation strategy observed by Guardado (2018, p. 197). Explicit, conversational closing	*Children speaking English* *Adult: Français! (Fr)*
Clarification Requests	An assertive heritage language regulation style (Guardado 2018, p. 195), clarification request, minimal grasp Explicit, metalinguistic negotiation	*Adult: Vad är den där?* *(Sv)* *Child: A mug?* *Adult: Vad är den? (Sv)* *Child: A mug.*
Requests	A conversational negotiation to switch to target language Implicit, conversational closing	*Child: This is a mug.* *Adult: Dimelo en español.* *(Es)* *Child: Ok, but it's difficult.*
Cross-Code Recasts	Reformulation of child's utterance in target language, see adult repetition (Lanza 2004) Implicit, conversational expansions	*Child: This is a mug.* *Adult: Tämä on muki. (Fi)* *Child: Muki. (Fi)* *Adult: Mug sanotaan muki. (Fi)*

Conversational expansion

Table 4 Continuum of parental metapragmatic strategies

(Guardado 2018)

2.5.4 Language input providers and exposure

The background of the person speaking a language to a child is important. Their gender, conversational style, accent, personality, social class, education, and cultural and professional background affect the way they speak (Barnes 2011, p. 45). Socioeconomic traits of parents may also be significant predictors of language transmission (Tuominen 1999, p. 73; Pujolar and Gonzàlez 2013; Evas et al. 2017), including their level of education, career, life opportunities, the competence of languages, and status of being majority or

minority community members (Karpava 2022, p. 290).

De Houwer's (2007) assessment of 1,899 Dutch-speaking multilinguals found that families where both parents used the minority language and where at most one parent spoke the majority language had a higher chance of success than those where both spoke the majority language. In other words, not speaking a majority language in the home was advantageous in favour of the minority language (see 2.4 above). A number of other studies have supported this argument (e.g. Barnes 2006; Gathercole and Thomas 2009; Chevalier 2012).

Barnes' (2006) subject, a girl, Jenny, who lived in the Basque country, was exposed to three languages since birth: Basque, English, and Spanish. Although her English came from "extremely limited sources" it was found that these sources were sufficient for successful language development (pp. 219-220). Barnes argues that when children are given the right linguistic environment, although with limited output, language can develop to a proficiency level equivalent to a monolingual person. The findings of her study maintain that at least in the one case of English, input from just the mother was sufficient to establish a sound basis of a language, and output did not always mirror input (p. 60). However, she recommends that input would need to be supplemented through exposure to multi-speaker contexts for the child eventually to learn certain skills, such as how to join a conversation or take more complex turns (p. 59). The study did not take into consideration that English is a lingua franca across the world. Already in the 1990s, it was used on television, online, in films, and in advertising—which means that Jenny must have received a certain amount of exposure to English outside the home environment. Another consideration is that children in bilingual families tend to learn the mother's heritage language rather than the father's (De Houwer 2007)—possibly due to the mother often spending more time at home with the offspring. This assumption almost certainly relates to the role of a parent rather than the gender (Evas et al. 2017). It is not certain, therefore, whether Jenny's English would have developed to the same extent had it been a rare minority language not spoken across the world, or the secondary carer's language.

2.5.5 Language learning outside the home environment

The previous sections looked at language use in the family. This section moves outside the home, investigating social factors in language acquisition and learning. Much of the socialisation takes place in day-care, school, supplementary language school, and the environment outside the home as the children grow older, forming an important part of the multilingual language environment. Peers are needed for language development (Guardado 2018, p. 165); older children can help younger ones, and peers, in general, can support language development by repetitions and modelling (Quay 2011, p. 39). Children learn from other children how to talk; it has been argued that children tend to model the speech of their peers rather than that of their parents (Kasares 2022, p. 239).

Home language is usually a dominant language in the first years of a child's life. By pre-school or school the exposure to school and/or community language increases and the language tends to shift towards that of the community and/or school (Mieszkowska et al. 2017) as children start favouring the dominant language with friends and family (Guardado 2018, pp. 25-26). De Houwer (2020, p. 19) suggests that as societal school language "spills over" from school after a day-long immersion, children become less skilled in the non-school language due to lack of practice. Children may then start feeling negatively towards a non-school home language as they align themselves more with the institutional environment than that of the home.

Pujolar and Gonzàles (2013) introduced the term *muda* (pl. *mudes*) to describe the moments when an individual faces important changes in everyday routines (meeting new friends, teachers or employers, joining new institutions in new locations) and their language choice may change to adopt the predominant language. Their research of Catalan and Castilian speakers in Catalonia identified six main biographical moments in which *mudes* took place: (a) primary school; (b) high school; (c) university; (d) the labour market; (e) when creating a new family; and (f) becoming a parent (p. 143). A key moment may also involve an individual starting new activities or hobbies or moving to another town, city, or country (Puigdevall et al. 2018, p. 446). This sort of transition has been described in many studies. For instance, Okita (2002, p. 4) illustrated how in Japanese-British families living in the UK the language use changed from Japanese to the majority language English after starting school.

Lee (2018, p. 134) examined attitudes of bi- and multilingual children and adolescents in Thailand. The study confirmed the effects of the medium of instruction in formal schooling settings being a powerful force shaping the experiences of the children. Some parents indeed use schooling—a community school, bilingual school, language tuition, or mainstream school—in a chosen language to increase exposure to a particular language (see 1.2.7 above). In Spolsky's words:

> *In its language management role, the school has turned out to be one of the most powerful institutions attempting to influence the family domain by proclaiming the need for everyone to speak the language chosen as the instructional medium (Spolsky 2012, p. 5).*

Quay's (2011) study of two trilingual toddlers at day-care centres in Japan demonstrates that day-care environments can indeed have a significant impact on language acquisition similar to the home environment (2011, p. 39). Her study also confirms that just like the school environment (see Mieszkowska et al. 2017), day-care impacts children's preference for and dominance in the societal language. The two children in the study, Xiaoxiao and Freddy, were very sensitive to the monolingual environment in the day-care centres and did not produce any utterances in their home languages (German and Chinese) that were unfamiliar to the carers and peers in the day-care. However, Quay believes that children may acquire a language better at home than in a childcare environment because of the "quantity of child-directed speech and opportunities for the child to speak" (Quay 2011, p. 39). She supports this claim by the fact that Xiaoxiao did not speak much at the day-care centre, producing only 55 utterances per day-care session compared to 195 utterances per home session during the same test period. The home environment can be more nurturing in terms of child-directed speech and individual attention, but the quality of both environments is also a major factor to be considered. Day-care can affect children's language development in a good way if "good quality" childcare is provided following certain guidelines mentioned in previous studies (Quay 2011, pp. 35-36): respond to vocalisations and gestures; convey a positive attitude in their interactions with the children in their care; encourage children to talk by asking questions that can be answered easily; and encourage children to learn or have the child repeat learning phrases (Weitzman and Greenberg 2002).

Only a handful of studies look at the role of community groups or heritage language schools

in heritage language development (e.g. Park and Sarkar 2007; Guardado 2018). They stress the importance of heritage language schools, churches, or communities in preserving a minority language (see 5.2.4). Heritage language socialisation outside the home strengthens the cultural identity of the individual, and a stronger heritage language identity supports minority language maintenance (Guardado 2018, p. 27).

2.6 Family Language Policy

FLP is a relatively new term and field within multilingualism research. It has gained increasing attention in sociolinguistic literature (Smith-Christmas 2016a, p. 2) as it has been under-explored until recently (Kopeliovich 2013, p. 249). In just over a decade, FLP has become an important domain in minority language research (Nandi 2022, p. 308).

At its simplest, FLP could be defined as "examining language policy at the level of the family" (Smith-Christmas 2014, p. 511); King et al (2008, p. 907) initially defined FLP as "explicit and overt planning in relation to language use within the home among family members". The latter note that FLP considers what families decide to do with languages in daily interactions, their beliefs and ideologies about language and language use, and their goals and efforts to shape language use and learning outcomes. Curdt-Christiansen (2009, p. 352) defined FLP as "a deliberate attempt at practicing a particular language use pattern and particular literacy practices within home domains and among family members". Lanza and Gomes (2020, p. 164) suggest that "FLP studies tend to capture a family's policies and practices at any given point in time, while these are indeed dynamic and change over time".

FLP contributes to our understanding of the processes of language shift within the family, sheds light on broader language policy issues at societal levels, asks questions related to the success or failure of language transmission, and considers parental language strategies (Curdt-Christiansen 2013). It gives us an understanding of family members' language use in the home, factors that influence the use of a language (Evas et al. 2017), home language maintenance processes, and how heritage language learners are best supported (King et al. 2008, p. 909). FLP aims to discover why and how some potentially bi/multilingual children achieve relatively equal competence in their two or more languages and why some children use the minority language more than others (Smith-Christmas 2016a, p. 2). It looks at the conflicts families negotiate between social pressure, political impositions, and public

education demands with cultural loyalty and linguistic continuity of heritage languages (Curdt-Christiansen 2013). FLP studies cover both autochthonous minority language research such as Gaelic, Breton, or Irish (see e.g. Smith-Christmas 2016a; Chantreau and Moal 2022; Macleod 2022) and investigations that look at foreign heritage language in diasporic contexts such as Russian in Sweden, Estonia, or Cyprus (Karpava 2022), French in the UK (Wilson 2019,2020a), or Persian and Kurdish in Sweden (Kheirkhah and Cekaite 2015)—only rarely do FLP studies include both types of inquiries.

FLP is interdisciplinary and related to different research fields, such as bilingual childrearing and the protection of endangered languages in multilingual societies (Schwartz and Verschik 2013, p. 6). It draws research traditions from and contributes to separate fields: primarily language policy research, but also child language acquisition, literacy studies, language socialisation (King et al. 2008; Curdt-Christiansen 2013a; Smith-Christmas 2014), language maintenance, and language shift research (Lanza and Gomes 2020, p. 158). Its methods are qualitative and quantitative: language use surveys, questionnaires, interviews, language portraits, focus groups, ethnography, diaries, and analyses of video recordings (Lanza and Gomes 2020, pp. 158-159).

The FLP field evolved from language policy and child language acquisition research. FLP has the potential to bridge “blind spots” (King et al. 2008, p. 909) which these two fields have not addressed.

Language policy is rooted in the sociology of education, sociolinguistics, and applied linguistics (King et al. 2008, p. 907). Spolsky (2004, p. 5) conceptualises three components of a language policy in a speech community in his three-point model:

1. language beliefs or ideology, which refers to beliefs about language and its use
2. language practice, which includes strategies of language use
3. language management, which relates to efforts to influence the practice of the language situation

Almost all the work on language policy has examined language policy in institutional contexts, such as the state, the school, or the workplace, or “macro” issues, such as language ideology or language attitudes. Little or no attention has been paid to the “micro” issues, e.g. interactional patterns or the home environment (King et al. 2008, pp. 908-909).

Classic language policy deals with the nation-state but recognises the role of the family in determining natural intergenerational transmission. Spolsky describes the family as “the critical domain” of language policy (2012). The lack of research regarding family language transmission research led to the need for a new domain: FLP looks at the relationships between private domains and the public spheres (Curdt-Christiansen 2013). It has been argued that to study language policy, the family where children’s linguistic environment is created, is a crucial domain of investigation (Schwartz and Verschik 2013, p. 2). FLP is also important because societal language policies determine children’s school success, language maintenance, and development within society and the family (King et al. 2008, p. 916).

Child language acquisition research is a subfield of psychology (King et al. 2008, p. 908). It looks at linguistic aspects of children's language, including the emergence of phonological, morphological, and syntactic systems, the processing of linguistic items and developmental features, such as the progression of language (Hoffmann 1991, p. 74). Most child language researchers have concentrated on monolingual language acquisition, with bilingual acquisition getting less attention (King et al. 2008, p. 908) and multilingual research being relatively rare, as discussed earlier. However, linguistics research is yet to find an answer to why some families succeed in language transmission, and others do not, or why multilingual children raised in similar conditions end up with different kinds of language proficiencies or preferences (King et al. 2008, p. 909). Therefore, a different approach and field are required to investigate multilingual families. More interdisciplinary studies combining psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic research taking into account the macro- and micro-contexts (e.g. societal settings, family environments, specific languages in a particular setting) of multilingual families are needed to explain the factors leading to successful language transmission (De Houwer 2009a, p. 326) and assess the impact of parental language ideologies and strategies on a child’s language development (Lanza and Gomes 2020, p. 153); this is where FLP research steps in.

2.6.1 FLP field development

King (2016) suggests that there have been five key phases to developing the FLP field, the first two being in the field of child language acquisition. The first stage consisted of "classic diary studies" (p. 721); Ronjat's (1913) study has been considered an early opening to FLP research (Smith-Christmas 2016b, p. 23). In the second phase, bilingual language acquisition research aimed to answer central psycholinguistic questions (e.g. the differences between bi- and monolingual language development trajectories).

The third phase saw the FLP field gain momentum with a more sociolinguistic approach (King 2016, p. 272). This occurred following the publication of the classic article by King, Fogle and Logan-Terry (2008) entitled "Family Language Policy". FLP then started to emerge as a field in its own right (Smith-Christmas 2016b, p. 23; Lanza and Gomes 2020, p. 153). Initially, the early FLP studies investigated the link between explicit planning, parental language use, and language outcomes of multilingual children (Lanza and Gomes 2020, pp. 154, 160). For instance, Schwartz and Moin (2012) examined an integral part of FLP: parents' assessment of children's language development, or how the parents themselves assessed their children's level of languages. Their study included 27 Israeli-born children of immigrants from the former Soviet Union attending monolingual (13) and bilingual (14) kindergartens in Israel. The children, aged three and four, were tested by parents and the researchers on their Mean Length of Utterance (MLU) and vocabulary knowledge. This small sample demonstrated that the immigrant parents tended to overestimate their children's general language knowledge and were insensitive to the length of the children's utterances—this affected their decision when choosing a monolingual or bilingual educational setting. It is not clear whether the parents may have overestimated the language knowledge due to not speaking Hebrew (well) themselves. However, this incorrect information influenced their choice of a model that was possibly unsuitable. Attending a school where you are unable to perform linguistically could lead to problems.

The current fourth phase involves including more diversity in terms of family types, languages, and contexts, and the fifth stage focuses on "globally dispersed, transnational, multilingual populations beyond the traditional, two-parent family; and ever-greater heterogeneity and adaptability in research methods to address these shifting needs in the field" (King 2016, p. 728). More recent research has moved the focus onto the construction

of family members' identities, more globally dispersed populations beyond the traditional nuclear family, research methods focusing on meaning-making in interaction, and has broadened the context and heterogeneity to include more diverse family types, locations, and languages (Lanza and Gomes 2020, pp. 154, 160).

Several researchers before the establishment of the field had discussed certain issues now covered by FLP, but many studies focusing on the family and home language maintenance are not, in fact, labelled FLP research (Lanza and Gomes 2020, p. 159). For instance, many consider Lanza's (e.g. 1997a,b) or Döpke's (e.g. 1992; 1998) studies on parental discourse strategies to be pioneering studies in the field (Schwartz and Verschik 2013, p. 5).

Today, FLP covers many different sociolinguistic studies of language practices and policies in multilingual and transnational families (Lanza and Gomes 2020, p. 153), using an anthropological and ethnographic lens (King and Curdt-Christiansen 2021, p. 83) to investigate the families. FLP covers a wide variety of foci and studies (Smith-Christmas 2016a, p. 11) including language input; parental discourse strategies; parents' assessment of their children's languages; sociolinguistic aspects of intergenerational language transmission; language use in families; language attitudes (Ó hIfearnáin 2013); planned language maintenance and development strategies; the role of school or society; language ideologies; parents' views; and, only recently, however, children's perspectives (e.g. Wilson 2020a).

2.6.2 Wellbeing of the multilingual family

The benefit of a more holistic FLP approach to investigating multilingual children is that the wellbeing of the potentially multilingual family members has come to the fore. Kopeliovich (2013, p. 250) reminds us that parents of multilingual children have several functions. She states that parents are the driving force of the complex processes of language transmission by planning, conducting, and evaluating systematic educational activities, such as home lessons, study, or craft sessions. She calls this multidimensional and flexible FLP of unbiased attitude to diverse languages and respect for the language preferences of the children the Happylingual educational philosophy. Rather than comparing the linguistic development of a polyglot child to that of a monolingual speaker, she invented a new formula to direct the FLP in her bilingual Hebrew-Russian home: balancing and fine-tuning multilingual

development as a subtle tool for Russian maintenance (Kopeliovich 2013, p. 256). Kopeliovich's flexible FLP aims to use the (often limited) existing linguistic resource of heritage language speakers and does not set unrealistic expectations. Her Happylingual approach stands for a delicate balance between parents' efforts to transmit a vulnerable language, and avoiding futile fights against natural sociolinguistic forces which makes the children favour the stronger language (2013, p. 273). Over the years, she shifted her family's stricter FLP strategies to listening and observing the children's choices and initiatives (Kopeliovich 2013, p. 274).

De Houwer describes harmonious bilingual development as "experience of well-being in a language contact situation involving young children and their families" (2015, p. 169) or "children's and their families' wellbeing in relation to the language contact situation in which language development is taking place" (2015, p. 178). On the other side of the continuum a frustrated or conflictive bilingual development may exist (De Houwer 2015). This ideal scenario of harmonious development where the languages can fulfil their potential consists of three elements:

1. use of parent-child conversations employing a single language rather than dual-lingual conversations (see De Houwer 2009a, p. 361)
2. children's active use of two languages rather than just one
3. children's more or less equal proficiency in each language

De Houwer (2015) identifies as key factors contributing to these elements: positive attitudes to early bilingualism, discourse socialisation patterns, and the frequency with which children hear each language. However, non-harmonious multilingual development is common and can cause a spectrum of problems: insecure emotional attachment between child and parent, extreme feelings of sibling rivalry, difficulties in forming early friendships, disadvantage in educational settings, non-acceptance by family members, feelings of inadequacy, depression, and many more negative sociopsychological events (De Houwer 2009a, p. 328).

Wilson (2020a) looked at five children of three French-English bilingual families living in Britain, each with one French parent. The families used differing degrees of heritage language management and conversational strategies. One family used OPOL and *minimal*

grasp; one was more relaxed, with the French parent *code-switching* and *moving on*; and one family tried using French only with the *minimal grasp* approach. Despite the different approaches and children having different linguistic abilities, certain characteristics were the same for all children. All children preferred to speak English but were happy to be able to speak both languages for two reasons: communication with extended family, and French MFL in the British school curriculum. The study shows how parental language transmission strategies can have an emotional impact on children (Wilson 2020a, p. 135), often resulting in hindering parent-child communication or breaking down conversations. Similar language strategies may lead to different reactions among the different children within the same family. In Wilson's study both a relaxed parent's child and a French-only household child felt degrees of anxiety about the language and the FLP. The children expressed negative emotions regarding the parents' language policies or the French language; they felt uncomfortable, annoyed, laborious, sad, and angry.

2.6.3 FLP framework application to this study

Spolsky (2004,2009,2012) declares that the role of FLP research is, like that of language policy, to seek insights into three components: language ideologies, language practices, and language management of family members. FLP studies have often concentrated on just one of these aspects. This thesis combines all three elements of FLP research in the results chapters: Chapter four investigates parental language ideologies including beliefs, ideas, and views; Chapter five examines parental language strategies, or language practice, the approaches parents take to maintain or develop minority or heritage languages; and Chapter six looks at language management, or what the families do with language, what their experiences are of implementing these strategies. This model produced by Spolsky emerged naturally from the conversations with the families, indicating its robustness.

King et al. (2008) stress that parental ideologies are the underlying force in language practices and planning (p. 911). However, little work has been done on how parents form language ideologies and what sources of input influence parental attitudes and beliefs (King et al. 2008, p. 913). The relationship between the society and family ideologies can influence the bilinguality of the offspring (King et al. 2008, p. 913) as language ideologies in the community are key to the heritage language development of the minority language speakers (Guardado 2018, p. 57). An example of this is Tuominen's (1999) research on

multilingual parents attempting to raise multilingual children in a largely monolingual Seattle in the US.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has shown the extent of research on potentially multilingual children. We have seen that the majority are set in a bilingual rather than multilingual context. Most are linguistic investigations or case studies of a single child or group of children from a similar language background in one area. Few studies examine the influence of sociolinguistic factors on parental language use. Hardly any consider bilingual societies and include a variety of languages. This is the gap in knowledge this thesis aims to fill: it has a multilingual viewpoint whereby the children speak the official two languages and one foreign (usually also heritage) language, and it focuses on multilingual families living in officially bilingual, superdiverse areas.

Braun (2006; 2007; 2008; see also Braun and Cline 2010; 2014) looked at trilingual children in two officially monolingual countries; England and Germany. He concentrated on the typology of parents and their language practices. A small number of children were included in his interviews on rare occasions, exclusively at the request of parents that were being interviewed. FLP also looks at the child's experiences as the locus of the analysis (Smith-Christmas 2016a, p. 19) rather than the society's or linguistic view. However, only a few FLP studies look at the perspectives, attitudes, or experiences of children despite this being essential to the understanding of the effects of parents' language planning (see Lee 2018; Wilson 2020a). Including children's perspectives alongside parents' views is a relatively new approach in the FLP field (Schwartz and Verschik 2013, p. 7). This study will add to the field by offering an insight into the children's experiences and perceptions.

Little research is available regarding the wellbeing of multilingual family members (De Houwer 2015,2017). Although there have been instances of children seeing their multilinguality as a positive thing (Kheirkhah and Cekaite 2015; Almér 2017), more research into this aspect is required. This thesis not only asks questions regarding families' ideologies and strategies but also explores their experiences of speaking several languages at differing levels, and their perceptions of their multilinguality.

There is no unified definition of the terms in the field of multilingualism (as discussed in 2.2

above); each scholar also defines their own cut-off points (see 2.2.2 above). This could be due to the interdisciplinarity of the field or because many terms have been borrowed from bilingualism and the field of multilingualism is still in its infancy. In this thesis the term multilingual will include early multilinguals who had been exposed to three languages since birth as well as later multilinguals, or those who have acquired three languages successively as long as they are currently able to speak, understand, or function in the languages to some extent and are exposed to them. In other words, both active multilinguals and passive multilinguals (De Houwer 2009a, p. 361) were included in the group of case study children.

It was found that all children in multilingual families tend to learn the majority language (De Houwer 2007) but may struggle with the transmission of the minority language(s). Factors affecting multilingual children's language acquisition and learning discussed in this chapter were divided into linguistic environment factors, sociocultural factors, and familial factors (Yamamoto 2001, pp. 18-20). Several subcategories fall into these sections including a child's individual circumstances; age of acquisition; manner of exposure; frequency of exposure to the languages; language-learning contexts; the way in which languages were acquired; socioeconomic status of the family; educational factors; and the circumstances of the person providing language input.

Each family's circumstances are different, and some may, despite their best efforts, not establish or maintain a language. Little theoretical explanation for language-maintenance outcomes on the micro or family level (Tuominen 1999, p. 61) or reasons for differing language proficiency for people with nearly identical backgrounds (Ó hIfearnáin 2013) is available. Thus, more research is required to develop the field to further understand why this is the case.

The final section demonstrated that FLP is the most suitable framework for seeking answers to the research questions (see 1.3 above). Within the main framework of FLP, this thesis aims to provide an overview of multilingual families' perceptions. This thesis will contribute towards the FLP field by including the ideologies, strategies, and experiences of the 14 case study families in Cardiff and Helsinki.

The next chapter, Methodology, looks at the methods that were used to answer the research questions.

3 Chapter three: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will explain why specific methods were chosen to collect and analyse data from multilingual families to answer the research questions.

The chapter begins by describing the research design, research ethics, and case study locations. I justify why specific choices regarding case study participant recruitment and selection were made. After that, I will present details regarding case study subjects and my positionality.

I will proceed to illustrate how the data was collected. The chapter then discusses how the interviews were transcribed and why certain decisions regarding translation were made. Next, data collection limitations are investigated in detail.

The final section of the chapter considers the processes of thematic analysis (Bryman 2015, p. 11), which I used to extract and categorise core themes within the interviews. I will discuss how Braun and Clarke's (2006; 2022) six step method of thematic analysis was applied to find codes and themes within the interviews with parents and children. I will examine how transcripts were reviewed and coded and parts that were considered to have potential theoretical significance or seemed particularly meaningful within the case study families, given labels (Bryman 2015, p. 573), or initial themes.

3.2 Research design

Research design provides a framework for data collection and analysis (Bryman 2015, p. 40). Although qualitative research has its limitations (e.g., generalising findings, subjectivity, or lack of transparency; see 3.7.4 below), qualitative over quantitative data was chosen as it was more appropriate to answer the research questions. A number of previous studies investigating language attitudes, motivation, or identity have benefited from qualitative methods (Eid 2019, p. 110) and several FLP studies are also based on qualitative data (see Chapter 2 above for earlier FLP literature). The qualitative nature of the studies enables getting a good overall view of multilingual families' circumstances.

The primary research data consisted of semi-structured interviews with 14 case study families. The role of the self-administered online questionnaire was to acquire thorough

background information regarding the families before the interviews took place and to guide the interview to obtain more detailed answers from the participants. The data from observations supported the interview data. In order to obtain qualitative data from multilingual families as per the research questions, a cross-cultural, multiple-case study design was chosen. Case studies aim to reveal the unique features of the cases taking an idiographic approach (Bryman 2015, pp. 61, 65) where an in-depth understanding of the families is investigated. The same methods were used in both locations.

3.3 Research ethics

The study follows the Cardiff University School of Welsh ethics guidelines set in its Research Ethics Procedures. The following documentation was submitted to the School of Welsh Ethics Committee: the ethics questionnaire, including details about the project; methods and research proposal; a copy of data collection consent forms; a copy of information sheets for participants; a scan of the Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS) check; and the interview schedule of questions. The School of Welsh Ethics Committee authorised data collection in February 2017.

Three issues had to be taken into consideration regarding case study participants. It was essential that the interviewees were informed about the requirement for their consent, their right to privacy, and protection from harm (Frey and Fontana 2005, p. 715). Therefore, prior to data collection, the interview and observation process and the estimated length of time were fully disclosed to participants. An information sheet explaining the purpose of the research; consent forms; researcher's DBS check information; and details regarding research funding was passed to them. The participants were given the right to withdraw from the research at any time. The parents signed consent forms to store and use the recordings for the purpose of the research; they were given a copy of the forms together with the information sheet (Appendix D, Appendix E, Appendix F, Appendix G, Appendix H, and Appendix I).

Information sheets and consent forms were translated into Welsh and Swedish. All participant children had a command of English and Welsh, or Finnish and Swedish, which made it highly likely that at least one parent spoke at least one of these languages.

Good care was taken to direct participants to relevant academic literature instead of giving

them subjective advice if they asked about multilingual language transmission guidance. A folder of academic articles regarding multilingual families and references to books was gathered after requests from several families. The DropBox link was distributed among the case study families after the research had been conducted.

All names were deleted to guarantee the anonymity of the interviewees. Participant details and transcripts were stored in a locked locker at the School of Welsh during the research process and destroyed after data analysis.

3.4 Case study locations

The study concentrates on capital city areas because they have different dynamics from other areas—a particular type of growth of languages can be seen in capital cities (see 1.1). The two bilingual capital cities are investigated because they have different approaches to bilingual education and heritage language promotion—largely based on their different histories, as discussed in the Introduction chapter. The case study families lived in and around the two capital cities—the Helsinki metropolitan area (Helsinki, Espoo, Kirkkonummi, Vantaa) and Cardiff postcode area CF (Cardiff, Barry, Tongwynlais, Penarth, Church Village).

Four municipalities in which the Finnish case study families resided at the time of interviews are demonstrated in Figure 3 below; Figure 4 shows the capital city area of Wales, including the surrounding towns and villages.

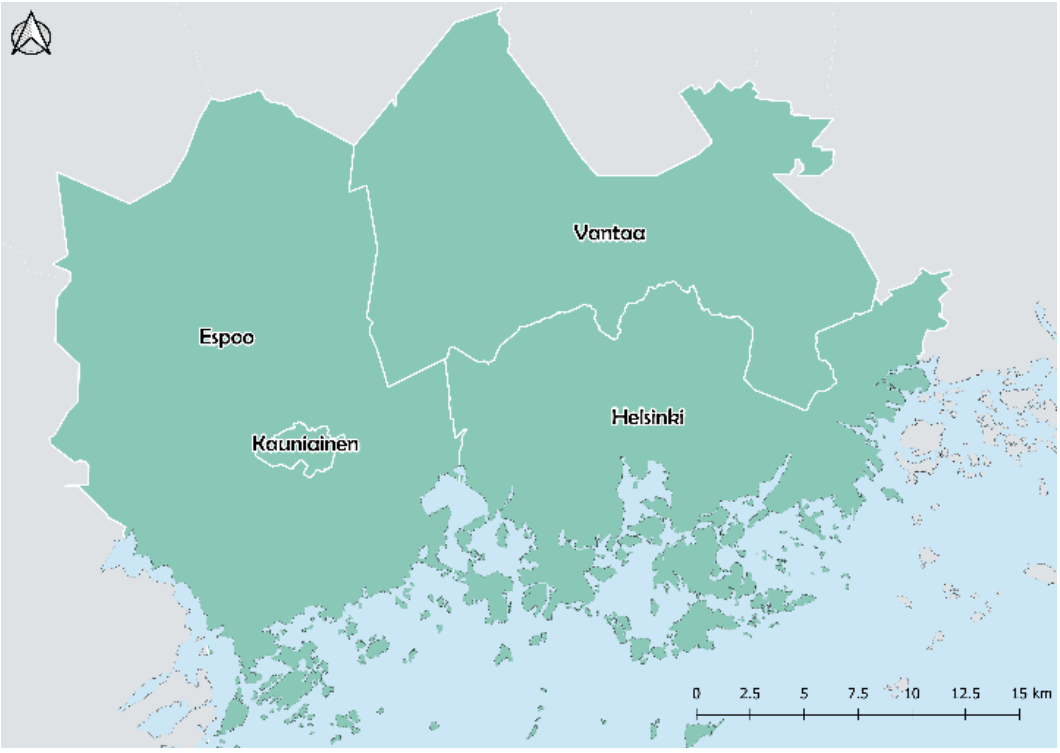

Figure 3 Capital city area of Finland

(Tavi 2019)

Figure 4 Capital city area of Wales

(Election maps 2022)

3.5 Case study family recruitment

The aim was to recruit a diverse selection of families within the target group. Some families were found using existing personal social networks. As detailed below, the topic and opportunity to participate were introduced face-to-face to potential case study participants at separate locations.

Purposive sampling (Bryman 2015, p. 408) permits the researcher to select case study families within their own socioeconomic profile. This allowed the development of close empathetic links with the families. It was then relatively easy for the family members to open up spontaneously about their experiences.

3.5.1 Family recruitment in Helsinki

The recruitment process was more dynamic in Helsinki, as there were just over four months to carry out recruitment and fieldwork.

First, an article introducing the concept of multilingualism and asking for interest in taking part in the study was issued. It was published in the spring 2017 issue of Finn-Guild Links, a quarterly magazine for the Finnish-British community reaching approximately 15,000 readers in Britain and Finland. When I arrived in Helsinki in April 2017, print and online flyers with contact details and a short description of the study in English and Finnish were distributed at a small selection of playgroups, nurseries, and language communities. In addition to that, Familia, an organisation for intercultural families in Finland, sent out in their quarterly newsletter a piece recruiting case study families in the Helsinki metropolitan area in June 2017.

In addition to that, social media channels were used. First, a tweet was sent out on the 4th of July 2017, to search for families in Helsinki. The remaining families were found by posting on seven Facebook groups for multilingual families on the 4th of July 2017. A large number of multilingual families with different language constellations came forward in each Facebook group. One family was recruited from these groups. My original Facebook status update was shared seven times by contacts, resulting in several parents of multilingual children getting in touch for more information. Two families were found via new contacts from the University of Helsinki.

The case study families were selected from the group of families who came forward to cover

a variety of language combinations, native speakers, and family circumstances.

Some families that made contact were unsuitable for the study because they did not fulfil the conditions set for case study families. They either lived in another location outside the capital city area, only had children under the age of four, or the child or children did not speak both official languages in Finland.

3.5.2 Family recruitment in Cardiff

I had the opportunity to present the initial findings from the Helsinki families at the ESRC Festival of Science on the 9th of November 2017 at Cardiff University. At the end of the presentation, I mentioned that I would be looking for case study families in Cardiff. A number of people came forward to volunteer as case study families.

The possibility to take part in the research was also advertised through two language community groups: the Finnish Saturday School in Cardiff and the Saturday Circle.

In addition to that, I used social media (Facebook, LinkedIn, and Twitter), personal networks, and word of mouth to find case study families in the Welsh capital.

Three Cardiff families were recruited through personal contacts, two through word of mouth or snowball sampling, one from the ESRC presentation, and one via social media.

Some potential families were rejected because they either lived outside the CF postcode area, only had children under the age of four, had confidentiality issues (adoption), had recently gone through childbirth, decided to move away from Wales, or the children did not speak both English and Welsh.

3.6 Case study subjects

Seven families in each country were selected to take part in the study.

The data, presented in the following four chapters, comprises interviews with 60 people, including 27 parents, 31 children, and two external family members (a grandmother, and an aunt who were visiting at the time of the interview). One child hid and refused to take part in the research. They were not pushed to answer questions or participate in the observation. Another family had an older sibling participate in some of the conversations and parents' interview. Given the time restraints of data collection and to avoid saturation of the data, fourteen families' accounts were considered to offer a sufficient sample of the

multilingual families' insights and experiences in the two locations.

The fourteen case study families from the selected areas were limited to those that fulfilled the following conditions:

i. at least one child aged 4-12 regularly used and was exposed to more than two languages

ii. they used two official languages of the country (Swedish and Finnish, or Welsh and English); the child(ren) had also acquired an additional language or languages

iii. they had lived in Finland or Wales for at least one year.

The research only included families that had lived in the country for at least one year, meaning that they had established routines, contacts, habitual patterns, and strategies for maintaining and developing the languages. They also had a good understanding of the sociocultural dynamics of the area of residence. Furthermore, the children's language repertoire may differ for immigrants who have stayed in the country for a while because they may have adopted an additional language in the process.

Including case study families where children are exposed to both official languages and an additional (heritage) language rather than any compilation of languages gave the study more focus. As previously discussed, official minority languages are supported in both Finland and Wales, allowing for an analysis of multilingual minority language populations in both locations.

3.6.1 Parents' languages

All parents had as a minimum basic knowledge of three languages their children spoke, and several had basic or advanced skills in many other languages. This is a sound basis for language transmission; it can be challenging to raise a child in a language the other parent does not speak, or try to learn as they may feel excluded in the heritage language situations, impacting the language use in the home (Yates and Terraschke 2013, p. 106). The 24 languages case study parents stated as having knowledge of are presented in Table 5 below. ISO 639-1 two-letter codes are marked for each language. When discussing the results, the codes are only marked when interviewees code-switched or code-mixed; the original non-English extracts are included in the footnotes.

Language	ISO 639-1 code	Language name in language in question
Albanian	Sq	Shqip
Chinese (Cantonese)	Zh	廣東話 (Gwóngdūng wá)
Chinese (Mandarin)	Zh	中文 (Zhōngwén)
Cornish	Kw	Kernewek
Danish	Da	Dansk
English	En	English
Estonian	Et	Eesti
Finnish	Fi	Suomi
French	Fr	Français
German	De	Deutsch
Hebrew	He	עִבְרִית (Ivrit)
Hokkien	No ISO 639-1 code, used Hokkien	福建話 (Hok-kiàn-ōe)
Hungarian	Hu	Magyar
Irish	Ga	Gaeilge
Italian	It	Italiano
Latin	La	Latine
Malay	Ms	بهاس ملايو (bahasa Melayu)
Norwegian	No	Norsk
Portuguese	Pt	Português
Serbian	Sr	Српски (Srpski)
Spanish	Es	Español
Swedish	Sv	Svenska
Turkish	Tr	Türkçe
Welsh	Cy	Cymraeg

Table 5 ISO 639-1 language codes of the case study families

3.6.2 Case study family profiles

Each family was given a number according to the order in which they were interviewed; families interviewed in Finland were given numbers 1-7, and families in Wales numbers 8-14. Each case study family member was called Mother FAMILY NUMBER, Father FAMILY NUMBER, BoyAGE or GirlAGE instead of a pseudonym. The number straight after Girl/Boy therefore indicates their age at the time of interview. As an example, here are the details of Family 1 from Finland:

Family 1

Mother 1

Father 1

Girl9

Boy4

Table 6 and Table 7 below present each case study family's linguistic profiles, interview dates, basic information regarding the children's language acquisition, and language exposure sources. The table data are based on information provided by parents in the self-administered questionnaires or during the interviews.

Family number, interview date(s) and nuclear family members [languages spoken] age at the time of interview	Information	Children's languages: maternal, paternal, community, school, day care, family language, immigration
Family 1 19.7.2017 Mother [sv-fi-en-fr-it-sp] 42 Father [fr-en-fi-sv] 38 Girl [sv-fr-fi-en] 9 Boy [sv-fr-fi-en-sp] 4	OPOL Swedish and French. The family lived in the US for two years (2014-2016), where the children acquired English and Spanish. Moved back to Finland a year before the interview.	Swedish (mother, pre-school, maternal grandmother) French (father and paternal grandparents) Finnish (environment, maternal grandfather) English (acquired in the US, now school MFL and kindergarten) Spanish (childminder in the US)
Family 2 24.7.2017 Mother [fr-en-he-fi-sv-sp] 32 Father [sv-fi-en-sp-he-fr] 37 Girl [sv-fr-fi-en-he] 7 Boy [sv-fr-fi-en-he] 5	OPOL French and Swedish. Parents speak English to each other but never to the children.	French (mother, maternal extended family) Swedish (father, paternal extended family) English (parents' shared language) Hebrew (some family, religion, MFL school) Finnish (school, some cousins)
Family 3 4.8.2017 + 17.8. 2017 Mother [en-fi-sv-et-fr] 45 Father [sv-fi-en-de-fr-sp] 45 Girl [sv-en-fi] 8 Girl [sv-fi-en] 15 (lives with family part-time)	OPOL Swedish and English. Parents usually speak English to each other. Mother and daughter stayed in the US for four months, otherwise the family has always lived in Finland.	Swedish (school, father) English (mother) Finnish (football practice, previously nanny for three years)
Family 4 7.8.2017 Mother [sv-fi-de-en-fr-da] 40 Father [fi-en-sv-de-it] 44 Boy [sv-fi-de] 10 Girl [sv-fi-de] 9	OPOL Swedish and Finnish. The Finnish family lived in Germany in 2011-2013. Now German is maintained with home language instruction. The mother's parents are Finnish speakers but sent the mother to a Swedish medium nursery as the sister could not get a place in a Finnish nursery. Great grandmother was a Swedish speaker.	Swedish (school, mother) Finnish (father, community) German (through immigration. Lived in Germany for two years)
Family 5 11.8.2017 Mother [sv-fi-en-fr-de] 41 Father [en-fi-sv-de-fr] 40 Girl [sv-fi-fr] 11 Girl [sv-fi-fr] 9 Boy [sv-fi-fr] 5	OPOL Swedish and Finnish. Parents speak Finnish or Swedish to each other. The family lived in a French-speaking country in 2010-2014; French then was introduced and is now maintained with home language instruction.	Swedish (mother, maternal extended family, school) Finnish (father, paternal extended family) French (school in Switzerland, now home language instruction two hour per week and a babysitter)
Family 6 15.8.2017 Mother [hu-en-sv-fi-sr-de-kw-da-no] 39 Father [sv-fi-en-hu] 41 Girl [sv-hu-fi] 12 Boy [sv-hu-fi] 9	OPOL Hungarian and Swedish. Parents speak to each other mainly in Swedish, sometimes in Hungarian or rarely in Finnish. Always lived in Finland but would consider moving to Hungary. Father is half Finnish and half Swedish so does not consider himself a full finlandsvensk.	Hungarian (mother, maternal grandparents) Swedish (school, father, paternal grandparents) Finnish (environment) English (school MFL)
Family 7 18.8.2017 Mother [sv-en-fi] 40 Father [fi-en-sv] 43 Girl [sv-fi-en] 10 Girl [sv-fi-en] 9 Boy [sv-fi-en] 4	OPOL Finnish and Swedish. Mother is a Swedish national. Parents speak English to each other. Always lived in Finland. According to parents, children's strongest language is Swedish but they speak all three.	Swedish (daycare, school, mother, most of the extended family) Finnish (father, some hobbies) English (parents' shared language, MFL)

Table 6 Helsinki family profiles

Family number, interview date(s) and nuclear family members [languages spoken] age at the time of interview	Information	Children's languages: maternal, paternal, community, school, day care, family language, immigration
Family 8 5.7.2018 Mother [en-zh(Mandarin)-cy-fr-zh(Cantonese)-hokkien] 43 Father [cy-en-ms-fr-zh] 50 Boy [cy-zh-en] 12 Girl [cy-zh-en] 9 Boy [cy-zh-en] 7	OPOL Mandarin and Welsh. Parents speak English to each other. The family lived in England between 2011-2014 and in France before that.	Mandarin (mother, maternal extended family Welsh (school, father, paternal extended family) English (community, parents' shared language)
Family 9 25.8.2018 Mother [cy-en-sq] 33 Father [sq-it-en-cy] 41 Girl [cy-en-sq] 4	2P3L. Father speaks Albanian to daughter when they are home alone but also Welsh and English. Mother speaks Welsh to daughter. Together parents speak mainly English or a mixture of the three.	Albanian (father, paternal extended family) Welsh (mother, maternal extended family, father) English (community, father)
Family 10 16.10.2018 Mother [tr-en-cy] 42 Boy [cy-en-tr] 6 Boy [cy-en-tr] 5	1P2L, single-parent family. The mother mainly speaks English with the boys and speaks Turkish just before bed and when they first wake up. At the father's house, the boys speak Welsh. The boys' identity is Welsh, and they have always lived in Wales.	Turkish (mother, extended family in Turkey) Welsh (school, father) English (community, mother)
Family 11 28.10.2018 Mother [de-en-cy-it-zh] 46 Father [en-ga-de-fr] 60 Boy [de-en-cy] 10 Girl [de-en-cy] 8	OPOL German and English. The family stayed extensively in Germany between 2009 and 2014, children attended a nursery and had a childminder there. Children go to a Welsh medium school. Would consider moving to Germany but not Ireland.	German (mother, maternal extended family, long stays) English (father, paternal extended family) Welsh (school)
Family 12 2.12.2018 +2.1.2019 Mother [sp-en-cy] 34 Father [en-cy-sp] 33 Boy [en-cy-sp] 8 Girl [en-cy-sp] 6 Girl [en-cy-sp] 3	Flexible OPOL or 2P2L Spanish and English. Father went to a Welsh primary school (but English secondary school), and children go to a Welsh primary school. Parents speak English and some Spanish together, often a dual lingual conversation. Could consider moving to mother's native country in South America.	Spanish (mother, maternal extended family) English (father, paternal extended family) Welsh (school)
Family 13 16.12.2018 Mother [sp-en-cy-fr-de] 42 Father [es-en-cy-de-it-pt-sv-fr] 44 Boy [sp-en-cy] 8 Girl [sp-en-cy] 4	mL@H. Both parents, immigrants from a Spanish-speaking country, speak Spanish as a family but parents have excellent knowledge of all three languages. The family has always lived in Wales.	Spanish (mother and father, extended family) Welsh (school) English (community)
Family 14 23.12.2018 Mother [fr-en-cy-sp-la] 42 Father [cy- en-fr] 43 Girl [en-fr-cy] 20 Boy [en-fr-cy] 17 Girl [en-fr-cy] 8 Girl [en-fr-cy] 6	OPOL French and Welsh. Parents speak to each other mainly in English, occasionally French and rarely Welsh. Always lived in Wales but have very close contact with France, especially with the first-born, who had extensive studies in the French language.	French (mother, maternal extended family) Welsh (father, paternal extended family) English (school, community)

Table 7 Cardiff family profiles

3.6.3 Sociodemographic factors and socioeconomic status of the parents

When I started contacting potential case study families interested in taking part in the research, it soon transpired that all parents were middle-class professionals, most having completed at least an undergraduate university degree. Highly educated parents or those with a better socioeconomic status may value their languages more, have more resources for language maintenance available to them and thus be more inclined to invest in their children's multilinguality (Tuominen 1999, p. 62). This socioeconomic group was also most eager to take part in the research.

The parents' ages at the time of the interview in Finland ranged from 32 to 45 years. The range in Cardiff was slightly more extensive; the parents were aged between 33 and 60 years. The average age of parents in Finland was 40.5, and in Cardiff 42.5.

The parents had been mobile. Two Cardiff families had lived abroad, and four Helsinki families had lived in another country since having had children, due to work or personal commitments. At least one parent in each family had spent years living away from their country of birth.

3.6.4 Researcher's positionality

This research concentrates on multilingual middle-class, mostly traditional nuclear families. I identify as belonging to this group of people, which has its advantages and limitations. I represent the same age bracket and personal situation as the parents taking part in this study. I was a mother of trilingual children attending kindergarten and pre-school when I stayed in Helsinki in 2017; in Cardiff, my children attended primary school during data collection in 2018 and early 2019. I want to help my children speak three languages: my heritage language, an official minority language, and the majority language. I informally discussed my circumstances and why I was interested in conducting the research with participants before the interview without giving away anything that may impact what they were going to say. This, in my opinion, helped the children and the parents feel comfortable when I visited them and allowed them to freely talk about their experiences. The visit often felt like I was a family friend, an insider, visiting the families rather than a researcher—on several occasions, I was welcomed with open arms and offered food, wine, and cups of tea. Some of the younger children hugged me when I left the family homes. While having this

heart-warming experience, I kept my researcher role, and neutrality in mind, while still interacting with the interviewees. It has been argued that being intimately inside the field does have advantages, such as understanding the case study participants' experiences, access to research participants, a quick establishment of rapport, and trust with participants (Taylor 2011, p. 6).

Indeed, Fontana and Frey (2005, p. 696) question whether the neutrality of the interviewer is either possible or desirable and suggest therefore that taking a stance is unavoidable. In an empathetic approach (Frey and Fontana 2005, p. 696) the interviewer takes an ethical stance in favour of the interviewee being studied. The authors state:

> *The empathetic approach is not merely a "method of friendship"; it is a method of morality because it attempts to restore the sacredness of humans before addressing any theoretical or methodological concerns (Frey and Fontana 2005, p. 697).*

In all but two cases, I initially communicated with the mother of the family. Being a mother of trilingual primary school-aged children, we shared many similar experiences, and I am still in contact with all fourteen case study families.

Intergenerational transmission of at least one language was present in all 14 case study families (see Table 6 and Table 7 for more details of the case study family circumstances). Some parents used the help of formal education or school to pass a language such as Welsh or Finnish to their children. Therefore, some children learned a language, at least partially, through formal instruction rather than via intergenerational transmission. Immigration and exposure to community languages were also ways in which the case study children acquired or learned their languages. Other ways of transmission are briefly discussed in section 2.2.2.

The effect of official language policies in terms of minority languages (Welsh or Swedish) on the case study families' language ideologies, strategies, perceptions, and experiences indicate that the support available supports minority language transmission efforts to a great extent. The families were all located in areas where the minority language had a legal status, enabling local immersion within the autochthonous language communities. A noteworthy proportion of the local population spoke Welsh or Swedish, and these minority languages were viewed as generally prestigious (see Chantreau and Moal 2022, p. 83). Minority language schools, childcare provision, playgroups, leisure activities, radio channels,

and television channels are widely available in Swedish or Welsh in the areas investigated. Transmitting these minority languages in other areas with minimum language policy support could have provided different data. Therefore, the impact of official language policies or the autochthonous aspect was not examined more profoundly in this study.

3.7 Data collection

It was considered that a multimethod approach (Frey and Fontana 2005, p. 722), which some FLP researchers have used (e.g. Curdt-Christiansen 2016) to collect data, would achieve broader, more reliable, and more robust results. The data from observations and questionnaires supported the interview data; triangulation (Denzin 1989), often used in social sciences, gives more reliable and valid answers to research questions. Methodological triangulation in FLP research is a fairly new way to explore the dynamics in a multilingual family more deeply (Schwartz and Verschik 2013, p. 6). The issues of reliability and validity are crucial in research. Oppenheim defines the terms as follows:

> *Reliability refers to the purity and consistency of a measure, to repeatability, to the probability of obtaining the same results again if the measure were to be duplicated. Validity tells us whether the question, item of score measures what it is supposed to measure (Oppenheim 2000, pp. 144-145).*

He stresses that if a measure has excellent validity, it must also be reliable (Oppenheim 2000, p. 145). The observation in the family home helped ascertain the validity of some questions regarding the family's strategies and language use; there have been several cases where parental self-reports of language do not reflect the observed behaviour (Genesee et al. 1995, p. 626).

The problem of attitudinal validity is “one of the most difficult in social research and one to which an adequate solution is not yet in sight” because attitudinal questions can be more sensitive than factual questions in wording, context, and emphasis (Oppenheim 2000, pp. 147-149). Therefore, in addition to questionnaires, questions regarding attitudes were used during the interviews to obtain as valid answers as possible regarding attitudes.

A personal diary of the research was maintained to improve rigour (Vaismoradi et al. 2013, p. 403). It contained observations about each family, notes after the initial meeting with projected participants, and detailed notes after the visits to family homes.

3.7.1 Self-administered questionnaire

In addition to personal communication (text, in person, email, WhatsApp, or Facebook messenger), detailed background information was collected through online self-administered questionnaires (Bryman 2015, p. 221) pre-interview. The questionnaires gave me knowledge of the parents' views and experiences, enabling me to prompt them during the interviews to get fuller answers with greater detail.

After the parents were met in person, they were sent a link to the questionnaire that could be filled in either in English or Finnish. The closed questions provided precise answers (Wray and Bloomer 2013, p. 167) and open-ended questions gave the interviewees more freedom to express their perceptions regarding the family's circumstances. This information or anything that was unclear was clarified at the very beginning of the interview.

The benefits of the self-administered questionnaire are the absence, or minimal interviewer effects, minimised social desirability bias, and the ability to answer questions when and how interviewees wish (Bryman 2015, p. 222). A disadvantage is that the interviewer cannot prompt or probe (Bryman 2015, p. 223). However, the problem of respondents not answering the questionnaire in the correct order is minimised by an online survey, because the respondents can only see a small number of questions at a time (Bryman 2015, p. 224).

The survey used the analysis-friendly (Wray and Bloomer 2013, p. 172) SurveyMonkey platform, which allows the use of fonts, print sizes, bold, italics, and capital letters in a consistent manner (Bryman 2015, p. 226), making the questionnaire appear as clear as possible.

At the top of each questionnaire page was an introductory paragraph (Oppenheim, 2000, p. 142) or a title introducing the section. Any definitions or topics were briefly explained if deemed necessary. For the respondents to provide good quality reliable information, simple and unambiguous questions were formulated, and the first questions were straightforward (Wray and Bloomer 2013, p. 171).

Five Finnish parents responded in Finnish, taking an average of just over 44 minutes to fill in the questionnaire; the eight parents responding in English spent on average of 56 minutes. The 13 Cardiff parents filling in the questionnaire in English took an average of just under 43 minutes. This shows that the parents were committed and interested in spending time

participating in the research and contemplating their FLP.

Blank parent questionnaires are included in Appendix J and Appendix K.

3.7.2 Semi-structured interviews

To obtain primary data, semi-structured interviews were conducted in the family homes. For many FLP studies (e.g. King and Fogle 2006; Wilson 2019), this has been viewed as a valuable method to collect data.

The interviews were carried out at the family homes, which provided a familiar and possibly quieter environment. I first interviewed the parents together, because of the advantages this format has. A joint couple interview solves the ethical problems of anonymity and consent among the two interviewees. It creates a common story of multilingual parenting; it saves time; and results in rich data, including disagreements, involving observational data of how the parents interact and behave (Bjørnholt and Farstad 2014), of which I took notes.

Prior to visiting the family homes, I asked the parents which language they, and their children, would feel as the most comfortable interview language. Each interviewee could choose to be interviewed in English, Finnish, Swedish, Welsh, Spanish, or French. I then started conducting the interviews in the chosen language, but at times, the conversation flow led to code-switching or mixing or changing to a different language we shared. Parental interviews were conducted in English, Finnish, and Spanish. If necessary, for instance, due to the lack of linguistic skills or confidence in a language, the children's interviews were conducted in more than one language. Some children were quieter than others, so I asked questions in the language they were more confident in. There are more details about interview languages in Table 8 and Table 9 below. Some parts or questions of certain children's interviews were carried out in French, Spanish, Swedish, or Welsh to get more detailed information if the children were more familiar with a specific language or more likely to respond in that language. Some children initiated the code-switch to Welsh or French. The parent of one case study family in Finland felt that her children would rather be interviewed in Swedish as it is the children's strongest language.

The interviews were audio-recorded digitally using a portable Zoom H2n Handy Recorder with five built-in microphones. A backup copy was recorded using an iPhone Voice Memos application.

The semi-structured interview allowed specific topics to be covered, whilst giving the interviewee a lot of leeway in their replies (Bryman 2015, p. 468). This type of interview also ensures cross-case comparability of the case study families (Bryman 2015, p. 469).

It was expected that a range of issues would be discovered that would not be revealed by simple observation (Bryman 2015, p. 494). One of the issues arising during several interviews in Helsinki, with no prompting, was the status of the Swedish-speaking minority, and the majority population's attitudes towards them—similar experiences regarding English speaker attitudes towards Welsh speakers were reported in Cardiff.

3.7.2.1 Structure of the interview

There is a set structure even for the semi-structured interview. As Kvale puts it:

> *The conversation in a research interview is not the reciprocal interaction of two equal partners. There is a definite asymmetry of power: The interviewer defines the situation, introduces the topics of the conversation, and through further questions steers the course of the interview* (Kvale 1996, p. 126).

To avoid social desirability bias, interviewees were reminded of the importance of accuracy (Oppenheim 2000, p. 138) at the beginning of the interview process. Interviewees were given a short briefing which defined the situation, mentioned the recording device, and asked if they had any questions (Kvale 1996, p. 128). The information sheet clarifying the aims of the research was given to the participants. I also checked at the start of the interview that the correct person had answered the self-administered questionnaires (Bryman 2015, p. 224).

The interviews were concluded by informing the participant that there were no further questions. I then asked if they had any questions, or anything they wanted to mention. This gave the interviewees an additional opportunity to deal with anything they had been thinking or worrying about during the interview (Kvale 1996, p. 128).

After each interview had been conducted, notes were compiled. They specified how the interview went; what was learned; interpersonal interaction; immediate impressions; the interview location and setting; and feelings about the interview (Kvale 1996, p. 129; Bryman 2015, p. 472).

3.7.2.2 Interview guide

A list of questions is detailed in the interview schedule (Appendix L, Appendix M, and Appendix N). Questions were carefully drafted and kept short so that they were easy for the respondents to answer fully, and they were not too one-sided (Oppenheim 2000, pp. 121, 125). Good care was taken so that the questions flowed, questions were clear, and the language was appropriate for the case study family members with no technical terms or abbreviations (Oppenheim 2000, pp. 122, 126). It was also essential that definitions were offered for any problem words (Oppenheim 2000, p. 125), such as "family", which may mean different things to different people. Leading questions and loaded words which are emotionally coloured and suggest an automatic feeling of approval or disapproval (Oppenheim 2000, p. 137) were avoided.

3.7.2.3 Interviewing children

Prior to interviewing the children, I spent time in the house interviewing the adults and casually talking to the children to build a good rapport. The children were then explained at an age-appropriate level the objective and the process of the interview, and they were reassured that they did not have to answer any questions or could stop at any point. When applicable, siblings could choose to be interviewed at the same time to make them more comfortable and allow additional observation. They could also choose to speak to me separately. One family's children wanted to have their individual interviews. Children were then asked again which language they wanted to be interviewed in.

As discussed earlier, the multidisciplinary theoretical framework of this thesis combines insights from FLP (e.g. King et al. 2008; Schwartz and Moin 2012; Curdt-Christiansen 2013a; Smith-Christmas 2016a). The framework stresses the importance of the child, which is why a crucial part of the data is obtained from interviewing and observing children. The children's age group was chosen to be UK primary school-aged children (ages 4-12). The children have by then passed the initial language development phase and may have a more established language pattern. Therefore, all child research subjects were children whose parents most probably had set patterns for FLP. Most had reached school age or had a childcare facility, which provided exposure to one or more languages. Additionally, this age group allowed using the same interview methods for the whole group of children rather than using different methods for each age group in a more comprehensive selection. Another reason

why children under the age of four were not interviewed is that the youngest participants may not yet be able to communicate fully, especially with an unknown person, which would have made data collection more complex. This challenge was experienced during the pilot study phase, as one younger pilot study child talked in gibberish and just repeated an older sibling's answers.

Although the age group of the case study children was 4-12, some families had children of other ages (between 3 and 20 years), as detailed in Table 6 and Table 7 (see pp. 68-69). The total number of children living at home at the time of visits to the family homes in both seven Helsinki and seven Cardiff families was the same: 16. Helsinki families had a larger number of girls (ten) and six boys. Eight Cardiff children living at home were boys, and eight were girls.

One Cardiff child aged 20 was in higher education but visiting home at the time of interview just before Christmas 2018. She occasionally participated in the parents' interview. The 15-year-old of Family 3 lived with the family part-time and was not in the flat during either visit. Helsinki children that were interviewed had an average age of 7.9 years. Cardiff children's average age was 6.9 years.

Some of the data in 7 below were gathered during parental interviews. Indeed, discussion with parents can give us an indication into the social construction of parenting and family life dynamics (Hillier and Aurini 2018, p. 505).

The interview with the children in the research context was seen as a discussion in a social situation. Creative methodologies have a place in this type of research. However, there is no proof that creative methodologies are any better at obtaining information from children than just talking to them on their level. The pilot studies with multilingual children demonstrated that using creative methodologies was not a necessary measure on this occasion. Therefore, nothing conceptual was added.

The parents were asked to leave the room or interview space (such as a play house) for the duration of the interview as I tried to minimise the parent-effect or how parents influence their children's data in child-centred research (Hillier and Aurini 2018, p. 504).

Researching children gives children the opportunity to voice their opinions while respecting their agency, defined in this interview instance as "the capacity of children to act or choose,

in the research process" (Hillier and Aurini 2018, p. 493). Previous work on child agency examines whether children have the requisite language skills to provide useful information and whether certain research techniques are developmentally or methodologically appropriate (Cremin and Slatter, 2004). Beyond these practical issues, the literature also examines how authority differences between researchers and children may compromise children's ability to participate in research freely and meaningfully (Kirk 2007; Harris et al. 2015). Some research touches on the more practical issues of including parents in child-centred research. Researchers that interview parents and children together find that there are instances where a parent's presence provides comfort for nervous children and follow-up questions to remind children about details of specific events (Bushin, 2007; Eggenberger and Nelms, 2007; Harden et al., 2010; MacLean and Harden, 2014). Others hint at data-quality problems if parents contradict, correct, or limit the information their children might share without their presence.

3.7.2.4 Pilot studies

Online self-administered questionnaires were piloted in June 2017 by parents of two trilingual families living in north Wales, speaking English, Finnish, and Welsh. The final questionnaire was then piloted by two trilingual parents in both case study locations: one in Cardiff and one in Helsinki.

Several changes were made to the survey after piloting, including clearer language, examples of possible answers to guide respondents, adding an option for a third child's language exposure time scale, making Finnish translation more suitable for the audience, shortening page titles, adding an eighth language option, and removing one unnecessary question. The researcher's contact details were also added to the end of the questionnaire.

A face-to-face pilot interview of a parent of multilingual children was carried out to determine the time scale of interviews as well as the length and formulation of the questions.

After the initial pilots, questions were translated into Finnish and tested on a Finnish-speaking multilingual family. Children's questions were translated into Swedish and tested on bilingual Swedish-speaking children living in Helsinki metropolitan Area.

3.7.2.5 Interview transcription

During the visits to family homes I recorded children's interviews in one file and the longer parental interviews in two or more separate files. Altogether these files produced fourteen parent interviews and sixteen child interviews. Transcription involved uploading the audio files one by one from the recorder onto the computer, opening them in ExpressScribe and transcribing into a Word document.

Thematic analysis (see 3.8 below) does not require the same level of detail in the transcript as conversation, discourse, or narrative analysis. The importance is that the transcription for thematic analysis is true to its original nature (Braun and Clarke 2006, p. 88). Therefore, pauses, some repetition, or most discussion unrelated to the research topic (such as conversations about matters like the weather or talking with the neighbours during the interview) were not transcribed.

The 25 hours and 30 minutes of audio-recorded interviews were transcribed in their original languages.

Parental interviews lasted, on average, just over an hour when breaks were deducted, and interview files put together; children's interviews took a maximum of half an hour each. The transcribed data set was very large: the recordings produced a total of 440 pages, or 134,878 words, including questions, answers, and additional notes regarding topics of unrelated conversation or people leaving or entering the interview space. Table 8, below, details the length of the interviews in terms of words produced and pages written, as well as languages used during the interviews that took place in Finland; Table 9 provides the same information regarding interviews that took place in the Welsh family homes.

Case study family number	Transcript pages		Transcribed words		Main language of interview	
	Parents	Children	Parents	Children	Parents	Children
1	29	8	10871	1816	English	English, Swedish
2	24	7	8650	1760	English	Finnish
3	19	11	6968	2406	English	English
4	20	12	6313	1984	Finnish	Finnish
5	25	7	8518	1668	Finnish	Finnish
6	19	10	7448	2234	English	Swedish
7	24	11	9155	1725	English	Finnish
Helsinki total	160	66	57,923	13,593		

Table 8 Length and languages of Helsinki interviews

Case study family number	Transcript pages		Transcribed words		Main language of interview	
	Parents	Children	Parents	Children	Parents	Children
8	13	9	4102	1428	English	English, Welsh
9	21	8	6846	1370	English	English, Welsh
10	19	8, 7, 6	6849	1621, 1246, 1686	English	English
11	18	11	6830	2349	English	English
12	18	8	6307	1792	English, Spanish	English, Spanish
13	22	10	7704	1745	Spanish	Spanish
14	23	13	8047	3440	English	English
Cardiff total	134	80	46,685	16,667		

Table 9 Length and languages of Cardiff interviews

3.7.2.6 Interview translation

Each interview included code-switching or code-shifting to some extent. The interviews were mostly conducted in Finnish, English, Spanish, or Swedish.

Few studies look at the practical side of the translation processes of multilingual researchers (Sutrisno et al. 2014; Gawlewicz 2016, p. 31). I decided to only translate extracts for the purpose of this thesis. Translating each interview into English may have resulted in losing the significance of some nuances or meanings and would have also been unnecessarily time-consuming.

The recommendations of previous research were followed in the translation process to produce a thesis accessible to an English-speaking audience. English is the language I share with my supervisors and chose to conduct this research in. Prior research suggests several ways of guaranteeing accurate translated data. Following these recommendations, I ensured that translation errors were minimised by having the help of translators to proofread the online questionnaires, information sheets, consent forms, and interview schedule of questions; translation as a limitation of the study was acknowledged; more than one translator was used; suitability of the methodology was discussed; and the translation process was made transparent (Squires 2009; Sutrisno et al. 2014). There were minimal language barriers between the researcher and the participants resulting in a very small risk of inaccuracy of the data (Squires 2009) as I spoke at least one language the family members used on a daily basis. Although I may not have the shared language experience with the participants, I took good care to not do a direct translation but to translate the meaning of the original utterance (Gawlewicz 2016, p. 32) into English, using my cultural understanding. I have worked as a translator for the best part of the last 20 years, using all the interview languages to some extent. It is acknowledged that “a translator always makes her mark on the research” (Temple and Young 2004, p. 171). Great care was taken to provide accurate data. One limitation of cross-language research depends on the judgement of the researcher (Sutrisno et al. 2014).

The extracts used as quotes in this thesis were translated with precision. Both the original passage, and translation into English of selected quotations are included in the results chapters for transparency. As a researcher and translator, I aimed to see myself as neutral

and objective, transmitting the message of the interviewees in languages I also speak, being able to check the validity of interpretations and cultural meanings (Temple and Young 2004, p. 167), which is why I, rather than another translator, did the translation of the extracts into English.

3.7.3 Observation

The reason for observation was to find out how languages are used in the family environment because it can be difficult for multilingual people to give an accurate estimation of their language use or level of their languages (Ammon et al. 2005, p. 1109). In addition to this, by observing family interactions, we can gain an understanding of the hierarchy of languages, and get insights into the children's language development, language shift, and language change (Curdt-Christiansen 2016, p. 696). The advantage of observation, in addition to interviews, allows examining families' behaviour and it may uncover unexpected topics or issues (Bryman 2015, p. 493) that are not revealed during the interviews.

The observation usually took place at the end of the visit to the family homes. It was carried out in an overt manner (Bryman 2015, p. 425); families were informed of the observation. To minimise the observer's paradox, family interactions were usually observed during lunch or dinner time, or other activities like family board games, to allow a natural environment. I left the room while the family members interacted with each other. I occasionally acted as a minimally participating observer (Bryman 2015, p. 436), helped the families with minor tasks, interacted, or played with the children but mainly remained in another room or floor, away from the setting, out of sight if possible during the actual observation. During two of the observations, when I appeared again, the children stated that they had forgotten I was in the house. The first five minutes of each recording were ignored so that the participants could get used to the recording equipment and act as naturally as possible.

While observing the families, I took additional field notes or comprehensive summaries of events and behaviour and the initial reflections on the events (Bryman 2015, p. 440). The notes detailed the family's language use; caregiver and child's responses to language mixing; code-switching; children's reactions to language strategies in use; translanguaging; attitudes; child-directed speech; dual-lingual conversations; language between family

members; and monolingual, bilingual or multilingual speech modes.

Some parts of the observation were digitally recorded, photographed, or filmed to help picture the setting. Using photographs and film recording was solely for my own use and these were only published with the explicit permission from the participants to give life to posters, blog posts, or presentations (Bryman 2015, p. 140).

3.7.4 Data collection limitations

Had a family that had been interviewed decided to withdraw from the research or proved to be unsuitable (for instance, if it came to light during the interview that the family did not fulfil all requirements, such as being, in fact, bilingual instead of multilingual), an alternative family would have been found. Luckily, this did not happen, possibly due to the thorough pre-interview work I had conducted.

Mishearing interviewees is a risk as it may affect the meaning of replies (Bryman 2015, p. 11). Therefore, additional questions were asked if the meaning was unclear. Also, digitally recording the interviews meant that the recordings are superior, there is a possibility to enhance the recording, and they can be played back on a computer (Bryman 2015, p. 480). The presence of a microphone may cause some people not to be able to speak as freely to provide interesting data (Bryman 2015, p. 480). However, most children seemed to enjoy the interview process and were excited about the presence of a microphone.

Qualitative research is difficult to replicate, and there are problems of generalisation (Bryman 2015, pp. 398, 399). It is vital to remember that the study is not a description of all, or even most, multilingual families in the two areas. Generalising findings (Bryman 2015, p. 64) of the families cannot be made across all multilingual families—it is important to note that this is just an analysis of the families in question and their perceptions. However, there were recurrent themes within the 14 families, which have been found to be frequent in many multilingual families.

To closely investigate the data from families, it is crucial to first familiarise ourselves with the case study families' circumstances. The children had gained their languages in a variety of ways, and each family's situation was distinctive. Most families had two children, some had one, and one family had four children. Most children were assumed neurotypical with no developmental issues; two had disabilities. There was one single-parent family, one

father was remarried. Among the group were immigrant parents and those who had lived abroad but returned to their country of birth. The existence of the extended family, family mobility and family constellations are all essential factors determining the linguistic level a child can achieve. By examining the families, we can begin to understand their resources and the possibilities of transmitting multiple languages.

In addition to the family circumstances, it could be argued that the families self-selected to take part in the study as they were interested in dedicating time to discuss and further develop their children's language abilities. The fourteen families had the cultural capital of education (Bourdieu 1997), and many were very self-aware when it came to their language approach.

It was expected that the interviewees had an interest in multilingualism, and therefore were willing to participate in the research process despite not directly benefiting from it. Several families got in touch afterwards as they felt that talking about the family's language approach had served as a linguistic therapy session; it had made them think more about the children's languages or take action to improve their language development.

The potential problem of insensitivity to specific national and cultural contexts (Bryman 2015, p. 65) was considerably reduced by the researcher's experience of having lived in the two capital cities for 19 and 15 years, respectively, at the time of interviews.

The multiple-case study methodology has been criticised for the fact that the researcher may pay less attention to the specific context and more to the ways in which the cases can be contrasted and forced to forge comparisons (Bryman 2015, p. 68). I ensured that no artificial comparisons were created between the case study families.

Qualitative research has also been criticised for being too impressionistic and subjective (Bryman 2015, p. 398). Qualitative studies may rely too much on the researcher's unsystematic views of what is significant and important. There is also the risk of losing objectivity as the researcher may strike a personal relationship with the people studied (Bryman 2015, p. 398). Nevertheless, this may be necessary, especially in the case of children, to open up and talk freely.

Another criticism of qualitative research has been the lack of transparency or explanation of how the researcher arrived at the study's conclusions (Bryman 2015, p. 399). Therefore,

there is a detailed account above of how research participants were selected and why they were interviewed and observed in a particular way. A detailed description of the data analysis has also been included for transparency.

There is a possibility that parents are likely not to talk about their actual behaviour to the researcher. Interviewing children and observation at the family homes backed up the parents' accounts. Family may also behave differently because of the observer effect, which is why to minimise the invasion of a family's routine, a small audio-recording device was usually used instead of a larger device.

This study did not consider non-verbal signs in detail, which may give more clues about the interviews.

3.8 Thematic analysis

A key element of qualitative research is the process of data analysis (Maguire and Delahunt 2017, p. 3351). Qualitative methodologies overlap substantially, and they have different epistemological approaches seeking an understanding of a specific phenomenon from the perspective of the person experiencing it (Vaismoradi et al. 2013, p. 398).

Thematic analysis (henceforth, TA) was used to extract and categorise core themes (Bryman 2015, p. 11). It was chosen because it is said to be a reliable, flexible, and relevant paradigm for analysis (King 2004, p. 268; Braun and Clarke 2006, p. 77; Vaismoradi et al. 2013, p. 400; Nowell et al. 2017, pp. 1-2; Braun and Clarke 2022). Braun and Clarke (2006) developed a robust set of guidelines for the analysis of the data, and TA is now recognised as a method in its own right (Joffe 2012, p. 210).

TA is a flexible method. It can be used within a range of epistemological and theoretical perspectives from realist/essentialist and constructionist paradigms (King et al. 2008, p. 256; Vaismoradi et al. 2013, p. 400; Maguire and Delahunt 2017, p. 3352).

TA forces the researcher to take a well-structured approach to handle data, which should lead to a clear and organised final presentation of a research project (King 2004, p. 268). TA aims to identify important or interesting themes or patterns in the data addressing the research (Maguire and Delahunt 2017, p. 3353).

Despite the lack of substantial literature on TA (King 2004, p. 268; Vaismoradi et al. 2013, p.

403) compared to, e.g. grounded theory, ethnography, or phenomenology (Nowell et al. 2017, p. 2), the theory has been extensively used in different fields (Braun and Clarke 2006), such as psychology (e.g. Valashjardi and Charles 2019), health sciences (e.g. Harper 2018), sociolinguistics (e.g. Peace-Hughes et al. 2021), and social sciences (e.g. Pickens and Braun 2018). Several published papers have, in fact, used TA. However, the methodology has described it as something different, such as content analysis—a general term for different ways of analysing, coding and categorising text—or the method has not been identified (Vaismoradi et al. 2013, p. 400). TA indeed is similar to content analysis, including searching for patterns and themes across data (Vaismoradi et al. 2013, p. 398), as demonstrated below.

TA enables the use of a priori codes and the ability to handle larger data sets more comfortably (King 2004, p. 257), which is why it was chosen over other analyses, such as interpretative phenomenological analysis. As I wanted to base some analysis on previous research, the importance of *a priori* codes meant that grounded theory was deemed an unsuitable method for this study.

3.8.1 Six step method of thematic analysis

In this analysis, Braun and Clarke's (2006; 2022) six step method of TA (2018) was used to produce the final themes systematically. Maguire and Delahunt (2017, p. 3353) consider it the most influential approach in the social sciences as it offers a clear and usable framework for TA. In their online lecture, Braun and Clarke (2018) describe this process as "complex, recursive qualitative research that is not linear".

Phases of TA based on Braun and Clarke (2006, pp. 87-93) six step method are as follows:

Phase 1. Familiarising yourself with your data

This involved noting down initial ideas (Maguire and Delahunt 2017, p. 3355), repeated listening of the interviews, and actively reading the interview transcriptions to search for meanings and patterns (Nowell et al. 2017, p. 5) across the collected data.

Phase 2. Generating initial codes

The second phase allowed me to consistently simplify and focus on the specific characteristics of the data to discover important sections (Nowell et al. 2017, pp. 5-6) or

interesting features. Initial codes were generated by adding them under themes or sub-themes. Coding reduced the data into smaller, separate sections (Maguire and Delahunt 2017, p. 3355), which helped me see if the themes would be useful. Braun and Clarke (2018) stress that the more complex and interpretative themes that go beyond the obvious come with time and reflection, which is why I initially set several potential themes/patterns of the interview data (Braun and Clarke 2006, p. 89), together with examples or extracts of data for each theme recorded. Qualitative research software NVivo was chosen to organise the interview transcripts because the data set was large (Maguire and Delahunt 2017, p. 3356). NVivo also allows indexing segments to themes, linking research notes to coding, carrying out search and retrieve operations, and enabling the examination of relationships amongst themes (King 2004, p. 263).

Phase 3. Searching for themes, or generating themes

When all data had been collated, initial codes were divided into main themes and subthemes (Nowell et al. 2017, p. 8). Free nodes or miscellaneous themes (Braun and Clarke 2006, p. 9) that did not seem to fit a category were also initially recorded within the parent nodes. Themes were generated deductively (Boyatzis 1998) from prior research, providing a more detailed analysis of some aspects of the data but producing a less detailed description of the overall data (Braun and Clarke 2006). Some initial themes had been identified within the interview schedule, but any unanticipated themes discovered during the interviews were added. Visualisation or mapping (Braun and Clarke 2018) of potential themes was put together for the visual presentation of themes, codes, and their relationships and descriptions (Vaismoradi et al. 2013, p. 403).

Phase 4. Reviewing themes

The themes were revised to see if a coherent pattern appeared (Nowell et al. 2017, p. 9), generating a thematic map of the analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006, pp. 87, 91-92). The following questions, suggested by Maguire and Delahunt (2017, p. 3358), guided the review of the themes: Do they make sense? Does the data support the themes? Am I trying to fit too much into a theme? If themes overlap, are they really separate themes? Are there themes within themes (sub-themes)? Are there other themes within the data? As a result, some themes were merged, and others were broken into separate themes. The review was

stopped when nothing substantial could be added (Braun and Clarke 2006, p. 92).

Phase 5. Defining and naming themes

A thematic map with a complete coding structure of data was redefined. A detailed analysis of each theme was drafted, describing how it fits into the overall combined data (Nowell et al. 2017, p. 10) and how subthemes and main themes related to each other (Maguire and Delahunt 2017, p. 33511).

Phase 6. Producing the report

Before the final analysis and the write-up (Nowell et al 2017, p. 10), a scholarly report was produced, detailing direct short and long quotes from the interviews to build an understanding of the phenomena of this study (King 2004, p. 267). It also included references to the literature (Nowell et al. 2017, p. 11). A table was used to present the themes, subthemes (Nowell et al. 2017, p. 11), and overarching themes. The write-up detailed in the following results chapters aims to demonstrate the merit and validity of the analysis, to provide a "concise, coherent, logical and non-repetitive and interesting account of the story the data tell - within and across themes" (Braun and Clarke 2006, p. 93).

3.8.2 Codes

King (2004, p. 256) describes the core of TA as a list of codes representing themes identified in the data. Braun and Clarke (2018) consider codes as analytic entities which capture something interesting in the data that can develop or change over time. They are labels attached to a section of text to index it as relating to a theme or issue in the data (King et al. 2008, p. 257). Codes cluster together to create building blocks of the themes.

Codes can be semantic, latent, or a mixture of the two (Braun and Clarke 2018). Semantic codes (e.g. own reflections of experience, such as fear or anxiety of how people may react) capture the obvious, surface meaning of the data. Latent codes may capture the underlying assumptions underpinning the surface meaning or use pre-existing theories and concepts to interpret the data, such as the interpretation of cultural landscape to make sense of what is being said (Braun and Clarke 2018).

3.8.3 Themes and sub-themes

Braun and Clarke define themes as follows: “something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set” (Braun and Clarke 2006, p. 82).

Themes should be rich, have a central point or core idea, and not create an overly complicated thematic structure or overly fragmented analysis with too many separate themes (Braun and Clarke 2018). They are significant (Maguire and Delahunt 2017, p. 3356) in relation to the research.

Deductive, or theoretical thematic analysis, which is driven by the researcher's theoretical interest in the area and is explicitly analyst-driven (Braun and Clarke 2006, p. 84), was first chosen to keep a close link to the research questions, existing concepts, and relevant literature reviewed in the literature review. This allowed looking at previous research and interview data separately, using both a top-down and bottom-top approach.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter first looked at the research methods used in this study. Self-administered online questionnaires, observations, and interviews were conducted to answer the research questions.

The research was done in three phases. First, pilot self-administered online questionnaires and pilot interviews were carried out among multilingual families in Finland and Wales. Second, the fieldwork phase was completed first in Helsinki during July and August 2017 and then in Cardiff between July 2018 and January 2019.

This chapter then detailed the choices made regarding how the data was transcribed, reviewed, translated, organised, coded, and analysed.

I first considered how the transcriptions were scrutinised to identify initial themes and how they developed into themes recurring in previous studies to guide the analysis. I considered how the TA progressed over time from initial notes for themes to finalised themes, following the six steps developed by Braun and Clarke (2006).

The findings are presented in the four results chapters as a thematic presentation, using the 14 different individual case studies in both countries to illustrate each of the main themes.

Good care was taken to tackle the main challenges of TA (and most qualitative research): the balance of being open to the data but also imposing the structure of the analytical process. Therefore, particular attention was paid to select cases to represent the themes in the data as a whole and not lose individual participants' voices in the analysis (King 2004, pp. 268-269).

The next chapter aims to answer the first research question. It investigates the parental language ideologies; or motivations for transmitting three or more languages to their children and views regarding multilingual parenting.

4 Chapter four: Parental language ideologies

4.1 Introduction

We perceive languages as having value, power and utility upon which we base our language ideology (Curdt-Christiansen 2009, p. 355). King et al. (2008, p. 911) defined this ideology as "the underlying force in language practices and planning". Language ideology has a number of different definitions depending on the area studied (Selleck 2012, pp. 19-20). For the purpose of this thesis, the definition by King et al. (2008) above is most useful because in multilingual families this set of beliefs, or ideology, play a significant role (Palviainen and Bergroth 2018, p. 264), forming the FLP (Spolsky 2004). Family language ideology, or the goals, plans, intentions and beliefs concerning language development (Schwartz et al. 2013, p. 23), defined as a force rather than just a set of beliefs, indicates its active role in each family's life when creating an FLP.

One key area of study for FLP research is parental language ideology, often reflecting societal attitudes (King et al. 2008, p. 907). FLP, which is thus founded on language ideology, is an ongoing process, which starts before the potentially multilingual child is born (Purkarthofer 2019). The ideologies of the parents, as well as the social and cultural context of family life, shape FLP and the identity choices of the family members (Smagulova 2019, p. 752). Therefore, language ideology is often seen as the driving force, and language belief as the source of creating an FLP (Curdt-Christiansen 2013a, p. 2; 2016, p. 695).

An increasing number of parents view bilingualism as an opportunity and attempt to transmit more than one language to young children, whether it is a heritage language or an additional language not spoken by either parent (King and Fogle 2006, pp. 695-696). Parents may have different language ideologies and motivations for transmitting two or more languages to their children based on their experiences. In this chapter, I explore the parents' accounts describing their own values, beliefs, language ideologies (King et al. 2008), and language attitudes (Yamamoto 2002; De Houwer 2015; Smith-Christmas 2016a) regarding raising multilingual children. Previous research (e.g. Fraser 2020, p. 226) indicates that parental attitudes (in addition to education level) correlate directly to the amount of language input the children receive.

There is little work on how parents form language ideologies and how these ideologies

shape FLP (King et al. 2008, p. 913). Curdt-Christiansen (2009, pp. 355-356) suggests that the complex, content-specific parental language ideology formation is based on macro factors, such as the political, cultural, economic, and sociolinguistic environment; and micro factors that may include home literacy environments, parental expectations (or goals for children's multilingual development), education and language experience, and knowledge of bilingualism. Previous studies have shown that parents of a potentially multilingual child base their choices regarding language transmission on a variety of influences: their perceptions of public discourse regarding multilingual parenting, parenting advice literature, expert advice, popular press, extended family, other multilingual families (King and Fogle 2006, pp. 697, 700), societal attitudes, beliefs and evaluations of languages, parents' own experiences (Purkarthofer 2019, pp. 725-726), and also prejudices, myths and religious restrictions (Curdt-Christiansen 2009, pp. 352-353). In addition to this, parental beliefs and expectations of children's ability and bilingual development have a major impact on parental language choice (Curdt-Christiansen 2016, p. 695). Language ideologies of parents are indistinctly connected with other aspects of parenthood, such as parents' beliefs of what constitutes "good" or "bad parenting" (King and Fogle 2006, p. 697; King et al. 2008, p. 913; Curdt-Christiansen 2016, p. 696). Parents often view multilingualism as a "good parenting" choice.

This first results and findings chapter concentrates on language ideologies, beliefs, values, attitudes, and identities of the parents, which steer their wish to raise multilingual children in the first place. It contributes to previous work alongside the more recent FLP studies investigating the ideologies and identities of multilingual family members (King and Lanza 2019, pp. 718-719); these topics have been looked at by numerous scholars (e.g. King and Fogle 2006; Kopeliovich 2013; Curdt-Christiansen 2016; Gallo and Hornberger 2019; Purkarthofer 2019; Smagulova 2019). I will explore the self-reported views and perceptions expressed by the 27 parents taking part in the interviews conducted in the family homes to answer the first research question:

i. *How do parents of potentially multilingual children describe their language ideologies?*

In short, the objective of this chapter is to explain the parental ideologies leading them to raise potentially multilingual children—or why and how the families are multilingual.

4.2 Parental language ideologies

This chapter first looks at language ideologies based on factors motivating multilingual language transmission decisions, which may be based on the parents' own experiences or observed experiences of other multilingual families. The case study participants discussed a variety of perceived benefits of multilingualism, from the maintenance of cultural ties to economic opportunities for their children (King and Fogle 2006, pp. 696, 700). Curdt-Christiansen's (2009) study of ten trilingual (Chinese, English, and French) Chinese immigrant families in Quebec, Canada, indicated that political, cultural, and economic factors were most significant in motivating the parents' decisions to transmit three languages. I found eight themes arising from motivational parental language ideologies to pursue multilingualism: Transmitting heritage and identity; Communication with extended family; Inspired by other polyglot families; The more, the merrier; The earlier, the better; Increased cognitive abilities; Languages open doors; and A gift.

I will then investigate other language ideologies that have impacted the families' FLP and the way they may want to raise polyglot children; what is important to them in multilingual parenting. These themes include Future agency of the child, and The importance of having a main language.

4.2.1 Transmitting heritage and identity

Previous literature has investigated the topic of transmitting heritage and identity alongside a heritage language (see e.g. Curdt-Christiansen 2009; Lanza and Gomes 2020; Macleod 2022). Several studies demonstrate that parents often recognise the link between language and culture, and see transmission of both as a motivational goal; supporting heritage language development promotes a healthy ethnic and cultural identity (Szilagyi and Szecsi 2020, pp. 116-117). Szilagy and Szecsi (2020) conducted a qualitative study of 101 Hungarian background immigrant parents living in the US. They found that most of the participants wanted their children to acquire "Hungarian cultural heritage as a building block of their identity" (p. 125); the parents wished their children would learn about Hungarian history, and gain a deep understanding understanding of their roots alongside the language.

This theme is about the parental belief that by transmitting a heritage language, you also transmit a child their heritage, or a language is a part of a child's heritage and identity.

Indeed, multilinguality is interlinked with identity (Aronin and Ó Laoire 2004). Identity could be described as “how people understand their relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how people understand their possibilities for the future” (Norton 1997, p. 410).

Language identity and the language of emotions that a parent may want to speak to their children can also change over time (Verschik 2022). Park and Sarkar (2007) looked at nine trilingual families with a Korean parent in traditionally bilingual Montreal. The families had two majority languages in addition to Korean: English and French. Each family had positive attitudes towards maintaining the children's Korean language to keep their identity as Koreans. Other reasons included efficient communication with grandparents (discussed in 4.2.2) and better future economic opportunities (see 4.2.7). The Korean church, along with the Korean community, played a significant role in maintaining the Korean language as this allowed the second-generation immigrant children to be exposed to the Korean language and culture (see 5.2.4 below).

At least one parent in each case study family spoke either the official minority language (Swedish or Welsh) or a foreign heritage language (such as Spanish or Mandarin) as their mother tongue or at a similar level. Parents wished to transmit this heritage language to the children to support the transmission of the children’s heritage and to strengthen their identity.

A person’s identity is intertwined with their ideology. The parents of Family 5 spoke about a Finnish parent they had met while living abroad, who had not transmitted their native language, Finnish:

Family 5

Father: It is sad to have a Finnish person who cannot speak their mother tongue. The contact with your own roots and your own culture disappears by force. You cannot understand a culture if you cannot understand a language. Nico Rosberg is such a tragic case. A Finnish passport and does not speak a word. Even if we lived abroad for longer, which we have not done, despite that, we would want our children to maintain the Finnish and the Swedish languages. You cannot take it for granted, because in [a city in Switzerland] there were established Finnish schools, and the chair of the Finnish school of [an area in Switzerland] spoke French with their children. It just sounded wrong every time to us. They spoke fluent Finnish with us but spoke French with their children.

Kaisa: Had they been there a long time?

Mother: Their whole lives, the children.[7]

Father 5 here considers that language goes hand in hand with roots and culture and therefore he views language as essential if you want a child to understand the culture of their heritage. He gave the example of the German-Finnish former Formula One racing driver Nico Rosberg whose Finnish father did not transmit Finnish to his son. Father 5's statement reflects the findings of a number of previous studies. The review of studies by Müller et al. (2020) suggests that a child's proficiency in a minority language can indeed be important for parents to transmit cultural values, traditions and emotions. Previous research (e.g. Dabóczy 2020) has stressed the parents' emotional attachment to the language as a determining factor in transmission decisions.

This extract also shows the influence of the practices of other potentially multilingual families (see section 4.2.3 below) on the FLP. Non-transmission was viewed as a negative

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[7] *Isä: Se on murheellista sellainen suomalainen, joka ei osaa äidinkieltään puhua. Siinä väkisinkin katoaa kontakti omiin juuriin ja omaan kulttuuriin. Ei voi ymmärtää kulttuuria jossei ymmärrä kieltä. Kyllä Nico Rosberg on murheellinen tapaus. Suomen passi eikä puhu sanaakaan. Vaikka asuisimme ulkomailla pitemmän aikaa mitä emme ole tehneet niin siitä huolimatta haluaisimme, että lapset säilyttävät suomen kielen ja ruotsin kielen. Tämä ei ole itsestään selvää koska [kaupunki Sveitsissä] Suomi-kouluissa oli ihan etabloituneet Suomi-koulut ja sen [alue Sveitsissä] Suomi-koulun puheenjohtaja puhui lastensa kanssa ranskaa. Kyllä se meillä joka kerta särähti korvaan. Meidän kanssa puhui ihan sujuvaa suomea, lastensa kanssa puhui ranskaa.*

Kaisa: Oliko kauan asuneet siellä?

Äiti: Koko elämänsä ne lapset.

point of comparison (see King and Fogle 2006, p. 703) and against the father's principles.

The parents of Family 5 expressed that speaking a heritage language is an integral part of your identity (see Curdt-Christiansen 2009; Ramonienė 2013, p. 138; Bezcioglu-Goktolga and Yagmur 2022). This was also manifested in the self-administered questionnaire: Mother 5 reported identifying as a Swedish-speaking Finn. Both Swedish and Finnish were mentioned as 'very important' parts of her identity—English and French were 'important'. Father 5 described his ethnicity as Finnish; Finnish was a 'very importan't part of his identity. English was an 'important' part of his identity, but Swedish and German were considered only 'a little bit important'.

The originally bilingual Finland-born Finnish-Swedish OPOL Family 5 had experienced living abroad, in Switzerland, for three and a half years. This temporary stay could be judged as a relatively short period when we think about maintaining heritage languages. A longer stay may have proved more challenging, and impacted their principle that maintaining both heritage languages while living abroad was crucial. A more permanent stay abroad may have changed their views. Ideology and experience can indeed differ to a great extent—this will be further discussed in the next two chapters.

De Houwer argues that transmitting a heritage language also strengthens a parent's own cultural identity (2017, p. 238); Deakin found that a crucial parental language ideology is for parents to retain their own first language identity (2016, p. 121). The following extract of Family 6 is consistent with these arguments:

> *Family 6*
>
> *Father: One language that is your core identity and I can say that I am as fluent in Finnish, I can think and read and write in Finnish and I would say in English as well but still Swedish is like part of the identity and language you speak to your parents, and I never imagined my children would speak anything else than Swedish to me. Regardless of where we live.*

Father 6 felt that being able to speak Swedish—an important part of his identity—with his children was crucial no matter where they lived. Family 6 had always lived in Finland, but the questionnaire and interview data reveal that the father is half Swedish and as a result of his heritage has a strong Swedish identity, rather than that of a Swedish-speaking Finn.

These findings point out that the case study families believed in the importance of language skills to support and strengthen children's multilingual and multicultural identities. Indeed,

transmitting a language is valuable not only because of language development but for the family's identity and meaning-making (Lanza and Gomes 2020, p. 167). Parents may also view the transmission of a heritage language as a symbol of cultural pride that strengthens the family unit (Schwartz and Verschik 2013, p. 6). Previous literature has shown that multilingual parents also feel a heritage language provides a sense of belonging, self-understanding, and self-assurance, enabling children access to the culture and values of the heritage (see Curdt-Christiansen 2009, pp. 365, 371); some may view a heritage language as a way to connect with one's heritage (Macleod 2022, p. 55). Transmitting the parental language is viewed as necessary to transmit the world that it represents (Dabóczy 2020, p. 167)

Family 14 has two grown-up children and two younger primary school-aged children. I asked the parents why they wanted the children to speak three languages:

> *Family 14*
>
> *Mother: Because of who we are.*
>
> *Father: I am a passionate Welshman! I learned English in school. So, I come from a primarily Welsh-speaking family. So, it was always important to me that they spoke Welsh. I also thought that it was absolutely normal for them to be speaking French as well then. I think a person's identity and heritage is so important.*

It emerges here that parents identified deeply via their first language that they both chose to transmit to the children. Palviainen and Bergroth (2018) investigated parents of three families in Finland whose children were in Swedish-medium early childhood education and used both Finnish and Swedish. It was found that despite their multilinguality, parents firmly identified themselves, and others, as belonging to a group of speakers of one single language. This monolingual identity in a multilingual society could be a result of the Finnish system (see 1.2.2 above) where only one official mother tongue is registered, the parents' own lived experience, or the existence of two separate language groups in Finland (p. 271), much like in Wales. Controversially, the parents in the study felt that the bilingual identity of their children was granted by birth, so parents did not feel that they had a bilingual identity, but their children did. The results are reflected by Nyberg (2021, p. 46), who observed that parents were motivated to transmit heritage languages by their linguistic identity.

Although the parents of Family 14 spoke English to each other, the French mother and

Welsh-speaking father felt strongly about transmitting their first languages to all four children. Mother 14 says that speaking their language is *who we are*, implying that speaking all heritage languages is an essential part of one's identity. This is manifested in Father 14's extract above. He felt that a person's identity and heritage are important and are transmitted via language skills.

Also, the influence of relatives (Braun 2006) and their language ideologies can be a major factor in language transmission. Albanian Father 9 felt that his family held the same attitude as him, that you must speak your language to the child as it is a part of your identity:

> *Family 9*
>
> *Kaisa: Do you speak Welsh to Girl4 ever or is it mainly Albanian or...?*
>
> *Father: It's a tricky one. A complex one. My heart tells me that I should speak Albanian to her all the time because of my side of the family. Nationalism, you know. I love migrants and my family, but I hear a lot of people say 'you must speak it because you must keep the flag up'. Yes, it's great if it works but I don't think these people will want to put her to bed at night because she can't understand what you're saying. Girl4 is exposed to quite a lot of Welsh because we go through the medium of Welsh.*

There are two ways in which the findings here could be interpreted. The father's statement could be forward-looking as his daughter may be seen as an Albanian citizen by the family, or backward-looking as Albanian is part of her heritage. Within extended family, nuclear family or society, ideologies may clash, which can become problematic in terms of effective FLP (Curdt-Christiansen 2016, p. 696). Relatives and friends often have strong opinions about multilingual upbringing (De Houwer 2020, p. 18). Curdt-Christiansen (2016) investigated multilingual families in Singapore, showing its three major ethnic groups—Chinese, Malay, and Indian—to illustrate how conflicting ideologies and practices manifest. She identified three types of complex conflicts among the families that arose from the extended family's differing views of identity, education and survival in a competitive society: conflicting ideologies, contradictions between ideologies and practice, and contradictions between ideology and expectations (p. 706). In the case of Family 9, it seems that there was a major contradiction between practices and expectations from the Albanian family and the father. Although all held the view that the daughter should learn Albanian, the father found it difficult being the sole provider of the language. The contrast between ideologies and practice will be further discussed in the next chapter.

4.2.2 Communication with extended family

A common theme was transmitting a heritage language so that the children could communicate with relatives, a prevalent motivation mentioned in previous studies (e.g. Gibbons and Ramirez 2004b, p. 130). Extended family in this study includes any relatives or other important people in a child's life outside the nuclear family who are not primary caregivers of the child. Mother 9 wished her daughter would communicate in her husband's native language, Albanian:

> *Family 9*
>
> *Mother: It's up to her. But I want her to be able to converse with her family on a basic level. That would be the only thing I ask of her. To to be able to understand and get to know her family in Albania. Other than that, she can do whatever she wishes.*

Immigrant background Father 9 spoke what we might consider a less common language in Wales, Albanian. He had found being the sole language provider challenging. Doyle's study confirmed the same: parents express that it can be much more difficult to maintain a "small" language, such as Estonian abroad than a "big" language, such as English or German in Estonia (2013). The parents also gave the children relative agency (see 4.2.9 below) to choose what they wanted to do as long as they maintained a relationship with their heritage. They still wanted the children to have a connection and understanding of the foreign-born parent's country of origin. Understanding relatives in Albania and getting to know them was valuable to the Welsh-born mother of the trilingual four-year-old. She explained how she had initially struggled to connect with extended family in Albania:

> *Family 9*
>
> *Mother: The main reason I want her to speak Albanian is so that she's not in the same position that I was in, whereby you can't understand and get to know your other family. I just feel like she knows her family here, but she can't really get to know her family there without understanding the language. It's as simple as that.*

The mother says that to know family, you must speak their language. She had learned to speak Albanian to get to know her husband's non-English-speaking family in Albania.

An attitude that grandparents should be able to speak their native language with their grandchildren (see Deakin 2016, p. 116), and cousins should have a shared language, was indeed important to many:

Family 6

Mother: I want them to be able to speak to their grandparents and cousins and my friends and other relatives. So, that's why I want them to know Hungarian. And I also want them to know Swedish but that's taken care of.

Hungarian Mother 6, living in Finland, expressed a belief that her children must be able to speak Hungarian as a means of communication with extended family in her country of birth. There is an emotional connection that could be lost if children are brought up in a language different to the one grandparents speak (Pavlenko 2004, p. 201).

French-speaking Mother 14, living in Wales, had witnessed non-transmission of a heritage language due to pressure, resulting in her friend's child being unable to communicate properly with grandparents in Poland:

Family 14

Mother: My friend who is Polish, she felt really pressurised, I suppose, she felt like she would be doing wrong if she was to speak to them in Polish because they were living in Wales, and they had learned English, and she spoke English to her daughter. I became friends with her. And I said: "Oh no, I speak French to mine, it doesn't stop them from speaking English." Her daughter is seven, could not speak to her grandparents… That's so sad!

Mother 14 discusses her Polish friend feeling pressured to speak a non-native language to her child. Immigrant parents may be told by authorities, such as teachers or school officials, not to speak their language to their children so as not to impede the child's integration and/or academic development. There may also be pressure to integrate, or stigmatisation of a minority culture or language (Smith-Christmas 2016a, pp. 8, 11). Immigrant parents' efforts to integrate may create a significant barrier to language transmission, resulting in diminished heritage language use (Guardado 2018, p. 24). The societal factors affecting language transmission are discussed further in Chapter 6 below. The mother also stresses that children being able to communicate with grandparents in the grandparents' native language is an essential value to her.

It seems here that getting to know the extended family through a minority language is a value supporting the ideology of communication with extended family. These findings are reflected in Braun's (2006) study; heritage language transmission enables children to communicate with relatives, particularly grandparents who may not speak the language of

the grandchild's country of residence.

4.2.3 Inspired by other polyglot families

Some studies (e.g. King and Fogle 2006, p. 697) have found that in addition to public discourses on parenting, personal networks formed by family and friends have a crucial role when parents define their FLP. We saw in section 4.2.1 above that the Albanian father's extended family encouraged him to transmit Albanian. Several parents, having observed the language practices of other multilingual families before starting a family, shared the same values and attitudes, and followed their ideologies and examples of transmitting languages. I asked Cardiff Family 13 if they had discussed their FLP before their children were born:

> *Family 13*
>
> *Mother: Yes. But [son of friends], who was the first-born, is especially good with Castilian. He always speaks Castilian when we speak Castilian. He has the accent and all, but for me, the model of [my friend] was always important. She was one of the first who had children.*
>
> *Father: And the reaction was like… they transmitted the three languages easily.*[8]

The family's home language is Spanish, and although the family had no intention of returning to live in the parents' native country in South America, they wished to transmit the heritage language, encouraged by the model of a specific Spanish-speaking family living locally.

The data analysis revealed that a number of parents had been inspired by their friends' potentially multilingual children growing up acquiring (or not acquiring) more than one language. As discussed before, other families' successful transmission could work as an inspiration, much like non-transmission as an FLP they did not wish to take (see Nico Rosberg, section 4.2.1 above). This was the case with Family 2 in Finland:

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[8] *Madre: Si. Pero [hijo de amigos] quien es el primero, es especialmente bueno con el castellano. Siempre habla castellano cuando nosotros hablamos castellano. Tiene acento y todo, pero para mí, el modelo de [amiga] fue siempre importante. Fue una de las primeras que tenía hijos.*

Padre: Y la reacción era que … pasaban los tres idiomas con facilidad.

Family 2

Father: We have respect for all the languages because we've noticed that some kids… For example, I've heard of a French family, the kids grew up here from age five, their Finnish is terrible but the parents who are French always say, doesn't matter, like Finnish is unimportant. So they don't put effort into it. A little bit like piano lessons. [Mother] really wants to learn piano well, she'll put effort into it. Would she say: doesn't matter, I don't care.

Family 2's ideology was to value all languages, and this was echoed in their wish to transmit many languages to the children. Family 2's children had knowledge in five languages: the mother's French; the father's Swedish; the parents' shared language English; Hebrew via some family, language tuition at school, and religion; and Finnish as a school language, shared with some cousins. They held a positive approach to the children's learning and pointed out how remarkable the progress had been on several occasions. Indeed, all of the parents I interviewed considered multilingualism as a positive thing and an advantage for their children, like parents in various other studies (e.g. King and Fogle 2006). Previous work (e.g. De Houwer 2015) demonstrated that a positive attitude towards early bilingualism is vital in successful transmission.

The parents viewed successful language transmission as a desirable value in these extracts. "Good parenting" (King et al. 2008, p. 913) included transmitting parental heritage languages and the official languages of the country to the offspring. The parents had taken inspiration from other families raising multilingual children and trusted that what they did was considered "good parenting", and they wanted to follow this example. These results replicate previous studies (e.g. King and Fogle 2006), which found that observing other families in a similar situation can impact the decision to transmit a language. Their own "good parenting", or planned, successful transmission, was viewed as a better choice than non-transmission, which was perceived as negative and "bad parenting" (p. 703).

4.2.4 The more, the merrier

A common yet academically debated theme amongst the parents was the ideology that the more languages the children knew, the better (see e.g. Jessner 2008 regarding L3 counteracting L2 or L1). Parents reinforced this during the interviews when I asked them to reflect on their ideologies for raising multilingual children. All parents, being polyglots themselves, were enthusiastic about their children's acquisition of multiple languages. In

other words, multilingual parents were keen for their children to follow in their footsteps:

> *Family 8*
>
> *Mother: The more, the merrier, because I speak more than three. I don't write fluently more than three, but I definitely speak more than three, so the more, the merrier! It just meant that you are very adaptable, and you're open to learning about other people's cultures, learning about the world in general. Just be very broad-minded.*

Coming from Singapore, the 43-year-old mother had grown up with four languages, and her ideology was to raise her children in the way that she was brought up: the more languages you know, the better. She also associated broad-mindedness with multilingualism.

Irish Cardiff-based Father 11, who grew up speaking English and occasional Gaelic, held a similar view:

> *Family 11*
>
> *Father: I want them to speak as many as we can speak really. It just naturally became three. But that's almost like not learning any languages yet. I would be disappointed if they didn't speak at least five languages. Really! If we went to Germany, they'd be speaking French or some other language pretty quickly, I think. There's no disadvantage in learning languages!*

According to the family members, the children spoke all three languages at a very high level. They had attended nursery in Germany and had had a German childminder. The community and father's language was English, and the school language was Welsh. Giving the children a strong base in all three languages, and choosing Welsh as an additional, school language, supported the parents' ideology of raising the children with as many languages as *naturally* possible.

The keywords here with Welsh families 8 and 11 are *as many as we can*, and *the more, the merrier*. As previously discussed, in this investigation, the parents held a very optimistic attitudes towards multilingualism and children's multilinguality was viewed as a positive characteristic based on parental ideologies, an ideological motivation reflected in a recent (Karpava 2022, p. 291) study across three countries. Indeed, many participants spoke about their own experiences learning other languages, or growing up with more than one language, something that King and Fogle's (2006) study considered one of the most important motivators in FLP decision-making.

4.2.5 The earlier, the better

Not only did parents want to transmit multiple languages to their children, but many also wanted to start language transmission as early as possible. Most started with at least two languages from day one; some added languages later as a result of staying in a foreign country, or schooling.

Both parents of Family 5 felt that learning the languages as young children meant that you did not have to go through as much trouble as an adult, and gaining a native-like accent was nearly impossible at a later stage in life. The children had learned French while living in Switzerland, and the parents mentioned before the interview that they were keen to maintain the skills and a native-like accent their children had achieved as young children during the expat years:

> *Family 5*
>
> *Father: The pronunciation, intonation of French is so difficult that it is a huge workload to get it to that level studying as an adult. Completely impossible for some.*[9]

Father 5 valued maintaining high-level French language skills. Both parents had learnt foreign languages only as school MFL or as adults and had found that challenging.

The popular "the earlier, the better" belief claims that it is vital to introduce languages during the early years for full fluency (Myles 2017). This has been disputed by Piller (2001), among others. She indicates how there is evidence that early and later language acquisition, or simultaneous and successive language acquisition (see e.g. Barnes 2006, p. 9), can, in fact, result in similar language proficiency levels. She suggests that the wider public may take the Critical Period Hypothesis in second language learning as an indication that it is better to transmit languages as early as possible as children are assumed to acquire languages more "unconsciously" or "naturally" (Piller 2001, p. 75), rather than learning languages at a later stage after puberty. Parents' choice to believe in specific scientific studies supports their ideology that the earlier you learn languages, the better it is in terms of proficiency.

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[9] *Isä: Ranskan kielen intonaatio ääntäminen on niin vaikeata, että aikuisiällä opiskelemalla se saada täydelliselle natiiville tasolle on kyllä hirveän työn takana. Useille täysin mahdoton.*

4.2.6 Increased cognitive abilities

The data revealed another ideology based on a controversial academic discussion, increased cognitive skills (a parental ideology also discussed by e.g. Kozminska and Zhu 2021, p. 456; Masson et al. 2022). The parents chose to interpret scientific research on early bilingualism as something that was important to them. King & Fogle's (2006) study of 24 Spanish-English families living in the US focused on parental language transmission decisions during the first years of parenthood. They found that parents selectively validated their personal beliefs regarding raising bilingual children based largely on their own personal experiences, expert advice, and popular literature.

This is a result that is probably specific to the research area (Europe) as these two ideological values (the earlier, the better, and increased cognitive abilities) and backing them up by scientific research may not necessarily be discussed by parents in, for instance, Africa or Asia where multilingualism is the norm. The benefits of knowing several languages in terms of cognitive abilities were mentioned several times:

> *Family 10*
>
> *Mother: It's very good for their brain. There's no disadvantage. Maybe in the beginning they get confused with lots of information but after a while everything is great.*

Mother 10 believed that multilingualism was good for children's brain function but did not point to a specific study or research.

Families mentioned speaking multiple languages also supported further learning. Mother 5 articulates this in the extract below:

Family 5

Mother: Research has indicated that if you are bilingual, it impacts other learning and otherwise too. Bilinguals learn other languages more easily. Especially, like [Father] said, if you know the French grammar then… What we noticed is that we had friends in Switzerland who had moved from another country but had never studied languages. Then you don't know how to study that language. I had a Polish friend there. They knew no English, only knew Polish and French. And for them it was really difficult to study that language and write because they did not know how to study the grammar. Somehow, if you already know three languages, then you learn even more language and then you learn what a verb is… [10]

There is a belief that people who manage two languages have an advantage over monolinguals in executive functioning (De Bruin et al. 2015; Paap et al. 2015; Lehtonen et al. 2018). Indeed, studies that have been publicised in mainstream media in recent years have extensively discussed a link between the mental exercise of multilingualism and increased cognitive benefits, such as children's language skills (Engel de Abreu 2011), ease to learn other languages, enhanced focused attention (Sorace 2021), higher levels of cognitive empathy (Dewaele and Wei 2012), and delays of the onset of Alzheimer's disease symptoms (Chertkow et al. 2010; Klein et al. 2016). Although some of the results regarding the cognitive reserve are contrasting, several parents talked about this benefit to the brain at some point, most without discussing specific articles or studies (see King and Fogle 2006, p. 702) from which they may have drawn the information. Parents perceived these cognitive and academic benefits as important factors when deciding on an FLP. These two themes, where parents based their ideology on scientific evidence, indicate that many had done some research on multilingualism and held the ideological value of trusting the academic (or non-academic) research of their choosing.

The established understanding that multilinguals have a cognitive advantage over

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[10] *Äiti: Tutkimuksethan on osottanut, että jos olet kaksikielinen niin miten paljon se vaikuttaa myös muuhun oppimiseen ja muutenkin. Kaksikielisiet oppii muita kieliä helpommin. Varsinkin, niinkuin [isäkin] sanoi, että jos sä osaat ranskan kielioppi niin... Se mitä ollaan huomattu on että meillä oli siellä Sveitsissä ystäviä jotka olivat muuttaneet jostakin maasta mutta eivät olleet ikinä opiskelleet mitään kieliä. Että sitten sä et osaa opiskella sitä kieltä. Mulla oli yksi puolalainen ystävä siellä. Ja hän ei osannut englantia yhtään, osasi vaan puolaa ja ranskaa. Ja hänelle oli tosi vaikea opiskella sitä kieltä ja kirjoittaa koska hän ei osannut kielioppia opiskella. Jotenkin jos sä osaat jo kolme kieltä niin sitten sä opit vielä enemmän kieliä niin sitten miten sä opit ja mitä on verbi...*

monolinguals is a motivational language ideology driving parents to raise multilingual children. However, De Bruin et al. (2015) demonstrate the publication bias in the field of cognitive psychology based on the decision-making of researchers, reviewers, and editors regarding the benefit of cognitive development for bilinguals (see also Paap et al. 2015); the database is not representative of all research. The authors establish that studies indicating bilingualism and advanced executive control are more likely to be published than studies that evidence no effect of bilingualism or even a bilingual disadvantage (four conference abstracts of the 104 analysed showed a bilingual disadvantage). Studies with mixed results were also more likely to be published than studies challenging the bilingual advantage. This signifies that there may, in fact, be "a distorted image of the actual study outcomes on bilingualism, with researchers (and media) believing that the positive effect of bilingualism on non-linguistic cognitive processes is strong and unchallenged" (p. 105). A recent analysis (Lehtonen et al. 2018) argued that the evidence regarding bilingual advantage is inconclusive and controversial; the dataset of 152 studies examined evidenced that there were no benefits in cognitive control functions in adults. Some published studies (e.g. Paap and Greenberg 2013) do not support the hypothesis that bilinguality enhances general executive functioning; they state that bilingualism has no effect on cognition (Paap 2022). However, the advantages of speaking more than one language often outweigh the disadvantages, and these may be personal, economic, social, and cultural (Paap et al. 2015). However, it is likely that bilingual advantage does not exist or it is restricted to only a few specific, unspecified circumstances (Paap et al. 2015, p. 266). There are two distortions at work here: the selectivity of the parents, and the biased publication choices. In this sense, the parents amplify the ideological thrust that underlies the publication bias.

4.2.7 Languages open doors

This theme describes the perceived instrumental value of multilingualism, in this case, its usefulness in the world now and in the future. Indeed, in an older study, many Welsh-speaking parents gave the reason for transmitting Welsh, in addition to supporting Welsh identity (see section 4.2.1 above) and better communication, the children's future employment opportunities (Lyon and Ellis 1991; see also Kozminska and Zhu 2021; Karpava 2022, p. 289; Macleod 2022, p. 62).

There was discussion about the children's ability to do more and access more opportunities

thanks to knowing multiple languages. Some parents described how speaking many languages would open doors for their children:

> *Family 3*
>
> *Mother: I think the advantages, the pros definitely outweigh the cons because if you think that she's got a huge advantage that one of her three languages is English, and she's pretty well aware that we can go anywhere in the world… Many different circumstances and she doesn't have to struggle to make herself understood. The fact that she was rather seamlessly able to go to public school in America, that's great!*

Here, Mother 3 in Helsinki highlights her belief that although there may be some disadvantages, speaking several languages is an advantage for children in the globalised world. The mother implied that with her father's language, Swedish, community language, Finnish, and her heritage language from her mother, English, she could make herself understood anywhere.

Mother 1 felt that the children had an advantage of choice thanks to languages:

> *Family 1*
>
> *Mother: I think it opens up doors to different things. Like for instance the Finnish-speaking soccer club. It's an alternative. And they have access to that. They can experience that. Even though their Finnish is not super strong at the moment, but they can go there. They can experience different things.*

The Swedish-speaking mother thought that not only would the children's language skills open doors to different things in the future, but more importantly, they were already able to take part in hobbies, such as football practice; something they would not be able to access with no Finnish. Thanks to having lived in the US for two years, the children had, in addition to the father's French and the official languages of the country, a good command of English and some Spanish, learned from a Spanish-speaking childminder. Mother 1 described her own national identity as *changeable and manifold*; despite Finland being her home country and country of birth, also other groups felt like her own.[11] Languages had opened doors for her, too—to access a unique international identity.

Previous research (e.g. Ellis and Sims 2022) describes how parents may be motivated to

[11] SurveyMonkey: "Kansallisidentiteettini on kovin häilyvä ja moninainen. Vaikka suomi selkeästi on kotimaani, muutkin ryhmät tuntuvat omiltani."

transmit heritage language in order to “open up another world” for their children. A study of trilingual immigrant families in Canada suggested that one major ideological motivation for language transmission was opening “a window to the world” (Curdt-Christiansen 2009, p. 367). This expression was also manifested at the end of Father 9’s extract:

> *Family 9*
>
> *Father: I feel as though she’s already the odd one out by the name and the surname. I don’t want her to feel she’s the odd one out because she’s got another language! I personally feel as though it’s an absolutely fantastic thing to have. I grew up with three languages and through friends I can converse in French, and Greek. Just through friends. No lessons. Just through friends. It just opens windows. But not everybody sees it like that.*

The father’s message here is that although he believes that languages open new opportunities (windows), there can be people who do not understand this ideology. Two points also evidence other themes here. First, his experience as a polyglot was something he wanted his daughter to experience (see section 4.2.4 above). Second, he also worried about his daughter standing out because of perceived inequalities or even racism in society (see Curdt-Christiansen 2009, p. 362). During the interview, it seemed that the father was a proud Albanian. Both parents, and the Albanian side of the family, wished for the daughter to speak Albanian. However, this extract indicates that the father did not want his daughter to be picked on because of her foreign heritage and would prefer that she had a Welsh identity. In other words, Welsh and English were higher in the hierarchy than his native Albanian.

The expressions above *can go anywhere in the world*, *opens windows*, and *opens up doors to different things* suggest an ideology that being a polyglot can open doors that remain closed for those that do not speak certain languages.

Indeed, most participants felt that they were giving their children opportunities by transmitting more than two languages. Piller (2001, p. 71) found that many parents saw early language transmission as an investment in their children’s future—several parents stated future opportunities as their main reason for raising multilingual children. This echoes the reasons for language transmission in other studies as well. For example, Guardado's (2018, p. 83) study of 34 Hispanic families in Canada stated as a common motivator of intergenerational transmission the future economic benefits for their children.

Parents saw the successful Spanish language transmission as a key to their children's future successful employment opportunities, hence leading to their eventual social mobility. Economic factors have been mentioned by many other parents as a crucial influence to transmit more than one language to the children (see e.g. Curdt-Christiansen 2009; Macleod 2022, p. 54; Masson et al. 2022).

As many families fell into a highly educated socioeconomic category, some parents also wished the children to be able to use the languages to study at university level when I asked about future aspirations regarding languages:

> *Family 7*
>
> *Mother: Immediate answer: university. They should be able to go in Finnish, English, or Swedish-speaking.*
>
> *Father: I think they should be fluent in all of them. And I know they will as well. In Swedish they are already, and I think in today's environment they will both learn English. They will be more fluent than the previous generation. And Finnish as well, as long as we live here. They will catch up with it. Especially now, they will start spending more time away from home, they will be more exposed to it and every year they're learning more.*

The couple believed that being able to reach fluency in order to attend university in all family languages was essential. Multilingualism opened doors to higher education. This may be copied from the ideological path they had followed themselves. Both parents had studied to master's degree level at university, completed additional training and worked full-time at management level. Their FLP was very straightforward: the Swedish national mother spoke Swedish with the children, the father spoke Finnish, and they spoke English to each other. English had the role of a foreign language at school (and media)—as well as overheard speech, which has been evidenced to lead to an understanding of the language (De Houwer 2009b, pp. 101-103).

Parents of potentially multilingual children here believed that transmitting multiple languages to their children gives them opportunities to take part in activities, travel to different areas, or access study or work prospects thanks to their languages. They may see the transmission as an investment, believing that being a polyglot can open doors.

4.2.8 A gift

This section examines the parental ideology *gift*; parents wished to prepare their children for life with the richness of being a polyglot. Parents felt that the gift of multilingualism was valuable irrespective of the usefulness of the children's multilingualism in the world. The theme considers parental perceptions of the fundamental value of multilingualism.

Finnish Father 5 described raising children with many languages as preparing them for life to understand the world and other languages better:

> *Family 5*
>
> *Father: For me, in the background, I have this vision of doing well in life, in an international world. We try to raise children in a way that they do well on their own in this world and could provide for themselves. I talk about this French language as richness, to understand the world and other languages. When you have learned French as an adult, how many different things it opens and how much you understand different sayings, that you have had in your vocabulary for decades but then you understand where this comes from and what it means. Where the word sink comes from.* [12]

Father 5 stressed the importance of doing well in life and the *richness* of being a polyglot. For him, motivation in addition to future opportunities (see 4.2.7 above) was also to get a deeper understanding of other languages through the children's first three languages. In other words, languages are beneficial not only for career and future prospects, but also to understand linguistics and the origin of words (see 4.2.6 above). The children's third language, French, was introduced while the family lived abroad. It seemed to have a different value for the parents as it was not a heritage language—French was something extra, a special gift that would benefit them in life.

Families talked about being raised a polyglot as *a gift*, or *a richness* they wanted to give their offspring. Similarly, Russian-speaking parents living in Lithuania transmitting the language to the next generation deemed Russian "a valuable treasure" (Ramonienė 2013, p. 138).

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[12] *Isä: Mulla taustalla ajatus pärjäämisestä elämässä, kansainvälisessä maailmassa. Me yritetään lapsista sellaisia, jotka pärjää omillaan tässä maailmassa ja pystyisi elättämään itsensä. Mä puhun tästä ranskan kielestä rikkautena, ymmärtää maailmaa ja muita kieliä. Kun on ranskaa aikuisena oppinut, miten paljon se avaa erilaisia juttuja ja miten paljon tajuaa erilaisia sanontoja, mitä on ollut sanavarastossa kymmeniä vuosia mutta sitten ymmärtää, mistä tämä tulee ja mitä se tarkoittaa. Mistä se lavuaari tulee.*

Mother 4 wanted her children to inherit the same *richness* she felt that she had been gifted (see section 4.2.4 above):

> *Family 4*
>
> *Mother: As a bilingual myself, I definitely wanted that richness for them. That they could grow up bilingual and learn both languages.*[13]

Mother 4 held a positive attitude toward multilingualism, and her quote illustrates the attitude that gifting children multiple languages is something that she was also lucky to have. The mother, born to Finnish-speaking parents, had been donated (Lyon 1996; Evas 1999; Evas et al. 2017) her grandmother's Swedish via schooling. She saw bilinguality as *a richness* and having lived in Germany for two years, the children had acquired a bonus language as well. The online questionnaire revealed that she now identified as a Swedish-speaking Finn even if her parents never transmitted the language. Both Swedish and Finnish were 'very important' parts of her identity; German and English were 'important'.

King & Fogle (2006, p. 695) described additive or elite bilingualism, where the family might choose to maintain two or more languages. In other words, they present multilingualism to their children as something extra rather than their heritage—a gift. Although Father 4 only considered Finnish a 'very important' part of his own identity, he still wanted to transmit other languages (Swedish and German) that were less important parts of his identity, to the children. Piller (2001, p. 62) included middle-class international couples, expatriates, and academics raising their children with non-native bilingualism as "elite bilinguals". Therefore, it could be argued that every family in this study belonged to this elite bilingual group. The children could probably live full lives knowing just the official languages of the country or even just the majority languages (English or Finnish). This is what King and Fogle (2006, p. 707) called "early-enrichment-for-achievement parenting approach", which is increasingly popular among middle-class and mainstream parenting practices, much like promoting mathematics, music, or sport.

As parents explained and justified their FLP, they concomitantly constructed the belief that growing up with more than one language was a *gift.* They were prepared to work hard to

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[13] *Äiti: Kaksikielisenä mä halusin ehdottomasti sen rikkauden heillekin. Että pystyvät kasvamaan kaksikielisinä ja oppimaan molemmat kielet.*

reach this goal. This has been considered in previous literature (see Piller 2001), enhancing parents' belief of being good parents for giving the opportunity to their children (King and Fogle 2006, p. 707). A gift here is something the parents give the children in the form of languages, and the children can then later decide whether they want to use this gift or not, leading us to the next section, Future agency of the child.

4.2.9 Future agency of the child

This theme is related to the previous theme, whereby multilingualism is seen as a gift worth striving for. The parents decide on a certain FLP and have the view that children should later have the agency to use the gift. The term agency, used in anthropology and other disciplines (Ahearn 2001, p. 109), could be defined as a "socioculturally mediated capacity to act" (Ahearn 2001, p. 112). It is "a complex notion that is achieved and negotiated context-specifically" (Said and Zhu 2019, p. 772). Agency of the child here is described as "the child is aware of and has possibilities to make their own choices" (Arvola et al. 2020, p. 3). In other words, at a certain point after having raised a child multilingually, many parents have the view that a child should then be able to choose themselves if they wish to pursue being multilingual and continue speaking their first languages.

Towards the end of the interviews at the family homes, I asked the parents about their goals and future aspirations for their children's linguistic abilities. Many interviewees had already considered children's study and career opportunities when they made the initial language choices described in previous sections. However, what stood out was their wish to give children the agency to choose themselves:

> *Family 4*
>
> *Father: They can then choose if they want to or not [to use the languages] but at least they would have the possibility to it.*
>
> *Mother: The foundation has been set and packed lunch been given [=they have been prepared for life by the parents to the best of their ability].*[14]

The children's third additional language was acquired during their time abroad; it was not a

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[14] *Isä: He voivat itse sitten valita, että haluavatko vai ei mutta heillä olisi ainakin mahdollisuus siihen.*

Äiti: Pohja luotu sitten ja eväät annettu.

native language to either parent. As the mother said earlier, it was *a richness* they wanted to give the children (see section 4.2.8 above), and it was up to the children if they wanted to use this gift.

Indeed, parents often felt that the most important thing was that the children would be happy:

> *Family 13*
>
> *Father: What would be important to me, is to help them be happy and independent.*
>
> *Mother: In any language.*
>
> *Father: In any language. In an ideal situation, I would like them to be able to keep the language. Because it is important to me, it is my history.*[15]

Although the family said being happy was most important, they also felt it is desirable that the children grow up being able to speak the heritage language, Spanish, as it is a large part of who they are, thus giving the children relative agency to use or not use the language but still desiring the children would continue speaking Spanish.

The participants had a specific standpoint that multilingualism would benefit the children now and in the future. They felt that they gave the children the gift of languages, and it would then be up to them to use or not use the gift. This is a very specific way of thinking of multilingualism for this socioeconomic group, where parents believe the children will achieve more in the future by being multilingual. A contrasting ideology was manifested in a (2019) study by Gallo & Hornberger. It looked at decisions toward achieving biliteracy for children of two Mexican-born parents. The parents worked as a cook, and a hotel cleaner in the US. During data collection, the father was detained, held for several months in US immigration facilities, and deported to Mexico. After the deportation, the mother included the 8-year-old daughter, Princess, in conversations, giving her agency in decision-making regarding migration. Princess held monoglossic ideologies of language and initially a strong

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[15] *Padre: Para mi, lo que me interesaría a ayudarlos en que sean felices e independientes.*

Madre: En cualquier idioma.

Padre: En cualquier idioma. Una situación ideal, me gustaría que lo puedan conservar, el idioma. Porque es importante, para mí, porque es mi historia.

resistance towards moving to Mexico, a place she had never been to. Here, the standpoint of the parents was not to transmit both languages for maximum benefit in the future but rather for survival in a Mexican school, and maintenance of English in case of immigration. Families and their ideologies for giving the children agency between the Mexican family living in the US and my case study families are very different, as they come from different social classes and backgrounds.

The extracts above indicate that the case study parents consider giving the primary school-aged children agency at some point in the future rather than at this point in life to decide whether they want to resume the language journey that the parents initiated. The families did not give a time frame of when the children could decide whether to drop a language from their repertoire, yet it was clear that dropping a language was not an option at present for these young children. Some other previous studies (see e.g. Ramonienė 2013, p. 141) have shown that once the bilinguals have grown up, parents let them choose which languages to use as native languages and where to live.

4.2.10 The importance of having a main language

Although all parents were keen to raise multilingual children, many felt that having one strong language you could use as a referencing point, and that you were comfortable with, was essential.

Family 2 parents were both polyglots despite the mother having grown up in a predominantly monolingual environment: they indicated in the written questionnaire that they both now spoke six languages (French, English, Hebrew, Finnish, Swedish, and Spanish), they rated their ability to speak most at mother tongue or intermediate level. Because of having had the experience of acquiring and learning multiple languages, the parents viewed that languages can sometimes exhaust you. Although they valued multilinguality and wanted to raise multilingual children, they wished the children could find one language which would not require massive efforts:

Family 2

Mother: I would like a place when it can be peaceful. With a lot of languages, it can be exhausting. I don't want them to be averaging in all the languages. I hope that with one or two they can rest in. You know when you count, you count in Finnish. Most likely.

Mother: So, if you go to this gut place, where you are really you, what is that language?

Mother: Everything else is extra. It's all ok. Whichever they pick as their gut language, I'll be happy. As long as they have that place in their brain where they can relax. This is exhausting. I speak many languages all the time, it's exhausting. So, having that place is good.

The parents did not have a preference for this language of choice out of the five languages the children used on a regular basis, giving them the agency already to choose themselves (see 4.2.9 above). Some other parents felt that parents' first or heritage languages, or more globalised languages, such as Spanish or French, were essential.

The findings here indicate that some parents believed multilinguality affects the level of language skills and wanted the children to speak at least one language at native level:

Family 1

Father: It's actually my biggest concern, I've worked as a teacher in an international school, and in the European school of Helsinki. And a lot of parents work for the European Union, so they lived in many different countries, and I realised that most of them, they don't have one strong language, a strong enough language, associated with a corpus of competencies. Historical or literary references. So, they speak English, they can speak Finnish, but it's not related to any defined corpus or cultural references. And they suffer from that.

Kaisa: How do they suffer?

Father: They suffer because, Girl, for instance, this is one student that I've worked with a lot. Her French was really good, her English was really good, her Finnish was comme ci comme ça, her Swedish was very weak even though her mum was a Swedish speaker. And she was taught French history at the European School, she had been taught European history at some point in Latvia, and then they lived in Germany and so she was, she told me that she felt that there was no supporting of all this knowledge. So, that was, do you say that in English, in French there's a word for... parcellaire [patchy]. It's just little pieces of lands. So, they have just pieces of like German history or German culture, and pieces of Latvian, and pieces of Finnish and pieces of French.

The father had experienced first-hand how some children never achieved language competency in one main language. He felt that these children had no point of reference but had limited knowledge in many languages, like the much-debated "semilinguals" (Hansegård 1968) who have a "low level in both languages" (see Toukomaa and Skutnabb-Kangas 1977). If a child does not master any of their languages, the impact of the multilingual environment is negative (Nurmi et al. 2014, p. 54). A number of linguistics studies looking at the potentially bilingual school children's morphology and syntax (word order) raised concern over migrant children's lack of language skills. However, the theory has received a lot of criticism over the years (e.g. Martin-Jones and Romaine 1986). A small study (Valadez et al. 2000) of six bilingual children found that the semilingual, or low-achieving bilingual children had, in fact, the same command of language as the control group and the judgement of teachers may be down to the children's reading and writing ability. MacSwan (2000) further argued that the assumption that some children have less than native-like ability in two languages is irrelevant because there is no evidence that semilinguals do not know the linguistic principles governing their language. He implied that although children may lose their heritage language over time, there is no evidence that this would happen to the retained language. In other words, there is no evidence of low native language abilities, and semilingualism is just an ideological construct as all normal children achieve a certain level linguistically. He looked at Spanish-English minority bilingual school children from the American perspective.

It would be interesting to study a child with the linguistic experience Father 1 mentioned and see if this kind of children exist, for instance, in families that may have moved around a lot. De Houwer (2009b, p. 94) presents the case of Sven, a child of Swedish diplomats.

Although the parents had the ideology that multilingualism is a good thing, they were not aware of their importance in language transmission. They should have spent more time with Sven, so his Swedish would have developed appropriately; there just was not enough input. By age two, he was fluent in Arabic thanks to a nanny, but he lost the language contact as the family moved him to an English–French school in Brussels, introducing him to two new languages. At age four, he could have been considered semilingual, not having reached the proper development in any of his four languages. In other words, Sven's early language development failed. Pietikäinen (2021) interviewed a multilingual adult who had the experience that, in international school settings, teachers may assume that the child's other language(s) may be better developed. However, nobody checks if any of the languages are at the native tongue level. The changing environment has not supported the child's language development in these cases.

Parents in this study indicated an attitude, whereby although knowing multiple (heritage) languages was important and advantageous, knowing a little of several languages with no main language was not desirable. They wished the children to have one or two strong, base languages they feel comfortable in and master well; *a place when it can be peaceful, one strong enough language, associated with a corpus of competencies, a gut language,* or *a language you count in*.

4.3 Discussion and Conclusions

This chapter has investigated parental language ideologies. It began by identifying previous research in FLP and language ideologies. I then analysed the findings of the study. Specifically, I aimed to answer the first research question:

i. *How do parents of potentially multilingual children describe their language ideologies?*

To answer this question, the chapter identified different themes regarding parental language ideologies. It emerged that these ideologies were closely connected, and parents across the 14 case study families and two research areas held very similar language ideologies. The data suggest that parents had two types of ideologies, which are presented below. The ideological motivations for language transmission encouraged them to pursue developing and maintaining several languages. Parents were positive about multilingualism

and transmission but also held ideologies and preferences specific to the way the transmission occurred. The ideologies and descriptions based on the ten themes are listed below.

The ideologies supporting the parents' wish to transmit multiple languages included eight themes or ideological motivations to pursue multilingual language transmission:

1. *Transmitting heritage and identity* Language skills support and are a part of the identities of the child and the parent; transmission of a heritage language links you to your heritage.
2. *Communication with extended family* Children should be able to communicate with relatives in their first language.
3. *Inspired by other polyglot families* Multilingual transmission was seen as a good parenting choice, and parents were inspired by other families' successful (or unsuccessful) language transmission.
4. *The more, the merrier* Children should follow in their parents' footsteps to learn many languages.
5. *The earlier, the better* Languages should be introduced from an early age as it was viewed that acquisition is easier and more efficient as a child.
6. *Increased cognitive abilities* Multilingualism has cognitive benefits.
7. *Languages open doors* Multilingualism is useful, gives you access to do more, and increases future opportunities in terms of work or study.
8. *A gift* Parents value multilingualism and wish to transmit this gift to their children.

Some ideological motivations for language transmission, such as "the most beautiful language" (Ramonienė 2013, p. 138) or "language of emotion and closeness" (Yates and Terraschke 2013, p. 120), were not identified as significant themes among the case study participants.

As previously mentioned, case study parents viewed multilingualism as desirable. In addition to the ideological motivations for language transmission above, parents voiced two ideologies regarding how they wished to raise a multilingual child or specific ideologies regarding multilingual parenting:

9. *Future agency of the child* Parents wished to gift languages to their children, but children can choose themselves if they wish to use these languages when they are older.
10. *The importance of having a main language* Multilingualism is important, but you should speak at least one language at a native level.

The thematic structure and the relationships of the parental language ideologies and ideologies regarding multilingual parenting expressed in this study are demonstrated in Figure 5 below.

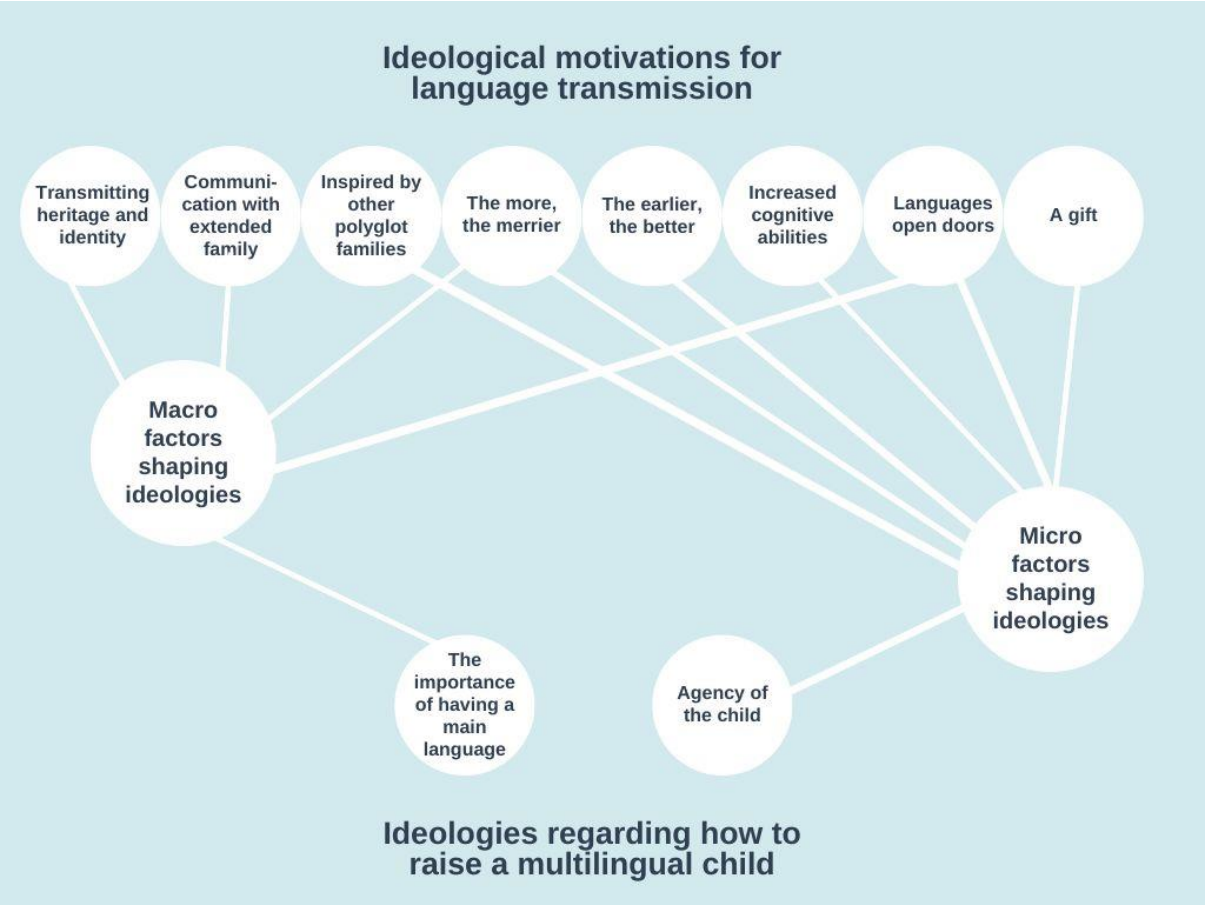

Figure 5 Parental language ideologies

Macro factors influencing the parental language ideology here include the political, cultural, economic, and sociolinguistic environments. The political factors that motivate parents to transmit languages are to do with the participants' historical position, immigrant experiences, equal rights and opportunities for education, activities and political decisions (Curdt-Christiansen 2009, pp. 356, 361-362) like language or educational policy. Three themes fit into this section: The importance of having a main language, The more, the

merrier, and Languages open doors. Three themes (Transmitting heritage and identity, Communication with extended family, and Languages open doors) could be considered to represent cultural factors that link ”language with identity, or symbolic values associated with languages” (Curdt-Christiansen 2009, p. 356). The case study parents had a perception of the economic value of languages (Curdt-Christiansen 2009), which is demonstrated in section Languages open doors. Parents also viewed languages in terms of cultural factors as giving access to different opportunities. These factors are closely connected to the economic value of languages (Curdt-Christiansen 2009, p. 356).

The micro factors, that may include home literacy environments, parental expectations, education and language experience, and parental knowledge of bilingualism, can be intertwined and connect to the macro factors (Curdt-Christiansen 2009, p. 355). Micro factors are to do with the parental goals for their children’s linguistic outcomes and these are largely shaped by the parents’ own experiences, feelings, and beliefs (Curdt-Christiansen 2009, p. 356). Micro factors included seven themes: Increased cognitive abilities, The earlier, the better, Inspired by other polyglot families, The more, the merrier, Languages open doors, A gift, and Agency of the child.

The findings discussed in this chapter indicate that parents usually have strong views regarding language transmission (see King et al. 2008, p. 913; Macleod 2022, p. 52), and parental language ideologies commonly influence language practices. However, a language ideology and commitment alone are not enough to transmit heritage and minority languages; raising a multilingual child does have its hurdles (Yates and Terraschke 2013, p. 109). It is also worth noting that several factors impact language transmission, including the agency of the child (Tuominen 1999; Palviainen and Boyd 2013). Also, Purkarthofer’s (2019) ethnographic research on language expectations of couples with different language backgrounds in Hungary and Italy established that parents have an influence on a multilingual child, but they cannot fully control the child. This implies that the parents’ plans based on ideologies may differ to a great extent from the lived experiences of transmission. Parents in Purkarthofer’s study were aware of the difference between the planned and lived experience of raising a multilingual child (p. 737). There are a number of challenges, such as identity conflicts, time pressure constraints, and the impact of macro-level social processes, such as the national language policies, that a family has to overcome to succeed in language

transmission (Schwartz and Verschik 2013, p. 1). A parent may first have an essentialist view, but after having the experience of intergenerational language transmission or trying to establish a language, the view may have been challenged. This leads us to the next results and findings chapter, which will examine FLP across the 14 case study families; or how the parental language ideologies are reflected in transmission.

5 Chapter five: Parents and FLP

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 4 above demonstrated that parental language ideologies are the underlying force in creating an FLP (Curdt-Christiansen 2009, p. 372), and these ideologies act as motivation to raise multilingual children. However, previous work has shown that language ideologies alone are not enough to transmit a heritage or minority language (see e.g. Curdt-Christiansen 2013b; Said 2021).

Raising a multilingual family requires efforts, which are often unclear at the early stages of FLP or when setting up a family (King and Fogle 2006, p. 707). A limited number of studies (Guardado 2018) indicate a variety of parental language transmission methods. Studies may discuss the effectiveness of different parental discourse strategies (see Döpke 1992; Lanza 1997b; Barnes 2006, pp. 19-20; Chevalier 2013; Guardado 2018), or evaluate the impact of different lengths of trips to a country or an area where a minority or heritage language is being spoken (e.g. Okita 2002; Doyle 2013; Slavkov 2015). Research on parental strategies may analyse the effect of strategies, such as setting up small libraries (Doyle 2013, p. 160), attending minority language weekend schools (Iqbal 2021; Said 2021; Karpava 2022, p. 294), reading books or vocabulary books, watching videos or films, using the internet, dictation, contact with relatives via the internet or phone (Park and Sarkar 2007), listening to the radio (Karpava 2022, p. 294), and parents singing children's songs in a minority language (Song 2016). This chapter will add to the literature of studies portraying the parents' experiences of using different language strategies and will further our knowledge of FLP maintenance in multilingual contexts. Most parental language strategy research is based on bilingual context, so this chapter offers original data for families who wish to transmit more than two languages.

This chapter builds upon the findings from the first results chapter and answers the second research question:

ii. What are the parents' self-reported language strategies, and what are the parental experiences of implementing these strategies?

The chapter looks at how the parental language ideologies supporting the FLP are realised (or not realised) in multilingual families' everyday lives. I specify the methods and strategies

that the parents were conscious of implementing in their efforts to transmit three (or more) languages to their children.

Multilingual parents may have introduced implicit or explicit strategies (see 2.5 above). Although FLP strategies often involve overt planning with specific language use patterns (King et al. 2008, p. 907; Curdt-Christiansen 2009, p. 352), at times, parents may also introduce a language method or speak a particular language to the children with no major planning (see De Houwer 2017, p. 232; Evas et al. 2017; Dabóczy 2020, p. 149). Consistency of language use (Hoffmann 1991, p. 44), stable exposure, and a clear, explicit FLP aid successful transmission (King et al. 2008, pp. 915-916; Montanari 2009, p. 626; Guardado 2018). Not all multilingual families transmit languages in a consistent manner or follow a specific pattern (Hoffmann 1991, p. 45). Some parents stated that they had not made an explicit decision to raise their children in multiple languages. Nevertheless, all parents mentioned a conscious approach of consistent language use being beneficial, which reflects findings in previous studies (e.g. Piller 2001).

Both internal (e.g. naturalness of using a heritage language, extended family, maintenance of heritage) and external forces (such as societal pressures, ideology, and culture) continuously impact the FLP (Sțavans and Hoffman 2015, p. 213). Much like a person's multilingualism that changes in one's lifetime depending on the circumstances (Sțavans and Hoffman 2015, pp. 154-155), these forces are also dynamic. As discussed in 2.5.5 above, families may change their initial approach and strategies as the children grow (Sțavans and Hoffman 2015; Dabóczy 2020, p. 168); they will need to expose the children to increasingly more complex levels of language (De Houwer 2009a, p. 324). A growing child is likely to become increasingly socialised in the majority language as time passes (Evas et al. 2017) and may need more support in the heritage or minority language. As circumstances change, parents realise their expectations may be unrealistic, or their language ideologies change (Barron-Hauwaert 2004, p. 178). Parents who may have set out with explicit strategies may end up changing them altogether due to internal and/or external factors.

5.2 Parental language strategies

This chapter will introduce nine parental language strategies that were largely shared across all case study families. Remarkably, there was very little difference in terms of approaches used by parents in the two case study areas. This signals that some language strategies are universal, at least in the context of this sociolinguistic group of middle-class families living in bilingual areas. Most of the tactics were also briefly mentioned in previous work.

The themes discussed in this section include OPOL; Time and place: creating positive family language activities; extended family language support; Creating extended networks through local language groups; Childcare in target language; Choosing a school language; Language immersion visits; Using language resources; and Parental discourse strategies.

As can be observed from the list above, there are three types of strategies. The first two approaches—OPOL and time and place strategy (T&P), where the parents concentrate on a certain language depending on the time and/or place—concern the family language pattern (Rosenback 2015; Limacher-Riebold 2021). Only one immigrant background family used the mL@H strategy (Barron-Hauwaert 2004, p. 169; Rosenback 2015; Limacher-Riebold 2021), which is why it did not emerge as a theme.

Another type of strategy is based on other people's language support outside the nuclear family, increasing the child's language exposure (extended family, local language groups, childcare, school).

Finally, I will look at the extra measures the parents take to ensure sufficient language exposure and encourage language development (immersion visits, language resources, and discourse strategies).

5.2.1 OPOL

Certain parental input patterns influence transmission results (De Houwer 2017, p. 243); we have seen that for instance, each parent speaking a language not spoken in the environment may suggest more successful minority language outcomes (De Houwer 2003, pp. 124-125, 133). The majority of the families reported having an OPOL approach (a finding consistent with e.g. Nyberg 2021); it emerged as a theme across both geographical areas. Although nearly all parents, especially initially, stuck to the OPOL strategy, some parents also used the two persons two languages (2P2L) method, when both parents speak two (or sometimes more) languages with the

child (Barron-Hauwaert 2004; Rosenback 2015; Limacher-Riebold 2021).

Nearly all families had two main OPOL family languages produced during observations. Family 5 had introduced OPOL from day one:

> *Family 5*
>
> *Father: This works rather well. I am a Finnish speaker, [Mother] is a Swedish speaker, we are both monolingual, neither one of us is bilingual.*
>
> *Kaisa: Has your language use changed at all during this time, before the trip, there, or after that?*
>
> *Mother: We have always just spoken to the kids. We have never discussed the topic; it was completely clear.*[16]

OPOL may be a natural choice for many families where parents speak their first languages with their children. Many participants did not have an explicit FLP; each parent instinctively spoke their language of choice. This is an example of how an FLP spontaneously takes its course with no major discussions or overt planning. In the literature, language management within the family is often described as a deliberate act or decision or "conscious and explicit efforts made by parents to achieve their expected linguistic outcomes" (Nandi 2022, p. 316).

Above, Family 5 describes their OPOL use since their children were born and continued throughout and after living in Switzerland for four years, where the children acquired French. During my short visit to the family home, I could observe the family languages in use. Indeed, the mother only addressed the children in Swedish, and the father in Finnish. There was very little French present in their conversations.

Cardiff Family 8 had initially decided on a more conscious approach from very early on to be strict with the OPOL strategy. The parents had both grown up in a bilingual or multilingual home with parents who used the OPOL strategy—for them raising children in a similar pattern was *familiar, natural, and made sense* (see 4.2.4 above):

---

[16] *Isä: Hyvinhän tää toimii. Mä olen suomenkielinen, [Äiti] on ruotsinkielinen, me ollaan molemmat yksikielisiä, miestä kumpikaan ei ole kaksikielinen.*
Kaisa: Onko teidän kielen käyttö muuttunut mitenkään tänä aikana, ennen matkaa, siellä tai sen jälkeen?
Äiti: Me ollaan kyllä aina puhuttu lapsille. Me ei olla ikinä edes keskusteltu asiasta, se oli ihan selvä.

Family 8

Mother: My mum and dad, my mum spoke English to me at home when I was growing up. Dad spoke Mandarin. He was actually learning Mandarin. He was improving his Mandarin, not that he didn't know but he was improving his Mandarin.

During observations, the parents tried to adhere to OPOL methods; Father 8 spoke Welsh, and Mother 8 Mandarin to the children, but both used English words occasionally. This may have been because of me and an elderly (Welsh- and English-speaking) family member being present or English being the shared language of the parents. In other words, in the end, they did not adhere to strict OPOL methods. The father describes raising the three children multilingually as *lucky* (or an advantage the children will benefit from in the future, see 4.2.8 above) and *easy*, despite them later stating that maintaining and developing Mandarin Chinese has been a challenge due to the limited number of exposure givers (see 6.2.2 below).

In the two extracts above, the participants expressed OPOL principles that they mainly adhered to during my visits to the family homes. However, different levels of mixing were observed between these two (and other) families (see 2.5.3 above and 5.2.9 below). This suggests that although parents report using OPOL, it does not necessarily mean that the children are constantly exposed to monolingual modes (Grosjean 1989,1998). OPOL may also mean different things to different people. Parents may actually use other languages too, to a certain extent; language use is fluid rather than rigid OPOL (similar results reported by Nyberg 2021, p. 46). In addition to this, as all children were potentially speaking more than two languages, the additional languages were acquired outside of the home (e.g. school, immigration, community language, childminder) in various ways (see Barron-Hauwaert 2004, pp. 170-172).

Parents of Family 5 and Family 8 explained that their children knew the heritage languages well enough to have conversations, indicating that they had managed to transmit the home languages using the OPOL method. De Houwer (2007) argues that the OPOL strategy is not necessarily sufficient, and only about 75% of the OPOL approach families manage to transmit the minority language. Multilingual children who are exposed to more than just the family language or languages and who do not live in established immigrant communities representing the family languages (see Braun 2006, pp. 228-229), therefore, require additional methods to acquire, learn, maintain, and develop these non-family languages. These other methods are inspected in the remainder of this chapter (e.g. 5.2.5, 5.2.6, 5.2.7 and 5.2.8 below).

5.2.2 Time and place: creating positive family language activities

Some participants had discovered creative ways of consistently increasing language exposure using the T&P strategy, whereby certain activities or routines encourage children to use the minority language (Barron-Hauwaert 2004, p. 175). Children in Spanish-English OPOL Family 12 were getting nearly all the Spanish language exposure from the mother, who also conversed with her mainly English-speaking husband (and several non-native and native Spanish speakers she knew in Cardiff) in Spanish. As the father left for work at 7 am, she encouraged the children to use Spanish only in the mornings, with the promise of a delicious breakfast. The narrative between the two oldest children and their mother highlights the children's awareness of the *Spanish in the mornings* method:

> *Family 12*
>
> *Mother: What do we speak in the mornings?*
>
> *Girl6 & Boy8: Spanish!*
>
> *Mother: If not, there's no treat.*
>
> *Kaisa: Perfect. So, that works, doesn't it?*
>
> *Mother: Yes, it works! Because they want what they want. Pancakes with Nutella, Halloumi cheese, eggs.*
>
> *Kaisa: So, in the mornings you only speak Spanish?*
>
> *Mother: Spanish. Yes, they do their best for their Spanish.*[17]

The final statement of the mother implies that during other times the children did not make as much of an effort to speak Spanish. She later explained that the Spanish time was created as after starting school, the children had begun to respond to her more and more in English (see section 2.5.5 above for discussion about *mudes*). This is an example of the reaction of parents to an external factor. The majority language English and the school language Welsh became more

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[17] *Madre: ¿Que hablamos en las mañanas?*
Chica6 & Chico8: ¡Español!
Madre: ¡Si no, no hay treat!
Kaisa: Perfecto. Entonces, funciona, ¿no?
Madre: Si, ¡funciona! Porque ellos saben lo que quieren. Pancake con Nutella… Hallumi, huevito.
Kaisa: ¿Entonces en las mañanas solamente habláis español?
Madre: Español. Si, hacen lo mejor para su español.

common in the family environment as the children grew. Therefore, as the children were not conforming to the parental language practices, the mother had decided to think of a more creative way to support the heritage language, Spanish.

The observation data revealed that the mother spoke almost exclusively Spanish to the children during the two visits to the family home. Yet, the children's responses were both in Spanish and English, suggesting more passive Spanish skills (see dual-lingual conversations, where interlocutors speak different languages, comprehensible to each other by Saville-Troike 1987).

Mother 10 had introduced a reward system to nurture the Turkish language learning:

> *Family 10*
>
> *Mother: We had small beads. I teach a couple of words every day and if they remember the next day, it stays in the box. And when we fill up the box, they get something. Like Lego, or other toys.*
>
> *Kaisa: That's exciting.*

> *Mother: Or we go somewhere they would like to go. Parc Play [an indoor/outdoor play park], or concert. So, they know they will get something, so they try really hard to remember things. We have good vocabulary now because of that but they can't use it in a sentence. So, it's only when I speak, they pick up some things. They try to understand but never like casual chats. Like real chats.*

Mother 10's account here illustrates the re-enforcement of her role as a mother and teacher of Turkish rather than doing parenting and everyday conversations in Turkish. This method of using little beads relates to activity linked with language. As discussed before (see section 4.2.1 above, also read her account in section 5.2.4 below), the single parent had felt isolated in terms of finding Turkish community groups in Cardiff. The responsibility of teaching her boys Turkish was solely on the mother's shoulders, although her ex-husband had always been fully supportive of the boys learning Turkish (see Chantreau and Moal 2022). She wanted to teach them Turkish at a slower pace, in a fun and encouraging way.

When the case study parents were asked to reflect on the manner in which they used the different language methods and strategies, each expressed an element of positive and encouraging activities or methods involving child-centred fun. During observations, I witnessed language play, jokes, and loving interaction in each family despite some parents saying they were strict with their language use. Playful ways of encouraging language development promote uninterrupted flexible

conversations and communication in a minority language (Kheirkhah and Cekaite 2015; Guardado 2018, p. 187; Wilson 2020a). Telling off and constant corrections when children mix can frustrate and annoy children and lead to them resisting the developing minority language. This will be reviewed in the final section, 5.2.9 below.

5.2.3 Extended family language support

There needs to be more research regarding multilingual children and extended family members (Smith-Christmas 2016a); some only mention them briefly (e.g. Ronjat 1913; Barnes 2006; Chevalier 2013; Yates and Terraschke 2013). Maintaining contact with extended family was mentioned in all interviews; it was one of the most prominent overarching themes across the data. It was a motivation to transmit languages (see section 4.2.2 above), a language strategy, and a part of the family's circumstances affecting language transmission. Therefore, the existence of extended family members worked both ways; it motivated the family members, but the extended family also provided exposure to a particular minority language.

Some families had set a specific strategy regarding extended family from the start:

> *Family 3*
>
> *Mother: It was very much on purpose that when she did get christened, she has one of her godparents Swedish-speaking, one is English-speaking, and the other two are Finnish-speaking. And I want to say it's about the relationship but if I'm perfectly honest it was also about the languages!*

Here, Mother 3 describes how she chose her daughter's godparents to represent her three languages, indicating that very early on, she wished to raise a trilingual child and create a language support network via godparents. Indeed, language development is interlinked with a child's emotions and the desire to be with people they see as valuable to them (Nurmi et al. 2014, p. 42). The mother made a conscious choice to pick godparents who speak her three languages in the hope that she will develop strong relationships, encouraging her language development in these languages with the godparents.

Most participants mentioned grandparents as the essential support in language transmission. Grandparents, both in the country of residence and abroad, where applicable, were spoken about to a great extent. This is supported by Braun (2012; see also Macleod 2022, p. 65), who found that the influence of grandparents is crucial for children's language transmission. He argues that the existence of grandparents impacts the language transmission decision and parents' language use

(pp. 145, 166).

Therefore, I will next explore how spending time with grandparents can be a vital language strategy. Many grandparents were monolingual, only speaking and understanding the heritage language, creating a monolingual mode (Grosjean 1989,1998). This mode, even in OPOL families, was otherwise rare as all the parents had at least basic knowledge of all the children's languages (see section 3.6.1 above). The monolingual mode could also create tension or problems:

> *Family 1*
>
> *Mother: He [grandfather] took Girl9 to Linnanmäki [an amusement park in Helsinki] when she was four years old and it was a bit stressful for Girl9 because she thought, how do I say I have to go to the toilet? What should I do if he doesn't speak Swedish? But the way we saw it that my brother who does speak Swedish, and I knew that he went with them, then [grandad] could uphold this idea of not speaking Swedish. Because he really didn't want to reveal that to Girl9. So, that Finnish would become their common language.*

The Finnish-speaking grandfather of Family 1 had decided not to speak the girl's main language Swedish, in an attempt to help her develop her Finnish—a discourse strategy similar to Lanza's (1997b, Chapter 4) *minimal grasp* (see 2.5.3 above). Despite being a competent Swedish speaker, the grandfather could afford the interruption of communication, acting as a language teacher rather than a primary carer, much like Lina's aunt (see Chevalier 2013), who was the girl's main English language source in German-speaking Switzerland. At that time, the grandfather's primary goal was to get the granddaughter to speak Finnish and create a relationship with her in Finnish.

Family 13's maternal grandmother travels from South America for extended periods every year to spend time with the family and look after the grandchildren:

Family 13

Kaisa: Your mum visits quite a lot?

Mother: Once a year. And she only speaks Spanish.

Kaisa: And she doesn't speak English, right? Or she speaks a little bit?

Mother: She learnt at school so she can remember a few things but in reality, no, she doesn't really speak at all.[18]

I had the opportunity to meet the grandmother on a different occasion, and we quickly turned the conversation into Spanish as she only spoke words rather than sentences of English. The mother mentioned these visits as a strategy, suggesting that she considers them beneficial for the children's Spanish language development.

Very few studies look at the linguistic impact of extended family visits (e.g. Ronjat 1913; Chevalier 2013). In addition to mentioning visiting the families themselves (see section 5.2.7 below on language immersion visits), several families also discussed visits from the extended family members being beneficial for language transmission (see also e.g. Ellis and Sims 2022). The grandparents of families 1 and 13 provided almost entirely a monolingual minority (Finnish and Spanish respectively) language mode on the monolingual-bilingual continuum (Grosjean 1989,1998) for the grandchildren. It meant that the children would have to make an effort not to switch codes but rather find expressions in the grandparent's language to be understood.

Although it is widely recognised that regular interaction with extended family positively influences transmission (Evas et al. 2017), it is important to note that the existence of an extended family member alone is not necessarily enough. In these two cases, the (pretended or not) non-understanding of other languages may have proven fruitful for language development.

5.2.4 Creating extended networks through local language groups

In addition to relatives, multilingual families often seek other minority language speakers to aid transmission, such as caregivers (discussed in section 5.2.5 below), neighbours, or playmates (Ștavans and Hoffman 2015, p. 225). Indeed, extended family language networks can be created to help families socialise children in a minority language (Guardado 2018, p. 126). Attending

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[18] *Kaisa: ¿Tu madre te visita bastante?*
Madre: Una vez por año. Y ella solo habla castellano.
Kaisa: Y ella no habla inglés, ¿verdad? ¿O habla un poco?
Madre: Aprendió en la escuela entonces se acuerda algunas cosas, pero no, en la práctica no, no habla casi nada.

community-based or weekend language classes is a language strategy mentioned in a few previous studies (Curdt-Christiansen 2009; Yates and Terraschke 2013; Said and Zhu 2019; Said 2021). Indeed, strong networks and a community play a significant role in language transmission outcomes (Hornsby 2022, p. 1); they are associated with oral proficiency, grammar and vocabulary development (Gibbons and Ramirez 2004b, pp. 130, 142).

The participants attended or set up a selection of language groups, heritage language schools, supplementary schools, churches, or language communities. These groups have a vital role in helping to strengthen multilingual children's cultural identity and heritage language identity (Braun 2006; Park and Sarkar 2007; Yates and Terraschke 2013; Guardado 2018; Iqbal 2021, p. 298; Said 2021; Ellis and Sims 2022) that in turn support the minority language development. They are crucial in providing a social network for families with their own culture and values and offer a "safe space" for social and learner identities to develop (Li 2006, pp. 80, 81). Heritage schools can be places for group solidarity even if different schools may have different objectives, including the transmission of the mother tongue; religion; culture and history; or supplementary mainstream education (see Reed et al. 2017). These objectives, of course, often overlap. For instance, in addition to religion, a Welsh church may support the family language, Welsh culture, and history. On the other hand, a community group could primarily aim to help families transmit a certain language and/or culture and history. Diverse community groups (Peace-Hughes et al. 2021) and communities based on common values that involve several generations (e.g. church or community for all ages) are more beneficial in supporting a child's language and encouraging language use more than utilitarian communities (Pietikäinen 2021), such as language classes. It is important that children hear and observe older generations speak the target language to support intergenerational transmission (Olsen-Reeder 2022, p. 185).

After moving back from Germany, Finnish Mother 4 attended a German playgroup with her youngest daughter for a while:

> *Family 4*
>
> *Kaisa: You went to a playgroup with Girl9?*
>
> *Mother: Yes! It was when we moved back. It was organised by the German congregation, in the premises of the German school, a kind of children's playgroup but it was parents and children there.*

Kaisa: They were German-speaking parents?

Mother: Yes. It was mainly German-speaking parents with their children. So, you got included in this German lingualism. So, I was a minority, as a Finnish language speaker there. [19]

In the absence of a German-speaking family, or extended family members in Finland, she decided to integrate into the German-speaking community to maintain her young daughter's German (learned while living in Germany). Here she explains how she wanted to immerse the daughter in a German environment until the start of school (see section 5.2.6 below on choosing a school language).

Attending Welsh-language Sunday School and setting up a French club were conscious language strategies Family 14 implemented:

Family 14

Father: Another thing that happened with Girl20 as well. I was taking them to a Welsh chapel, so they went to Sunday school.

Girl8: I go to a Welsh Sunday School!

Girl20: And we had quite a few friends there.

Mother: And then obviously they do French club with me. So, I started a baby group when this one [20-year-old daughter, Girl20] was a baby.

Mother: And the French club I've been doing for 18 years now!

French Mother 14 was exceptionally active in her quest to create a French language environment for her children in Wales. She founded a baby group and later a French after-school club shortly after her first child was born. The father, who spoke Welsh to the children, also supported the children's Welsh with regular visits to a Welsh chapel and Welsh Sunday School. The 20-year-old daughter remembers having Welsh-speaking peers, which has, without a doubt, been beneficial for her Welsh language development (a strategy discussed by e.g. Guardado 2018). The family chose to send their children to an English-medium school because the mother had no Welsh skills when her daughter started school; therefore, they did not use school as a strategy to support the

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[19] *Kaisa: Sä olit Tyttö9:n kanssa jossain leikkikerhossa?*
Äiti: Joo! Se oli silloin kun me muutettiin takaisin. Saksalaisen seurakunnan järjestämä, saksalaisen kirkon tiloissa tämmöinen ihan niin kuin lasten leikkikerho mutta se oli vanhemmat ja lapset sitten siinä.
Kaisa: Ihan saksankielisiä vanhempia?
Äiti: Joo. Lähinnä siellä oli saksankieliset vanhemmat lastensa kanssa. Että pääsi siihen saksankielisyyteen sitten. Että olin kyllä vähemmistö, suomenkielisenä siellä.

father's language (more about this in 5.2.6 below). However, they had made significant efforts to find and create groups to support the two family languages in other ways.

In the above extracts, the families talk about different language community networks: a German language playgroup, a Welsh chapel and Sunday school, a French baby group and a French club. When I asked about the families' language strategies, all case study families felt that a minority language community outside the family home was essential in increasing minority language exposure.

However, not all attended language community meet-ups. Some interviewees struggled to find or create such a community and found that, as a result, the transmission process of a foreign heritage language was more burdensome:

> *Family 10*
>
> *Mother: I knew it would be difficult because I don't know many Turkish people here and there are no Turkish courses for kids so they could see the Turkish environment. Their friends, they do a lot of activities together. Polish activities, every Friday they send their children to a communication club. But there's nothing in Turkish. There aren't many Turkish communities here. If it was London, so many! But here, no. So, that was the disadvantage. I was too lazy, I think.*

Family 10's heritage language is Turkish, a less spoken language in Cardiff and, much like the Albanian-speaking Family 9 (see section 4.2.2 above), lacked the support of a local language community. Parents who wish to transmit a heritage language, which is less common in society and possibly only spoken in the home, may be more concerned about the transmission process as the responsibility is solely on their shoulders (Revis 2019, p. 182). Braun (2006, p. 142) noticed a similar scenario of supplementary schools in Germany often only supporting major European languages, such as English and French. This led other parents who tried to transmit a locally less spoken language eventually to drop a heritage language.

There is often little correlation between the parent's description of the child's heritage language skills and the actual level of languages (Pietikäinen 2021). Despite parents' estimates of their children's language skills not being scientific but rather subjective (Schwartz and Moin 2012), both Families 10 and 9 expressed during the interview that they were aware of the level of the children's linguistic skills. Both families' parents said that the heritage language (Albanian or Turkish) was the weakest of the children's languages. The children now had only small stints of having conversations with the immigrant background parent in the heritage language. This

indicates that the existence of a local language community group—a place where children can hear the language and get support for their multilingual identity development—increases the possibility of the success of language transmission.

5.2.5 Childcare in target language

All case study families had an FLP or other plans in place by the time the children were infants (e.g. OPOL, plans for childcare or school language). A number of participants made a conscious decision to increase language exposure before school by choosing childcare in a target language (see e.g. Okita 2002, p. 31; Nandi 2022, p. 315). Family 3 in Helsinki employed a Finnish childminder:

> *Family 3*
>
> *Father: She had a babysitter for a year and a half who was Finnish-speaking because we thought it would be good for her to learn Finnish so from one and a half years until she was three years old, she had a Finnish-speaking caretaker.*

The family's languages used in the home were English and Swedish, with very little Finnish; this was confirmed during the observation too. The choice to employ a Finnish-speaking childminder for the daughter to acquire Finnish was a deliberate action to enhance language development (Purkarthofer 2019). The girl then proceeded to a Swedish-medium school (see section 5.2.6 below for discussion about school language choices) in her older bilingual Swedish-Finnish-speaking stepsister's footsteps, reflecting the influence of stepchildren in language transmission decisions (see Chantreau and Moal 2022).

Parents described the fluctuation of languages and how staying at home, childcare, or school (section 5.2.6 below) impacted the children's language development in their opinion:

> *Family 1*
>
> *Mother: If we think about Girl9's development, she started speaking French as a kid so until she was three years and when she went to day-care, she only spoke French. You did sing in Swedish though.*
>
> *Girl9: Oh yes, the Pippi Longstocking song. That one…*[20]
>
> *Mother: Swedish became very strong because of the day-care. And she had been exposed to Swedish all the time, so it became active from being more passive.*

Spending time with peers speaking the target language (Quay 2011; Guardado 2018) is an essential component in successful language transmission, as discussed in section 5.2.4 above (see

[20] *Flicka9: Aj ju, den där Pippi sången. Den där....*

also section 5.2.6 below).

The transition from home to Swedish childcare includes a critical *muda* or a "change of linguistic repertoire in one's life trajectory" (see Pujolar and Gonzàlez 2013, p. 140) in the girl's life. For the first three years, the daughter of Family 1 mainly spoke French, the mother's language. When she started Swedish-medium day-care at age three, her father's language Swedish, developed, and she started actively using it. The mother acknowledges this change impacted her daughter's language development; the Swedish-medium childcare triggered her to start speaking Swedish; the Swedish-medium childcare transformed the daughter's mainly passive Swedish into active language production (see Quay 2011).

Childcare was used as a language strategy before and after the children started school. Finland-born Family 5 employed exchange students to maintain the children's French acquired in Switzerland:

> *Family 5*
>
> *Kaisa: And do they come to look after the children or speak to them or how does this system work?*
>
> *Mother: It's been a bit varied. This first one, they tried to do [language] exercises but didn't really succeed. They were quite young still at the time. Then this next one did [language] tasks with them. We bought these booklets from Switzerland that you can do during summer holidays, and then we bought that kind of… grammar, exercises, and vocabulary. And then they play.*[21]

Family 5 had invested plenty of resources in maintaining the children's *bonus language* acquired while living abroad. Since their return three years ago, three French-speaking exchange students have been employed as a part of the language maintenance efforts. Their FLP to maintain French involved buying exercise booklets from Switzerland and employing native French speakers to provide childcare and tutoring. The most recent recruit did not initially provide the anticipated linguistic input but engaged in play activities, such as jumping on a trampoline, in which such input

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[21] *Kaisa: Ja tulevatko ne hoitamaan lapsia vai juttelemaan niiden kanssa vai miten tämä systeemi toimii?*

Äiti: Vähän on ollut vaihtelevaa. Tämä ensimmäinen, hän yritti kyllä tehdä tehtäviä niitten kanssa mutta ei kauheasti onnistunut. Ne oli aika pieniä silloin vielä. Ja sitten tämä seuraava meillä oli niin hän teki ihan niitten kanssa tehtäviä. Me ostettiin Sveitsistä sellaisia vihkoja mitä voi tehdä kesälomilla ja sitten ostettiin sellaisia kielioppia, tehtäviä ja sanastoja. Ja sitten ne leikkii.

was largely absent. Only after encouragement from the parents did he engage in activities in which the desired linguistic input was more apparent, including visits to the local library. When the initially bilingual Family 5 was prompted to give more thought about increasing French language exposure, the father mentioned they had also considered an au pair or student who could occupy the spare room and speak French with the children.

In all extracts, parents acknowledged the benefit of target language childcare and having an extra person who has frequent contact with the children in a minority or heritage language. Indeed, as mentioned earlier, research (e.g. Evas et al. 2017) shows regular interaction with people outside the family who speak a minority language—be it a member of the extended family, local language group members, or a childminder—has a positive impact on language transmission.

Each family identified the benefit of having an additional minority language-speaking person to provide childcare but also acknowledged that the minority language of a childminder was not necessarily a priority but rather a bonus. This highlights the extra choices multilingual families face. Not only do they look for a good childminder, but in an ideal world, a good childminder speaking a minority language would be preferable.

5.2.6 Choosing a school language

This theme describes how many parents use school as a transmission strategy and how other factors may influence choosing a school. Finally, home language instruction is discussed.

Choosing a bilingual, minority language, or monolingual majority language education as a part of the FLP can be a critical pillar in supporting the multilingual child's language development (Moin et al. 2013, p. 53; Mhic Mhathúna and Nic Fhionnlaoich 2021; Hornsby 2022, p. 3). School is a vital tool to support heritage language transmission, as in addition to language, it also transmits historical and cultural values (Fishman 1991, pp. 369-372). However, it is important to mention that choosing a school as a strategy on its own may not be sufficient to transmit a language (Hornsby 2022, p. 11).

All schools in both countries provide some teaching of both official languages, which means that each child will end up with a certain degree of bilingual ability. In addition to childcare discussed in the previous section, starting school was a critical *muda* (Pujolar and Gonzàlez 2013), reported in the case study children's lives.

However, some minority language schools were not chosen entirely because of the language of

instruction. Mhic Mhathúna and Nic Fhionnlaoich (2021) found that parents in the UK sending their children to Celtic language (Irish, Gaelic, and Welsh) pre-schools cited a number of other reasons in addition to the language of instruction, cultural and heritage values, and interest in the minority language. These other reasons were cognitive development (see section 4.2.6 above for parental beliefs regarding multilinguals' increased cognitive abilities), interest in bilingualism, and the good reputation of the schools (Mhic Mhathúna and Nic Fhionnlaoich 2021). For some families in this study, the choice of school was indeed down to the school's reputation or religious aspect rather than a strong drive to learn a language through schooling. For originally bilingual OPOL German-English Family 11, the school language was seen as a bonus that suited their language ideology:

> *Family 11*
>
> *Kaisa: Why did you choose Welsh then?*
>
> *Father: Partly process of elimination. We didn't like the English state primaries. And we were not going to send him to [two private schools]. They were going to go to the same school, just couldn't really afford two children in private school.*
>
> *Mother: The children are born here, and they are growing up here for the foreseeable future and so it's just opening them up to the country here.*

Here, the parents explain how it was not initially the Welsh language that made them choose Welsh-medium education. In the previous chapter, they mention the goal of wanting their children to learn as many languages as *naturally* possible (see the parents' comments in section 4.2.4 above). Schooling provided an opportunity for the acquisition of Welsh, which was not a family language. Mother 11 also implies that sending the children to a Welsh-medium school gives them more opportunities in Wales (this point is further discussed in section 4.2.7 above).

Choosing a school based on the medium of instruction is a conscious language strategy among parents. It is important to note that also other factors played a part. Originally OPOL French-Swedish Family 2 had chosen to send the children to a Finnish-medium kindergarten and school for religious reasons, as the only Jewish school in Finland is Finnish-medium. They understood that by choosing a Finnish-medium school, the children's dominant language could become Finnish rather than one of the first languages or chosen family languages of the parents:

Family 2

Father: I think eventually Finnish will be the strongest, for example, Girl7 when she does homework, she does it all in Finnish. And she does math in Finnish, so eventually it will be the strongest language.

It could be argued that the family had also chosen to use intergenerational language donation (Lyon 1996, Evas 1999) as the children learned the father's second language via schooling rather than speaking it with the father.

Smagulova's (2019) study looked at language socialisation practices in Russian-speaking ethnic Kazakhs whose children attended Kazakh-medium schools; introducing a heritage language via school as a high-prestige language also re-introduced it into everyday interaction at home. Similarly, Finnish was introduced to Family 2 children via school. The 7-year-old girl chose to be interviewed in Finnish rather than the father's Swedish, the mother's French, or the parents' shared language English. It seemed clear that the school language, which was not present in the family life prior to her starting at the Finnish-medium kindergarten and school, was the girl's language of choice. Indeed, research (Braun 2006, pp. 108, 116; Nakamura 2018) suggests that children start favouring school and community languages over home languages. This is mirrored in the parents' statement: *eventually it will be the strongest language*.

One significant difference between the countries' language policies is the extent of national support for certain home languages. Many Finnish families benefit from state-funded home language instruction, an initiative that started in the 1970s (see section 1.2.3.2 above for more details). It gives the minority groups the possibility to develop their language skills and culture in free, extracurricular classes organised by municipalities. When I asked Family 4 about language strategies, they mentioned home language instruction classes as a necessary support system because the parents were not native German speakers. The children's German language was now primarily maintained by home language instruction classes:

Family 4

Kaisa: I'd like to hear more about home language instruction.

Mother: The kids go for two hours a week. The city of Espoo offers to those, that have the other parent, or in a concrete way home language other than Finnish or Swedish, probably Sámi belongs to that. Or then ex-pats who return to their home country that have learned a foreign language abroad.[22]

Above, Mother 4 describes the home language instruction offered by the city of Espoo. Home language instruction provided a regular opportunity for Finnish children to practise German. Their FLP included attending a local German language community group (see section 5.2.4 above) when the children were younger and regular language immersion visits to Germany, which I will discuss in the next section 5.2.7 below.

In Wales, plurilingual students, or those speaking multiple languages, have no access to provisions to develop or maintain their languages outside the school environment (Arfon 2019, pp. 1-2). Arguably, the data from Finland suggest that it would benefit schools in Wales to support transnational children's language repertoires (Gallo and Hornberger 2019, p. 768) and further promote foreign language learning (Mehmedbegovic and Bak 2017).

5.2.7 Language immersion visits

Trips to a place where a heritage language is being spoken have been highlighted as a factor that aids transmission via immersion (e.g. Okita 2002, p. 31; Gibbons and Ramirez 2004b, p. 139; Doyle 2013, pp. 160-161; Yates and Terraschke 2013, p. 122; Evas et al. 2017). Yet, despite some mentions of language immersion visits from even earlier texts (e.g. Ronjat 1913; Hoffmann 1985), there is very little analysis of these visits in the literature. The data suggest it is a crucial language strategy parents implemented. In addition to having extended family visiting the case study families (section 5.2.3 above) and families having language contact with communities in their countries of residence (section 5.2.4 above), each of the 14 case study families also regularly visited a country or a place where a minority language was being spoken. This was a language strategy used by participants who had relatives in the area they visited but also families with no

[22] *Kaisa: Kotikielen opetuksesta mä haluaisin kuulla lisää.*
Äiti: Lapset käy kaksi tuntia viikossa. Espoon kaupunki tarjoaa sekä niille, joilla on toinen vanhempi, tai ihan konkreettisesti se kotikieli joku toinen kuin suomi tai ruotsi, varmaan saamikin kuuluu siihen. Tai sitten paluumuuttajille, jotka on oppineet vieraan kielen ulkomailla.

heritage link with the place:

> *Family 4*
>
> *Mother: And it makes it easier when we visit, we try to visit Germany once a year to greet our friends so they can speak the German language together.*
>
> *Kaisa: And you made German friends over there?*
>
> *Mother: Yeah.*[23]

Here, Mother 4 considers that transmission is made simpler with visits to Germany, where the children have the opportunity to speak German with friends; providing exposure to German is the critical aspect of these trips. Family 4 visited Germany every year to promote more intensive language exposure for the children who had learned it there during their two years away from Finland.

Mother 10 aimed to visit her native Turkey with her boys yearly; she explained that it raised their interest in the language:

> *Family 10*
>
> *Mother: We go there [Turkey] once a year, and stay about three weeks, maximum. So, we don't speak Turkish all the time, but I speak Turkish with my parents, with my friends and family, everyone. So, they want to learn as well. And they're really enthusiastic about that. They are as: What is this? What does this mean? And they want to go and practise the language. This year it's really improved.*

The visits to Turkey meant that her boys took an interest in the Turkish language even if they were not fluently conversing in it.

The extracts highlight that parents recognised the value of spending time in a place where a minority language was the norm. These findings point out that all the case study parents believed in the importance of visiting an area where a language is being spoken; the data shows that it is a common language strategy all parents used. The above extracts also provide evidence that the parents report that it increases the children's interest in the language and motivation to speak it with peers, family, and the heritage language-speaking parent.

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[23] *Äiti: Ja helpottaa sitten sitä, kun käydään, yritetään käydä vähintään kerran vuodessa siellä Saksassa morjestamassa kavereita niin sitten pystyvät puhumaan sitä saksan kieltä keskenään.*
Kaisa: Ja te saitte ihan saksalaisia kavereita siellä?
Äiti: Joo.

Most families visited a heritage language country every year. Families discussed longer and shorter language immersion visits, which ranged from a week's holiday in Spain to six weeks in Hungary or Sweden during the summer holidays. American Mother 3 stayed in the US with her daughter for a few months during term time and enrolled her daughter in an American school to get her English to the level of her peers. Some earlier research argues that the length of these trips is crucial—more extended visits may be more likely to give the minority language a boost (Nakamura 2018, p. 198). Uribe de Kellett (2002) described the language trajectory of a bilingual Spanish-English child living in the UK who had gradually lost the ability to use Spanish after the start of full-time school (see section 5.2.6 above), becoming a passive bilingual. The child was able to recover the production of Spanish during a trip to Colombia. Others have defended the efficacy of shorter trips too. Slakov (2015) suggested that even short-term language immersion visits and attending, e.g. day camps, which are periods of exposure to rich and intensive language input, could be a more effective strategy for language transmission than, for instance, weekend heritage language maintenance programmes.

5.2.8 Using language resources

This theme refers to how the parents encouraged language acquisition or learning through different resources; or existing aids that may be included in the families' linguistic routines and everyday life. Studies have mentioned using a variety of resources, such as books, videos, flash cards, the internet, contact with relatives online, computer programmes, songs (see e.g. King and Fogle 2006; Park and Sarkar 2007; Yates and Terraschke 2013, p. 122; Song 2016), music, cookbooks, magazines or newspapers (Gibbons and Ramirez 2004b, p. 232) to increase language exposure and use. Indeed, most parents pointed out books, reading, television, and other resources, such as video calls or games, when I asked about the parental language strategies.

Many families mentioned television or children's programmes. Family 2 had specific language rules in place, which also applied to watching television. The parents felt that they were currently working well to provide enough exposure to the children's five languages:

Family 2

Father: They're only allowed to watch Netflix in French or Swedish. Unless the only language that exists is Finnish in the speech options, and they really, really want to see it, then we make an exception. Or English, but in general, only Swedish or French. That's it. That helps a lot, they have a very good vocabulary.

Mother: TV has done so much for us. I'm not demonising screens at all.

Family 2 parents expressed a positive and flexible approach to multilingualism (see section 4.2.10 above for their comments regarding a gut language), while some of their FLP (and screen times) were fairly strict. According to the parents, the children's languages were not equally developed, but each language had a function and was being used actively.

Books and reading were also spoken about in length. Certainly, both quality and quantity of literacy practices are associated with higher levels of language proficiency (Gibbons and Ramirez 2004b, p. 232). As the children were of an age (4-12) where they were learning or had recently learned to read in their main language(s), it most probably made the parents consider heritage language reading and writing skills. Indeed, Said (2021) found that reading is a vital step in heritage language development. The Arabic parents in her study often wished to gift (see section 4.2.8 above) their children the ability to read in the heritage language. She argues that reading in the minority or heritage language together, mothers' heritage language skills, and adequate resources are crucial for developing a heritage language.

Family 5, who stated that they often used the local library's extensive selection of French books, had a creative method to motivate the children to read books:

Family 5

Mother: So, we have used some bribing methods.

Father: Yes, it's a thing we thought of at some point. I will pay them for each book that they read. And I thought that I would pay 10 Euros for a thick book of 150 pages.[24]

The family rated their local library highly and valued being able to read in French (a language learned in Switzerland), so much that they were prepared to pay their children to read in the target language. It emerges here that the bribing method has worked as the children could read

[24] *Äiti: Siihen me ollaan käytetty vähän lahjontamenetelmiä.*
Isä: Niin, se on sellainen juttu mikä jossain vaiheessa keksittiin. Mä maksan niille joka kirjasta mitä ne lukee. Ja ajattelin, että maksan tollaisesta paksusta kirjasta vaikka 150-sivuisesta kirjasta 10 euroa.

books, such as Harry Potter, in their weakest language, which was not a family language used in everyday communication.

Internet-based calls were mentioned as a practical tool too:

> *Family 1*
>
> *Mother: Girl9 now has a friend in the US, we try to Skype once a month. We should contact her one of these days.*
>
> *Kaisa: Somebody you met while you were there?*
>
> *Mother: It was a good friend, a neighbour. So, we want to keep the contact and they are willing to do so too. And we realised by writing emails or letters it's not going to work so we mums, took the initiative, let's set a Skype meeting. At first, the girls were just like beside us, we mums were talking, and it was quite difficult for them to speak, and the second time it went much better.*

The French and Swedish OPOL parents had become good friends with neighbours while living in the US for two years. Mother 1 encouraged the relationship with the neighbour's girl to continue via Skype calls, which, the parents hope, would maintain the 9-year-old's English language skills. Internet calls are a valuable tool to communicate in a minority language and maintain intimate relationships with the home country or family members (see e.g. Park and Sarkar 2007; Parreñas 2014; Palviainen 2021). Online communication has the potential to redefine what we consider family. However, there is not much research regarding internet-age multilingual families' media use and its impact on FLP (Lanza and Gomes 2020, p. 164).

5.2.9 Parental discourse strategies

In Chapter 4 above, I discussed how parents often had strong views regarding language transmission, including types of interaction, such as mixing. A child may utilise words, sentences, or structures from the majority (or stronger) language if their minority or heritage language skills are still developing. The lack of vocabulary can result in mixing or switching the language altogether for one where a child has more extensive skills. Multilingual children's code-mixing and code-switching, a common phenomenon amongst multilinguals, have been extensively researched (e.g. Stavans 1992; Edwards and Dewaele 2007; Deuchar et al. 2016). All families reported some degree of mixing and switching in children, which echoes the findings in previous studies of multilingual families (e.g. Curdt-Christiansen 2013b). Although only a few FLP studies pay attention to parental discourse strategies (De Houwer and Nakamura 2022, p. 44), it emerged as a significant theme during parental interviews. Therefore, this section investigates how parents

responded to the mixing and switching.

Parental views and parental attitudes regarding learning or multilingualism impact upon their interactional strategies (King et al. 2008, p. 913). There is evidence in the literature of the importance of discourse strategies and quality of participation in language transmission (Quay 2001, p. 152; Barnes 2006, pp. 19-20; Kheirkhah and Cekaite 2015). Research suggests that the degree of children's minority language proficiency is down to the parental language use (language choice, frequency, and discourse strategies) with children (De Houwer 2017, p. 243). However, there were different types of families in this study. We have seen that not all families had three (or more) languages actively used in the family homes. This section will introduce the discourse strategies used for family languages only.

It emerged throughout the interviews and observations that parents used a variety of discourse strategies (see 2.5.3 above). The same parent can also use different interactional styles at different times. As children's ability to produce languages varies, parents' discourse strategies may also adapt over time (Slavkov 2015).

Many parents stated speaking almost uniquely one language with the children in their responses in the self-administered questionnaire and during interviews, but I could see inconsistencies during observations. Parents code-switched or "used two or more languages in the same conversation or utterance" (Gardner-Chloros 1997, p. 361) and mixed languages (see sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2 above for OPOL and the T&P strategy). This finding is backed up by Goodz's (1994) study showing that parents were often unaware of the language mixing they did themselves. Still, the reflections of parents' responses to children's code-mixing were fairly accurate. Parents' awareness of their responses was indicated in my study too, parents were very specific about their responses to children's mixing but less so about their own language use.

Mother 4's extract evidences the strong views regarding mixing:

Family 4

Mother: Particularly if the children mix the languages. I have a slightly different view of whether you should intervene or not. So many, whether it's linguists or teachers or others stress that you should not express these mistakes that a child makes because it may lead to them not wanting to speak. Maybe because I grew up with it and saw how efficiently I have myself learned the foreign language on the side, so in that sense I hold on to the fact that I dare to correct. It has not yet led to the children not daring to say something.[25]

Family 4 parents felt that to learn to speak correctly, you mix as little as possible (see also Gyogi 2015, pp. 757-758); they even called themselves *language police*. This was also mirrored in a study (Dabóczy 2020) among immigrant background parents in Finland. The parents could afford to use *instruction to translate* (see section 2.5.3 above for more details and terms) without substantial breaks in conversation because the family languages were the majority language (Finnish) and school language (Swedish). The children were exposed to both languages a great deal and had ample opportunities to develop both simultaneously. The parents based the non-mixing principle on the mother's own experience growing up a bilingual Swedish-Finnish speaker (see King and Fogle 2006, p. 704). She was raised in a Finnish-speaking family and attended a Swedish medium school. She trusted that the method her parents used was the correct method. Her parents had been very strict with language use, and she followed the same rule of not mixing languages, trusting the assumption that it was not good for language development. The family also used *minimal grasp* to get the children to speak a target language. The parents successfully used the strictest end of parental discourse strategies for their two principal family languages. The children's German maintenance was left mainly to home language instruction (discussed in section 5.2.6 above).

Swedish-speaking Father 2 implied that he used *adult repetition*, *minimal grasp* and *expressed guess* at times:

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[25] *Äiti: Erityisesti jos lapset puhuu sekakieltä. Mulla on vähän erilainen kuva siitä, että pitääkö asiaan puuttua vai ei. Niin moni, onko kielitutkijat vai opettajat vai muuta, painottaa sitä, että ei saisi ilmaista näitä virheitä mitä lapsi tekee koska se saattaa johtaa siihen, ettei hän enää halua kertoa. Ehkä sen takia, kun on itse kasvanut sen kanssa ja nähnyt miten tehokkaasti on ite oppinut sen vieraan kielen siinä ohessa niin siinä mielessä pidän tiukkaan kiinni siitä, ja uskallan korjata. Ei se ainakaan vielä ole tuottanut semmoista, että ei uskalla sanoa lapset jotain.*

Family 2

Father: If they speak in Swedish and have a word in Finnish, I'll repeat the sentence with the Swedish word. Like: Can I have (Sv) chocolate (Fi)? Ah, you want chocolate? Sure, you can have chocolate (Sv).[26] And often I pretend I didn't hear them. So, they'll say it louder. I think they think I have a problem with my hearing! And then they can catch up with the correction which is what I want.

Father 2's strategies were not quite as rigid as Family 4's conversational methods. His account here provides insight into the three discourse strategies he recognised himself as using.

Mother 6 is a linguistics postgraduate research student. She had familiarised herself with different conversational strategies. Being more relaxed about the language quickly led to increased code-switching and mixing in her opinion:

Family 6

Mother: I don't correct them, I demand that they say it in Hungarian because I have noticed, about this code-switching. Nowadays there's this attitude that we should let the children speak and code-switching is lovely.

Kaisa: ...and natural!

Mother: …and natural but what I noticed because I let them do that, I tried. I noticed that there was more and more Swedish, almost all the content was in Swedish. And then they just throw a little bit of Hungarian here and there.

Father: And they conjugated the Swedish words in Hungarian.

Mother: Yeah. This was a very short period of time.

Kaisa: When did that happen?

Mother: A few years ago. It would have gone like really fast. I mean mainly Swedish. I got really strict about Hungarian again. I demand. I let them code-switch a little bit but if I notice it's too much like more than two words in a sentence, or something, I stop them and say, could you say that in Hungarian? And they usually can. So, they're just lazy.

Here, Mother 6 had to change strategies because the children's behaviour was going against her expectations (discussed in section 4.2.2 above). As the children started using Swedish more frequently, she decided to use a stricter discourse strategy. The mother had done extensive research regarding parental responses and chosen a constrictive *instruction to translate* response, which she felt worked for her family. She explains how the more flexible methods quickly resulted

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[26] *Kan ja få suklaata? Ah, du vill ha choklad? Vist du kan få choklad.*

in increased mixing and even mixing Hungarian and Swedish grammar rules.

Family 9 used the *moving on* strategy to a large extent but had also discovered a new way of encouraging their young daughter to speak Albanian:

> *Family 9*
>
> *Father: That's one time I've noticed her initiating a question in Albanian. If I'm talking to her, she would probably ignore me nine times out of ten anyway. Speaking to her in Albanian, I know for a fact that she'll ignore me completely. But if it's both of us doing it, you know, hang on a second, they're talking something…*
>
> *Mother: If as though she'd need a motive. Yeah. She doesn't have a motive; she won't do it.*

The parents explain how occasionally speaking to each other in Albanian or mL@H, (see section 4.2.2 above about the mother learning to speak Albanian) instead of Welsh or English increased the chances of their daughter speaking the language too. Father 9 expressed the frustrations of having dual-lingual conversations or no response to Albanian on several occasions. Switching the parents' shared language from Welsh or English to Albanian, however, raised the daughter's interest in the language. This created a necessity (De Houwer 2021b) for the daughter to respond in the same language to be included in the family conversation.

From the 14 families, those that estimated their children's linguistic level to be fluent in a language and felt that the children had had a wealth of exposure to the minority language also tended to use stricter, more constraining responses. In the examples given above, Family 4 was very strict with their Swedish, Family 2 with their Swedish (and French), and Family 6's mother with the use of Hungarian. For family 9, who had struggled with the Albanian language exposure from the start of school, the parents' discourse strategies or responses to the child's code-mixing were less constraining. Whether this was a result of the linguistic development of the child or vice versa is debatable. These findings could be interpreted as being consistent with the research by Döpke (1992), Lanza (1997b), and Chevalier (2013), as well as the (2022) review of studies by De Houwer and Nakamura, implying that the more restrictive responses are more efficient for successful language transmission; the link between parental discourse strategies and child's language outcomes is evident. Nakamura (2018, p. 198) adds that it is crucial to use certain discourse strategies from very early on to establish a pattern of active bilingualism. It is much more difficult to change the pattern once the family members have become accustomed to dual-lingual

conversation. De Houwer and Nakamura (2022) add that as the child grows and develops agency, parents may have to consider changing discourse strategies.

Some researchers have partially contested the benefit of using the most restrictive discourse strategies. Guardado suggested that for a conversational strategy to be successful, they do not necessarily have to be the most restrictive strategies, but the interactional turn is crucial to promote interaction (2018, p. 187). He found that *commands* or *clarification requests* (see 2.5.3 above for parental discourse strategy terms) to speak the target language ended conversations between caregivers and children. In contrast, requests tended to foster negotiation (Guardado 2018, p. 199). He observed that the more restricting responses often frustrated and annoyed children, producing a strong resistance resulting in children not wanting to carry on with the conversation (2018, pp. 198-201). He argues that what Chevalier called *adult repetition* was more favourable for heritage language development as it expands the caregiver-child interaction (2018, p. 202) rather than restricts it.

Also, Nakamura (2018, pp. 184-185) argues that excessive use of more constraining conversational strategies may cause children to reject a minority language or create issues with the flow of communication. Kheirkhah and Cekaite (2015) raised a similar point regarding some of the stricter interactional styles interrupting conversation flow, often resulting in a child's resistance to participating in the conversations. Therefore, each parent must consider at what cost a child's multilinguality is achieved. Encouragement, loving interaction, and uninterrupted conversations are more likely to support harmonious bilingual development than distress, interruptions, or constant criticism (De Houwer 2015). Kopeliovich (2013, p. 256) also witnessed strict parental discourse strategies often being futile and ineffective. She suggests a different approach, which will be discussed in the next chapter. Wilson's (2020a) study of bilingual French-British children showed almost identical results. She discovered that it is, in fact, the parents' inflexible conversational strategies and possible sanctions to children's non-target language responses that create conflictive situations. She suggests seeking a balance between the necessity and desire to develop the heritage language and children's unique sense of linguistic and cultural identity.

5.3 Discussion and conclusions

This chapter identified parents' descriptions of implementing language transmission strategies to answer the second research question:

ii. *What are the parents' self-reported language strategies, and what are the parental experiences of implementing these strategies?*

The findings in this chapter are interpreted as each family having a unique combination of language strategies, principles, and methods to maintain and develop their distinctive combination of minority and heritage languages. Every family used an extensive range of methods. Indeed, the research literature, discussed in Chapter 2 above, indicates a variety of strategies that contribute to successful transmission. No one technique will guarantee successful transmission; different FLPs may, in fact, produce similar results and similar FLPs result in different reactions and outcomes (Wilson 2020a, p. 135).

Families used implicit and explicit strategies, involving differing degrees of prior planning. Some language principles (such as choosing a language to speak to the child) were said to be just a natural occurrence, but all families had, in fact, an explicit FLP in place at the time of the interview.

The strategies supporting the parents' ideologies to transmit multiple languages to their children included nine themes:

1. *OPOL* Each parent speaks a chosen language with the child; this could be an implicit or an explicit strategy.
2. *Time and place: creating family language activities* A consistent way to increase language use in the family using a minority language in an encouraging way, in a specific setting or time, such as in the mornings.
3. *Extended family language support* Families included extended family in their FLP, and many relied on minority-language-speaking (often non-majority-language-speaking) grandparents' assistance in language transmission.
4. *Creating extended networks through local language groups* Many parents created a language support network in their area of residence to aid minority or heritage language development. They attended church, community-based or weekend language classes, and those who did not find a local language community network or peer language support locally reported struggling with the transmission more. Therefore, the data suggest that the existence of a local language community and/or extended family increases the success rate of language transmission and somewhat eases the parents' transmission struggles. These peer groups or additional people providing language exposure were also considered

necessary in terms of the language and identity development of the multilingual child.

5. *Childcare in target language* Parents tended to opt for a minority-language-speaking childminder or childcare as a conscious strategy. Nevertheless, for some finding the right person or setting was more important than the language.
6. *Choosing a school language* The majority chose to send the children to minority language (Swedish or Welsh) schools as a part of their FLP, but like with childcare, there were other considerations too. If the minority language school was not fitting in some way (e.g. religious reasons, school's reputation, other parent lacking language skills), parents tended to opt for the majority language provider instead of the option that would support the minority language development.
7. *Language immersion visits* Regular visits to an area where a language was widely spoken were a considerable part of the families' FLP. Indeed, as language development is dynamic and fluid, maintaining passive language skills with continued input can be reactivated during a relatively short period of time in an environment where a target language is being used (Uribe de Kellett 2002; Slavkov 2015).
8. *Using language resources* Parents mentioned television programmes, reading books, listening to songs, using Skype, and Netflix as their main language resources at home.
9. *Parental discourse strategies* Parents used various discourse strategies. The participants who estimated the children to be fluent in the given languages tended to use more restrictive parental discourse strategies, such as *instruction to translate*, *minimal grasp*, and *expressed guess*. This could be because the children were able to produce a minority or heritage language efficiently and the parents adapted to that, or that the children were able speakers because of the use of stricter discourse strategies from the start.

There were no significant differences in terms of language strategies in the two case study areas; families in both cities talked about most of the nine strategies. The parental language strategies above also coincide with research in the field, and this shows that the linguistic context does not influence strategies.

In a multilingual environment, people may link languages to activities, people, communities, spaces, or places (Okko 2021). The parents' tasks are to create these links to strengthen the children's minority languages. The transmission was considered somewhat easier for the official

languages, because parents could choose from a wide selection of schools, hobbies, childminders, and community groups in Welsh and English or Swedish and Finnish, to support the official language development. Heritage language (non-official language, such as Mandarin or Hungarian) transmission was described as somewhat more challenging and finding working strategies in a language not spoken by many in the community was considered trickier. I will look into the impact of this more in detail in the next chapter, section 6.2.2.

6 Chapter six: Parental experiences regarding family wellbeing and FLP

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is the third results and findings chapter using data from the parental interviews. It continues the exploration into parents' views, practices, and experiences of raising multilingual children. Parental language ideologies were discussed in Chapter 4 above. The data suggest two types of language ideologies: ideological motivations for language transmission, such as transmitting heritage and identity; and ideologies regarding how to raise a multilingual child, such as the importance of having a main language. Chapter 5 above considered parental language strategies (e.g. discourse strategies or choosing a school language), which are often unclear at the early stages of FLP or when setting up a family (King and Fogle 2006, p. 707).

Parental language ideologies and linguistic practices may, in fact, contrast to a great extent (De Houwer 2017); there are often inconsistencies between language attitudes and practices (e.g. Bohnacker 2022; Karpava 2022), which could manifest in unrealistic beliefs about language learning or parental expectations (De Houwer 2009b, p. 93; Curdt-Christiansen 2016, p. 706). Not achieving these expectations can have a detrimental impact on family wellbeing and lead to a change in FLP.

It is in this sixth chapter differences between the two communities come to the fore. The aim is to answer the third research question:

iii. How do parents perceive their experiences of raising multilingual children; and to what extent are these experiences shaped by their local community?

Building on the previous two results and findings chapters, I will look at two distinct aspects of parental experiences of raising multilingual children: the circumstances of the family, and external factors outside of the family home. Both impact FLP and wellbeing in multilingual families.

There is a small but increasing number of investigations in distinct fields of psychology, sociology, education, linguistics, and family studies looking at multilingual families and wellbeing (Müller et al. 2020). Parents try to include a language in the social spaces of the children; by investigating parents' perception and planning of these social spaces, we can

begin to understand parental feelings in terms of success when it comes to raising potentially multilingual children (Purkarthofer 2019, p. 737). These feelings of success link to the level of family wellbeing. Indeed, numerous studies point out that transmitting heritage languages and raising a multilingual child can be demanding and challenging (Hoffmann 1991, p. 45; Okita 2002; De Houwer 2006; Wang 2014; Slavkov 2015; Müller et al. 2020; Nyberg 2021), negatively impacting the family members' overall wellbeing (De Houwer 2015).

In addition to parental ideologies and FLP (Chapters 4 and 5 above), the area in which the children are raised, and experiences outside of the family home play a central role (Fogle 2013, p. 197; Schwartz and Verschik 2013, p. 17); external factors, experiences of family members outside the home, or societal pressure within the area of residence limit the success of language transmission (Fogle 2013, p. 196). The dominance of the majority language is often relentless; this is a challenge parents of potentially multilingual children wishing to transmit a heritage or minority language must negotiate (Nandi 2022, pp. 305, 324). The prestige of languages in society, or societal attitudes towards certain languages influence language transmission (Yamamoto 2002; Braun 2006, p. 146; Smith-Christmas 2016a). Romaine (1995, pp. 256, 282-283) described how the monolingual majority's negative views can lead to discouraging parents from using a heritage language; the community's support is crucial. In contrast, people's positive attitudes towards a language and use of languages are critical factors in reversing language shift (Thomas and Williams 2013, p. 39), and impact decision of the families to transmit a language. The public discourse may vary from seeing raising bilingual children as unusual (see e.g. Fogle 2013), whereas some parents may be viewed as bad parents for not transmitting a heritage language (King and Fogle 2006, p. 697).

Therefore, in addition to experiences of language transmission, parental experiences of the perceived societal attitudes towards the family languages in the two bilingual societies will be investigated. It is important to note that many participants in this investigation had also experienced positive encounters regarding the children's multilinguality. They felt that more people had a positive attitude towards multilingualism, foreign and official minority languages, than when the parents themselves were growing up. However, I will concentrate specifically on the negative societal attitudes that may affect FLP and family wellbeing

adversely; the positive attitudes were discussed little, and as demonstrated above, they have been evidenced to promote multilingualism and language transmission.

6.2 Parental experiences of factors negatively impacting family wellbeing and FLP

The interview data regarding parental experiences of raising multilingual children is largely linked to two topics across all 14 families: the negative impact on wellbeing, and FLP.

I will first look at how the parents described the experience of raising multilingual children in terms of factors within the family that negatively affected the family wellbeing and, at times, FLP. These themes are Parents' perceptions of multilingual language development: I know he's struggling; Experiences of immigrant parents' wellbeing: swimming against the tide; The sandwich generation: lack of time for transmission; and Children's wellbeing and negative responses to FLP from the parents' perspective: they don't want to speak it.

The final two sections will look at area-specific ethno-linguistic stereotyping and prejudice towards national minority language speakers, and foreign language speakers from the parents' point of view. As we saw in Chapter 1 above, both Finland and Wales are officially bilingual, they promote multilingualism to differing degrees, and have distinct linguistic histories. It is assessed how societal language attitudes formed by the two countries' different histories and political events, together with national or local language policies, have impacted the lives of the families. The sections describe the parents' negative experiences in their wider community that also relate to wellbeing and may or may not have had an effect upon their language use in public or language transmission. First, I look at the parents' experiences of attitudes towards foreign language speakers in the two bilingual areas. Interestingly, this was discussed very little in Finland, whereas in Wales the perceived impact of the Brexit referendum arose as a significant theme. I will then investigate how the parents described societal attitudes towards speakers of the official minority languages. The themes regarding societal attitudes, investigated in this chapter include: The negative impact of Brexit on transnational families' FLP in Wales: I did not want difficult situations in front of the kids; and Societal attitudes towards the official minority language speakers: things have changed.

6.2.1 Parents' perceptions of multilingual language development: I know he's struggling

We saw in the literature reviewed in Chapter 2 above that most of the previous early multilingualism research includes case studies looking at children's linguistic development. Some FLP studies also draw conclusions between parental interactional strategies and children's linguistic skills (Fogle 2013, p. 177), but the purpose of this section is not to carry out a scientific assessment of the children's language skills. Rather, it will look at the relationship between parental expectations, parents' estimates of children's language proficiency, family wellbeing, and the possible influence of these on FLP. Parents' description of linguistic behaviour and development is investigated because during the interviews, all parents were keen to discuss the language development of their children; it was important to them. Therefore, this section will first investigate children's perceived language development and parental reasoning for the limited development. I will then discuss parental expectations in terms of language ability, and parents' acceptance that language development of weaker languages may not follow the path of a monolingual peer.

Although most participants expressed that they were very proud of the children's linguistic achievements and felt that the children's language development was remarkable, all parents reported the children's language skills lacked in one or more languages; this was the case in relation to heritage and/or minority languages in particular, or a language not used in the family on a regular basis. The case study mothers and fathers expressed that there was, or had been, an issue most often in four areas: morphology (word formation) or vocabulary; phonetics (speech sounds) or intonation; and syntax (phrases and sentences); or grammar. The reduced vocabulary in a language that is less used reflects the findings of the study by Mieszkowska & al. (2017) comparing the vocabulary of 56 monolingual, bilingual, and trilingual children living in the UK. All children can potentially develop similar skills in the majority or child's main language, but in the minority language(s) the input is reduced compared to that of monolinguals, resulting in e.g. smaller vocabularies. In other words, the majority language of a bilingual or multilingual child often develops at the level of a monolingual peer, but the level of a minority language depends on many other factors (Gathercole and Thomas 2009). In the case of three or more first languages, it can be debated whether children are even able to get enough both qualitative and quantitative

input, to develop at the same rate as their monolingual peers in all languages.

Even in families where children were reported mostly responding in the target language, parents felt that there was room for improvement:

> *Family 2*
>
> *Kaisa: Do they have a bit of an accent or not?*
>
> *Mother: A little bit. Intonation wise. It's a funny thing because it's not really an accent of anything. It's like a way you say things.*
>
> *Father: The kids used to have an accent when they spoke Swedish. Now Girl7 has got rid of it, but Boy5 still has a little bit. But also, I think with time it goes away.*

In the above extract, Mother 2 and Father 2 describe the development of their children's different languages. The parents do not seem to have a problem with the children having a different way of saying things, or non-native intonation—possibly impacted by French, Finnish, English, or Hebrew—in Swedish, the father's language. Father 2 proposes that languages develop at different paces. Many parents stated that the children tended to have a non-native intonation or way of speaking in one or more languages, often based on their strongest language(s), or the majority language of the country.

Even though most parents compared the multilingual children's language development to that of monolingual peers, many families accepted that the languages with less attention were not at a similar level and found ways to support the more vulnerable languages (as examined in Chapter 5 above). Some parents were aware of the strain of constantly speaking several languages and allowed the children to recover and adjust:

> *Family 2*
>
> *Mother: Even in day-care, they tell us they know when they need to just leave them. When they take a book and go to the sofa, we just don't disturb them.*
>
> *Kaisa: So, they need some space?*
>
> *Mother: Yeah. What I love is that they figure out that way to be by themselves. As they grow out of this overstimulation, it will be fine. I think for the 0-5-year-olds, this is a lot. Everything is happening. So, you have to be conscious of your kids' stress levels. Because I was very mindful about it.*
>
> *Father: They say every parent screws up their kids one way or the other!*

Mother 2 goes on to explain that the children need to be left on their own at times because

of overstimulation, due to what she believes is the stress of multiple language input. Although Father 2 says the last comment jokingly, it implies that trying to transmit many languages can indeed be challenging for both the children and the parents; a point that is extensively discussed in this chapter.

Fraschini and Lundberg (2022) investigated emotional differences regarding the reactions of members of multilingual families in relation to the adaptation of FLP. They found that in most cases, family members have positive emotional reactions regarding the mixed use of languages. Their reactions ranged from intense anger, regret, embarrassment, and boredom to happiness, surprise, and love. Here, the lacking skills triggered a range of emotions in parents. De Houwer (2021b) illustrates that sadness is a common occurrence when a child fails to speak the parental language. Mother 8 was concerned as her pre-teen son struggles with his Mandarin:

> *Family 8*
>
> *Mother: It's hard for Boy12 to express how he feels. I know he's struggling. He really feels deeply about something, but he would struggle to express that in Mandarin, which is worrying to me. I don't think I can have a very deep conversation with Boy12. This is my problem. I don't feel afraid to use English to ask him. And I don't want him to think he can't. But he tries to explain things to me in Mandarin, which is very good on him. He hasn't given up.*

Here, it seems that a breakdown of communication has occurred due to the pre-teen boy not having learned certain Mandarin expressions, possibly due to the mother being the only Mandarin language provider in the family and the boy's increased hours at school (see Karpava 2022, p. 295), hobbies and with friends, all through the medium of Welsh and English. There is a strong link with communication between the child and caregiver, and the wellbeing of the child (Müller et al. 2020, p. 1051). Limited knowledge of a language can result in the child not being able to express nuanced ideas; or the child deciding not to share them at all if the parent demands using a certain language (Wilson 2020a, pp. 136-137). However, Mother 8 describes how she occasionally changes the language into English to promote improved parent-child communication. She implies that the boy's Mandarin is not good enough for him to express his emotions fully and she also expresses that she does not want her son to develop a negative relationship with Mandarin (see e.g. Doyle 2013, p. 159) by forcing him to speak it (explored in section 5.2.1 above). Changing to the child's stronger

language can affect language development, the wellbeing of the family (positively or negatively), or the FLP approach (see sections 2.5.3 and 5.2.9 above for parental discourse strategies).

Although the expectations for the child to achieve are at times high, families were also able to find balance and peace with their current proficiency level. Some parents felt at ease with the fact that their children where not proficient at a native level in all languages and did not feel it was important to currently get them to that level. This relaxed approach creates a sound basis for improved family wellbeing.

6.2.2 Experiences of immigrant parents' wellbeing: swimming against the tide

Intergenerational language transmission can be challenging in many ways. Although bilingualism and multilingualism are natural phenomena, transmitting a foreign language is difficult. Children achieving a good level in all of their languages is rare and usually by school age the heritage language development has diminished (Pietikäinen 2021). Particularly the immigrant parents face difficulties when it comes to language transmission (Curdt-Christiansen 2009, p. 353); it is generally the language that is not used in public life that children end up not speaking (De Houwer 2020, p. 10)—foreign language transmission requires commitment and hard work from both children and parents (Gibbons and Ramirez 2004b, p. 233; De Houwer 2009a, p. 322; Deakin 2016, p. 155; Szilagyi and Szecsi 2020). Maintaining two or more languages can be extremely stressful (Sevinç 2022, p. 1).

When potentially multilingual children outright refuse to speak a heritage language (see Tuominen 1999, pp. 68-69), or languages do not develop as expected, it can cause problems. Children may not be able to communicate with extended family or function in the heritage country, in which case parent-child relationships and communication may face difficulties (De Houwer 2009a, p. 311). As a result, family wellbeing suffers (Pietikäinen 2021).

Okita (2002, p. 230) describes how Japanese mothers living in the UK with British husbands received little recognition of the invisible but demanding work of raising bilingual children. Often, this caused disempowerment, intensified pressure, and personal trauma. Kopeliovich (2013, p. 250) wrote about parents of multilingual children being in charge of several

functions in the complex process of language transmission: language choice moderation, planning educational activities, dealing with the emotional side of multilingual interaction, setting priorities, modifying their own behaviour, choosing schools, providing reading materials, and entertaining.

On several occasions, parents reiterated how the transmission of the heritage language or minority language within the family environment was far from easy, and this affected the whole family's wellbeing negatively. The data reveal that this was particularly the case for foreign heritage languages. Perhaps parents did not have the same emotional attachment or expectations for languages they did not speak themselves as first languages (see section 5.2.1 above for Family 5's strict home language OPOL use and different expectations for the bonus language, and section 5.2.6 above for Family 4's experiences of home language instruction and home language mixing; and section 6.2.4 below for resistance of Finnish of Family 3's daughter).

French Mother 14 talked about her sister, who also lives in an English-speaking country:

> *Family 14*
>
> *Mother: My sister's children, she's got the same problem as me, bilingual children. They tend to go for the easiest language, English.*

> *Mother: It isn't always a clear battle; you're swimming against the tide all the time with the kids. You are immersed in English and you're trying to get them to do something else than what's natural around you.*

In her discourse, Mother 14 uses expressions with a negative connotation to describe the transmission of French in two areas where English is the majority language, such as *problem, a battle* (see Guardado 2018, p. 235), and *swimming against the tide*, indicating clearly that transmission of French in Wales has been demanding. This comment highlights that she has found transmitting French by providing sufficient language learning opportunities demanding, like many parents in previous studies (De Houwer 2017, p. 240).

The multidimensional and flexible educational philosophy, the Happylingual approach (Kopeliovich 2013, p. 256) observes individual children rather than compares them to monoglot peers, which may set unrealistic expectations. There is indeed a delicate balance between transmitting a vulnerable language while avoiding the fight of natural

sociolinguistic forces of the ruling majority (p. 273), or as Mother 14 articulates it, *what's natural around you*.

Mother 10 feels upset because the transmission of Turkish has not been as successful as she would have hoped. Similarly to Mother 14, she has a sister living abroad. The sister lives in the US and has not managed to transmit Turkish to her children:

> *Family 10*
>
> *Mother: They only speak English there. My sister is happy but in a way she's sad like me because I didn't do a really great job.*

There is a sense of guilt (Pietikäinen 2021), sadness, and regret in the mother's extract above. De Houwer (2017, p. 238) proposes that parents can feel overwhelmingly negative emotions when children refuse, or are unable to speak a minority language, as it threatens the parent's sense of cultural identity (see section 4.2.1 above). The review of studies by Müller et al. (2020) suggests that a child's proficiency in a language can be important for the parents in order to transmit cultural values, traditions and emotions. Parents may feel as if they failed in all of these when a child does not develop their language skills as expected. Parents may even feel anger if they think their child is rejecting them by rejecting their language (De Houwer 2021b).

The two mothers' accounts of the hard work involved in trying to provide sufficient input in the foreign heritage language are echoed in several interviews:

> *Family 8*
>
> *Father: I think it's a shame that their Mandarin is not better. But it's difficult.*
>
> *Mother: Depending on myself, me alone, it's very hard work.*
>
> *Father: Parents have plenty of other battles! So, teaching a child to read Mandarin is... a bit extra difficult on top!*

Again here, Mother 8, who sometimes ended up speaking English rather than the heritage language (see section 6.2.1 above for discussion regarding children's language development), is the only provider of Mandarin for the three children. Indeed, as an individual in an environment that does not support a certain language, or which has a

bilingual or monolingual ideology and the only learning environment is the family home, the challenges of foreign language transmission are vast (Pietikäinen 2021). This study shows that sometimes one parent speaking a language, or parental transmission efforts were not always sufficient to transmit it. Consciously using the language in everyday situations spontaneously and consistently is important (Karpava 2022, p. 298); it is vital to have sufficient opportunities to speak a language to learn it (De Houwer 2009a, p. 95).

During the interview, Mother and Father 8 describe Mandarin transmission as *difficult, very hard work, being among other battles,* and *a bit extra difficult on top*. The family's priority of teaching the children to read, write and speak Mandarin shifted over the years as the family, children, and responsibilities grew. This will be explored further in the next section.

6.2.3 The sandwich generation: lack of time for transmission

In addition to hard work, language transmission requires a lot of time (De Houwer 2009a, p. 93). Many families expressed that they simply did not have enough time or resources for language transmission for one of the languages and they felt tired of constant transmission efforts. The Finnish term *ruuhkavuodet* (Fi) (traffic jam years) describes a time when there are small children in the family, and you try to juggle caring responsibilities and work commitments. The parents of this study belong to the mid-life sandwich generation (Miller 1981), who may experience extra stress due to having both ageing parents and caring responsibilities of their dependent children. Numerous parents felt that during this period it was difficult to commit enough time to fully support the children's language development.

Mother 7's extract reveals the experience of busy everyday family life and limited resources:

> *Family 7*
>
> *Mother: When you come back from work and the kids, and everything is intensive… You sit down and you have one hour, on a good evening you have one hour and then you're like, should we now start with the language course? No!*

Mother 7 explained how limited the time on a working day can be with the children and expresses her frustration of not wanting to do a language course with the children during the precious time together in the school week.

We have seen that it can be challenging for potentially multilingual families to guarantee sufficient input in one or more languages. The frustrations can lead to giving up on language

transmission of the weaker language(s). Some families reflected on dropping one of the languages because transmission felt like a battle, as highlighted in the section above. Father 9 had already considered changing the FLP and not transmitting Albanian after all, even before his daughter turned five:

> *Family 9*
>
> *Father: I had conversations with Mother over the years. Girl4 is only four, but the last year, year and a bit. That I almost feel as though I feel like giving up on the whole idea until she's a little older, but then it might be too late, I don't know. Because I want to have a relationship with my child regardless of the languages, and as though, am I having a relationship with my child through conversing in Albanian only because of my family… Am I missing the key point? She's growing up and it's that juggling that I'm finding quite challenging to say the least!*

Father 9 had found it difficult to transmit Albanian since the daughter started Welsh medium nursery (see the parental comments in sections 4.2.2 above and 5.2.9 above), to a point where he was questioning his reasoning for possibly breaking the communication with his daughter for the sake of language transmission. Having a relationship was a priority for him over successful transmission. Father 9 later explained that in the little time he had with his young daughter he did not want to drill new vocabulary and grammar in Albanian; spending time as a family in a relaxed environment was more important. A common reason to forego heritage language maintenance is to reduce anxiety or the pressure for immigrants to join the mainstream society (Sevinç 2022, p. 5), which often does not resolve the problem as it can result in regret in the long run (p. 12). Here, it seems that the father felt that the language anxiety was too much for him and the daughter and therefore considered it might be better to drop the Albanian language altogether.

6.2.4 Children's wellbeing and negative responses to FLP from the parents' perspective: they don't want to speak it

Children's negative responses to FLP and family wellbeing are considered in this section. Wilson argued that parental language transmission strategies may impact children emotionally (2020a, p. 135), which may hinder parent-child communication, cause anxiety, or result in breaking down conversations. It is essential for the sake of language transmission, that language does not become a battleground where family members argue about language choice, often leading to children's language refusal and a child not speaking

the non-societal language at all (De Houwer 2020, p. 20).

Resisting a minority language is common at different ages (Thomas 2012, p. 81). The data suggest that strict language policies lead to children reacting in a negative way, or further resistance. On several occasions, Hungarian was strongly resisted by the boy in Family 6. The mother recalled a recent incident of frustration:

> *Family 6*
>
> *Mother: When Boy9 started third grade, he realised that his Finnish was really bad. He got angry with me. He told me a couple of times how he hated Hungarian. And he asked me: why do you have to be Hungarian? Couldn't you be Finnish? My life would be so much easier. And he even told me something like I hate you, I hate Hungarian. And the lovely thing about this all is that he was doing this in Hungarian. And I was like… Hmmm. Ok. I felt for him, but he was shouting at me in Hungarian. He got over it. It was just when he realised that the others were really good at Finnish, and he wasn't because we prioritised Swedish and Hungarian. But I think his Finnish has improved a lot. And I think he understands now that you would get fluent…*

The extract above reveals that the trilingual boy had acquired such good Hungarian skills, that even when angry, he expressed himself in Hungarian rather than his school language, Swedish. He felt that he had been given a more difficult task due to having to learn Hungarian, in addition to the Swedish and Finnish languages that his bilingual friends spoke. Children may feel distress or negative emotions, such as embarrassment, shame (see Kaveh and Lenz 2022), or anger if they struggle to interact in one of their languages; those who are able to speak minority and majority languages comfortably often feel proud and do not show distress (De Houwer 2017, p. 238). Here, the boy felt upset as Finnish did not come as easily to him as his peers.

When I interviewed Family 14 it was two days before Christmas and the family's 20-year-old first-born was staying at the family home. She valued multilingualism highly (see Doyle 2013) and was pleased that she had acquired the three languages:

Family 14

Daughter20: Being able to speak to them? I think it's good, it's only ever been an advantage.

Mother: I was going to say though, there was a time when you were growing up, probably like teenage years. You used to complain about being different. You didn't like being different. But that went over.

Despite the grown-up daughter's now positive outlook on the parents having spent resources for her to acquire all three languages (the parents described countless hours of revision, taking French language exams, and visits to France), the parents confirmed that as a teenager she had also resisted French, much like the boy of Family 6. Sorace (2021) mentions that many multilingual children may feel different and refuse the home language because in general children do not want to feel different; multilingualism can be seen as a barrier to fitting in. Indeed, multilingual children may not sound, behave, or look like their peers. They may want to fit in by trying to change their accent, switch the parental language to majority language, refuse to speak the parental language, or otherwise downplay their multilingualism (Thomas 2012, pp. 89, 90, 93, 96).

Children use agency to collaborate with the FLP; or resist and undermine the parental strategies (Revis 2019, p. 188). Children's agency influences parental strategies, which in turn affects children's language choice (De Houwer and Nakamura 2022, p. 50). Parents may change their FLP approach as a result of the children's reactions or lack of language skills. Gyogi's (2015) study of two bilingual Japanese-English 12-year-old girls with Japanese mothers in London indicated that children do not just passively respond to parental demands in terms of language behaviour but rather show two types of agency: construction of the positive self-image and negotiation of the parent-child relationship through the active use of English; and resistance to the mother's monolingual policy through flexible use of the two languages (p. 750). In other words, the girls exercised agency through contestation, negotiation, or redefinition of their mothers' beliefs about bilingualism (Gyogi 2015, p. 761).

The case study children mostly resisted the foreign heritage language transmission. There was little resistance towards the official languages from children apart from Family 3's daughter, whose family languages were Swedish and English:

Family 3

Mother: As her identity as a Swedish speaker grew stronger, she became less and less willing to engage in those activities [in Finnish] and it just became so clear that she wasn't enjoying it. And she was at such a disadvantage because I remember when other little girls would say to her: why don't you know how to talk? In Finnish I mean. And I'm like oh god, what am I doing? I just felt like crap of course. Why can't you talk properly? And I remember once this mum said: she speaks three languages! Leave her alone! Having those types of comments, she's just decided, ok I cannot do this anymore.

Mother: I feel sometimes kind of bad for her that she's not fluent in the matrix language here in Finland. She's actually left out of the public life to a large extent. I hope some day that will change if she stays here.

Father: I feel that she's a bit left out when she goes to this soccer practice. She doesn't really know how to become part of the group when she doesn't speak Finnish.

Mother: And she's kind of shy anyway.

Father: She's shy in Finnish!

As Mother 3 talks about Finnish-speaking activities that she took the daughter to when she was younger, it becomes evident that once the child understood her Finnish was not strong, she resisted speaking it. Indeed, all parents expressed that the children had a weaker language as previously explored (see section 6.2.1 above), and this impacted their behaviour. Resistance to speak the weakest language was very common among the children. The extract here implies that the girl's heritage language and official minority language had a more substantial basis than Finnish. A natural reaction for her was to change to a more familiar territory or a language she spoke more proficiently, English, or Swedish, as demonstrated in the extract above. Müller et al. (2020) suggest that proficiency in both minority and majority languages is linked to higher levels of wellbeing so that children can participate in life at home and in the majority language functioning society. In the extract above, Mother 3 states that her daughter was not entirely comfortable with her Finnish, which negatively affected her wellbeing.

Mother 3 described how her daughter resisted speaking Finnish as she grew older, started school, and her Swedish speaker identity developed. Indeed, a strong knowledge of a

mother tongue supports a child's developing identity (Yli-Jokipii et al. 2020) and the girl's first languages English and Swedish, together with those identities, developed at a different rate.

Family 12's three siblings all had a degree of resistance to the mother's FLP:

> *Family 12*
>
> *Father: I think they associate it with difficulty and challenge…*
>
> *Kaisa: Spanish?*
>
> *Father: Yeah, I think so. I think they're most angsty about that. While at school, that's just become sort of routine for them. English is their natural language and native tongue. Spanish is the one that they probably associate with challenge and difficulty. There is some pride in there, I've heard him say sometimes: "I speak Spanish!" so in a way he says he's proud. I think they do want to be able to speak it. But they find it more difficult.*
>
> *Mother: They can understand well, but they don't want to speak it! They find it more challenging to speak it. But he is now speaking more, because he speaks to Girl6.*[27]

Mother 12 admitted having initially been pushier with Spanish, with a strict FLP, but tried to relax to promote good communication as the children found Spanish hard. The extract here indicates that children feel pride and motivation to speak Spanish, but also associate Spanish with difficulty and frustration.

This section has evidenced that children's wellbeing is being affected by multiple language transmission, and some resistance was experienced by all.

6.2.5 The perceived negative impact of Brexit on transnational families' FLP in Wales: I did not want difficult situations in front of the kids

This theme is about the encounters of negative attitudes or behaviours in Wales, and the influence of these on language use and wellbeing. FLP is based on parental expectations and aspirations, but sometimes these collide with societal values; nationalistic or anti-immigrant discourses may impact FLP, turning the language decisions and practices into political decisions (King and Curdt-Christiansen 2021, p. 94). Foreign-born parents or their partners

[27] *Madre: ¡no quieren hablarlo! Les cuesta más hablarlo. Pero él está hablando ahora más, porque conversa con Chica6.*

talked about negative ethno-linguistic stereotyping, xenophobia, prejudice, or discrimination they had experienced in both countries. The aftermath of the 23rd of June 2016 European Union referendum in the UK stood out as something that had a significant impact on the families' FLP in Wales. Although xenophobia also exists in an increasingly diverse Finland (Alemanji 2016), it was not found to be a theme that had an effect on families' FLP among the parents living in the Helsinki metropolitan area. This is consistent with Braun (2006), who found that societal attitudes in England and Germany had very little influence on family language decisions (pp. 164, 167). His pre-Brexit study discovered that the majority of people in the community were supportive of the trilingual families' language situations (p. 161). Perhaps the Brexit referendum outcome and its consequences regarding the attitudes of the people in the wider community were seen by the parents as so substantial that they became determining factors impacting families' FLP and wellbeing.

Transnational movement and planned or forced migration across Europe intensified into a migration crisis in recent years. The rise of right-wing populism in Europe had caused socio-political instability during the data collection period (Curdt-Christiansen 2018, p. 391). Increasingly hostile environments for immigrants and their languages, demonstrated by media coverage and events across Europe and the US (King and Lanza 2019, p. 722) have inarguably had an impact on the experiences of multilingual families. There are certainly a variety of reasons for the long history of Euroscepticism in the UK, and the result of the referendum. These may include high inequality within the UK (Kozminska and Zhu 2021, p. 445), geography (island state), psychological and historical factors regarding Great Britain having been a great power (feeling of grandeur), and the power of the Eurosceptic media (Pankakoski 2005). Indeed, the Leave campaign relied largely on the issues surrounding migration (Guma and Dafydd Jones 2019; Kozminska and Zhu 2021, p. 445). Research (e.g. Kappe 2020) suggests that also the lack of foreign language skills in the UK was a contributing factor in the outcome of the Brexit referendum. The anti-immigrant rhetoric before the referendum (Rzepnikowska 2019) and aftermath of the referendum reportedly significantly increased racism and racist violence (Virdee and McGeever 2018) in the UK, othering EU migrants by creating new hierarchies of inclusion and exclusion (Kozminska and Zhu 2021, p. 445). Racism has been debated both in academia and media to be, at least in part, both a cause and a consequence (Mintchev 2020) of the referendum.

All Welsh families mentioned Brexit as a detrimental factor impacting their wellbeing or use of foreign languages in public, or parents expected it to influence language transmission. After the referendum, Mother 13 had stopped speaking Spanish to her children for fear of being abused in public:

> *Family 13*
>
> *Mother: And since Brexit it's like now I am a little bit better but after Brexit with all the things that started to happen, I started not speaking Castilian in the street because I did not want difficult situations in front of the kids.*
>
> *Father: It has not passed for me. I speak Castilian, but I'm careful. And the volume I speak, I don't feel completely…*[28]

Despite having been granted UK citizenship, both parents of Family 13 were fearful of standing out as foreigners in public and targeted because of it. This finding is reflected by Guma and Jones (2019), who reported Polish-speaking migrants being afraid to speak their language in public domains freely. This resulted in parents changing their language approach dramatically. It is evidenced here how the perceived attitudes of the community towards minority, majority, heritage language, or multilingualism have an impact on the parental choice of language use (Sțavans and Hoffman 2015, p. 214). During the interview, the parents of Family 13 referred to the statistically significant rise of hate crimes (see e.g. Devine 2018; Guma and Dafydd Jones 2019), reported in the media and social media at the time. Recent studies suggest that everyday racist incidents are still widely experienced in Wales (e.g. Parker 2018).

As a result, both parents became more wary of speaking their native language with the children in public places. Until then, Spanish had been the family language both parents had freely spoken to each other, and the children since they were born, both at home and outside of it. They were forced to face a dilemma of whether to carry on speaking Spanish in public and in so doing potentially put their children at risk, or change their FLP (see King and Curdt-Christiansen 2021, p. 98 for similar examples in the US). The concern, or new self-

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[28] *Madre: Y desde el de Brexit es como que ahora yo estoy un poco mejor pero después de Brexit con todas las cosas que empiezan a pasar, yo empecé a no hablar castellano en la calle porque no quería tener situaciones difíciles delante de los chicos.*
Padre: A mí, no se me paso. Y sigo hablando castellano, pero me cuido. Y el volumen de lo que digo, no me siento totalmente…

awareness of standing out and being abused because of sounding, looking, or appearing foreign was experienced by most foreign-born participants in Wales. They stated it was a new experience and sentiment, that had happened since the referendum to leave the European Union.

Kozminska and Zhu (2021), who investigated families with ties to Poland but living in Britain, found partially contradictory results. The data from 71 questionnaire respondents and ten family interviews were collected around the same time as the data of this study (between 2017 and 2019). Several families reported first and second-hand incidents of discrimination that they linked to the post-referendum period and described increased distress, lack of security, disappointment, and anxiety. Conversely, most parents reported that they did not change their family linguistic practices or FLP, including interactions in public spaces. However, this could be because the use of Polish at home was not a choice like in the case of all Welsh case study families, but a result of the parents' poor English proficiency (Kozminska and Zhu 2021, p. 455).

Many parents were concerned about their children not acquiring or learning their languages, or foreign languages because of the change in society resulting from the Brexit vote:

> *Family 14*
>
> *Kaisa: How about politics, does that come into it at all? What's happening, is that affecting…*
>
> *Father: Brexit might! That's a big one!*
>
> *Kaisa: Is that doing anything? What…*
>
> *Father: I don't think it has yet. But I think I fear for the future.*
>
> *Kaisa: Why is that then?*
>
> *Father: Because of where this country is going!*
>
> *Mother: We know that the UK and the British people as a whole tend to think that English is fine. It'll get us everywhere so therefore we don't have to make an effort for the languages. And so there is only a minority of people whether it's in politics or in places that would actually think that no, languages are good.*

In the above two narratives, the parents talk about the negative impact of Brexit on the families' use of the language in public or concerns regarding heritage language transmission.

In summary, the case study parents in Wales felt that the referendum was changing the public's view of foreigners or foreign language skills. They had witnessed, heard of, or feared harassment based on being foreigners in the presence of their children, since the referendum.[29] This is an indication that anti-immigrant rhetoric can have a profound influence on the language that the parents choose to use in public with their children, and the family members' linguistic behaviour, resulting in a change in FLP.

6.2.6 Societal attitudes towards the official minority language speakers: things have changed

Having discussed ethno-linguistic stereotyping and prejudice towards foreign language speakers, I now turn focus on the reported negative experiences of the official minority language (Swedish and Welsh) speakers. Parents in the two countries explained that things have changed but there were still incidents due to them speaking Swedish or Welsh in Finland and Wales where these are the respective minority languages.

The number of parents who felt they had been discriminated against as speakers of the official minority language was striking. Many parents recalled times growing up as a Welsh or Swedish speaker and as such, being seen by majority language speakers in a negative light. The parents' accounts set a good basis for evaluation of how the societal attitudes towards minority language speakers have changed during the parents' lifetime and this is an example of how societal attitudes have influenced the parents positively.

Finnish Mother 5 grew up on the outskirts of Helsinki capital city region. She recalled an incident involving discriminatory behaviour as a teenager:

[29] Some families were considering leaving the country because of the referendum result. At the time of writing, all seven case study families lived in Wales, but several still considered moving to the heritage country at some point.

Family 5

Mother: I must have been 13 when I took a train with a friend, in the middle of the day from Kirkkonummi to Helsinki, and we sat in the carriage where there were not many other people, just one couple. One couple and us. And then they heard that we spoke Swedish and they said, "we cannot be on this train because there are Swedish speakers here. Need to leave." So, they started saying about everything and I just sat there with my friend, and we were quiet. And then they got off the train somewhere in a place that was just… its name is Field – and it was on a field! [LAUGHS] And they got off there. And I thought, it's their own fault.

Father: This has traumatised Mother deeply.

Mother: No but really, we were 13. Just children. They could not be on the same [carriage], do we have to move to Åland and Sweden… These are single cases. But our children haven't… If someone does not understand Swedish, they'll just change to Finnish. [30]

Mother 5's unpleasant experience on the train did not put her off transmitting Swedish to her children. Moreover, she implied that her children aged 11, 9, and 5, had not experienced discriminatory behaviour due to being Swedish speakers. This may be a sign of changing attitudes; many parents felt that the minority languages were now acknowledged and tolerated more in both Helsinki and Cardiff. A dissertation (Wide 2019) used data from questionnaires of 68 seventh graders (who in Finland have just started secondary school and are usually aged 12-13) in the southern Uusimaa region, where all the Finnish case study families lived. The research, conducted both among Swedish medium and Finnish medium pupils, found that most pupils found learning the other official language a good thing and Finland being a bilingual country a good thing. Very few people (only boys in Finnish medium education) felt that these were a negative thing. This may indicate that attitudes

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[30] *Äiti: Olisinkohan mä ollut 13 kun tulin junalla kaverin kanssa ja ihan keskellä päivää niin Kirkkonummelta Helsinkiin, ja istuttiin vaunussa missä ei ollut paljon muita ihmisiä, yksi toinen pariskunta. Yksi pariskunta ja me. Ja sitten he kuuli kun me puhuttiin ruotsia niin hän sano, että ei tässä junassa voi olla kun on ruotsinkielisiä tässä. Pakko mennä pois. Siis ne rupesi sanomaan kaikesta ja me vaan istuttiin siinä mun kaverin kanssa ja oltiin ihan hiljaa. Ja sitten ne poistu junasta jossakin ihan paikka oli joku ihan... sen nimi oli pelto - ja se oli pellolla! [NAURAA] Ja siellä ne jäi pois. Ja mä ajattelin, että ihan oma mokansa.*

Isä: Tämä tapaus on traumatisoinut Äidin syvästi.

Äiti: Ei mutta se ihan oikeasti me oltiin 13. Ihan lapsia. Ne ei voinut olla samassa, pitääks muuttaa Ahvenanmaalle ja ruotsiin ... Nämä on yksittäistapauksia. Mutta ei meidän lapset ole... jos joku ei ymmärrä ruotsia niin ne vaihtaa suomeen.

are now fairly tolerant towards both official languages.

Cardiff Father 8 illustrates his experience, being a young Welsh language speaker living outside Cardiff. His account is remarkably similar to that of Mother 5:

> *Family 8*
>
> *Father: I used to come here when I was quite young. Cardiff. You dare speak Welsh! You really would be abused. And it was very negative. And this was in the 1970s. Things have changed. There isn't the same tension. There are debates under the surface but it's a lot more peaceful than it used to be.*

Father 8's explanation offers an insight into the change in society, as he feels that the Welsh language is now seen in a much more positive light than in the 1970s and you do not get abused for speaking it—although he feels that under the surface (social media platforms, amongst family, or friends) the language issue is still being debated. We saw in Chapter 1 above that language policies in Wales have changed since Welsh was banned in schools and stigmatised (Higham 2014, p. 113). There is not a lot of research looking at the attitudes of English language monolingual speakers towards Welsh speakers, which is why this thesis contributes towards filling this gap in research. The findings here are consistent with the very few previous investigations of the minority language speakers' experiences of discrimination in Wales (e.g. Madoc-Jones and Buchanan 2004). The perceived influential Welsh-speaking university-educated elite, *crachach* (Cy), has very few mentions in literature (see e.g. Breverton 2009) but could contribute towards the attitudes of non-Welsh speakers. The highly subjective term describing "the elite; posh people, snobs" has been recorded as being used in southeast Wales (Paulasto et al. 2020, p. 142), or in the area where the Cardiff case study families lived at the time of data collection. The *crachach* have a reputation in the media for being a group of rugby-loving men in positions of power (Blake 2015), who dominate the arts, culture, and media of Wales, and own second homes in Pembrokeshire, Newport, or Llandeilo (Hitt 2006).

The two extracts in this section show evidence that parents in the two areas believed that the negative societal attitudes expressed in public, and discrimination towards the minority language speakers have somewhat lessened. During the parents' lifetime, both areas have also seen the gradual arrival of foreign citizens (see Chapter 1 above), which has changed the societies into a more diverse direction.

Although experiences of discrimination towards minority language speakers may have reduced, it emerged throughout the interviews that many thought that there was still prejudice towards Welsh and Swedish speakers. Father 8 is a teacher, who taught at Welsh medium schools for many years. He considers that despite the slow shift in mindsets, negative attitudes towards Welsh still exist even though the language is now more respected than before. Here, he discusses his encounters with new colleagues at an English medium school:

> *Family 8*
>
> *Father: I think speaking Welsh here is becoming more respected. It's still slow. And I'm seeing it actually, really interesting now, because I moved back to the English sector, I've been more aware of… the negative attitudes towards Welsh. That's been quite surprising.*

Above, Father 8 describes his colleagues' attitudes towards his first language. We can see that he reflects on coming across negative attitudes towards the Welsh language in the monolingual working environment. Remarkably, the father of Family 6 living in Finland also reported a similar pattern of prejudices among his colleagues:

> *Family 6*
>
> *Father: Many of my colleagues don't know that I'm a Swedish speaker. I had lunch with some colleagues, and they started talking about their prejudice against Swedish-speaking… They were talking with prejudice. I did not care; I was just listening. How embarrassing it is for them because they were highly educated and really cool cosmopolitan people, but they were prejudiced.*

Both fathers in the two countries were astonished by the prejudice expressed by their colleagues who clearly were not aware of the two case study parents' linguistic backgrounds.

Despite recent reports of more favourable attitudes towards Welsh (Laugharne 2006, p. 220) and Swedish (Pitkänen and Westinen 2017) than previously, it is evident that some negative attitudes still linger among the majority-language-speaking populations both in Finland (Saukkonen 2011; Polanowska 2015; Pitkänen and Westinen 2017; Taloustutkimus 2019) and Wales (Welsh Government 2018). It seems that discriminatory behaviour is not always only subtle and something that is joked about during lunch breaks. Some parents recall rare, but more recent incidents in public they faced because of speaking the official

minority language in the capital city areas; one family felt left out of the neighbourhood because they spoke Swedish—the minority language—and a foreign language, rather than being Finnish speakers like their neighbours.

The extracts in this section demonstrate how most minority language speakers have come across negative attitudes, but these were mainly when they were growing up. None of the parents mentioned their own children having heard negative comments regarding being Swedish or Welsh speakers. The Welsh-speaking parents did not mention any concern of discrimination because of the children speaking Welsh. From the participants' accounts in Finland, it became evident that they were worried their children might be targeted because of being Swedish speakers. However, this had not impacted their language use or FLP, unlike the feeling and experiences of Brexit-induced discrimination.

6.3 Discussion and conclusions

This chapter concentrated on parents' experiences of raising multilingual children, and in particular the factors negatively impacting family wellbeing and FLP. It answered the third research question:

iii. How do parents perceive their experiences of raising multilingual children; and to what extent are these experiences shaped by their local community?

It is only in this chapter that the differences between the two areas arose. Parental experiences regarding the different language groups presented in this study—the national minority language, majority language, and immigrant language speakers—became evident when we look at the general findings. There were subtle differences when we look at the linguistic landscapes of the two countries. The children of Cardiff family 8, who preferred Welsh and Mandarin still had to use the dominant language, English, as it was the overwhelming language of the community and there were some people who did not have language skills in Welsh or Mandarin. The daughter of Helsinki family 3 could resist the use of the dominant language, Finnish, and get by with English and Swedish as the important people in her life had a command of either language.

The children in this study were exposed to differing quality and quantity of their three (or more) languages on a regular basis. Their progression with use of these languages fluctuated between harmonious and frustrated. Many multilingual parents evidently experienced

feelings of confusion, guilt, anxiety, and frustration because of the heritage language socialisation and the emotional, physical, and financial burden that comes with it (Guardado 2018, pp. 236-237).

There are two aspects in this chapter related to the parental experiences of raising multilingual children. First, parents discussed the influence that internal factors within the family had on parental experiences and family wellbeing. These topics included four themes:

1. *Parents' perceptions of multilingual language development: I know he's struggling* Parents described children's language development challenges (in terms of morphology or vocabulary, phonetics or accent and intonation, and syntax, or grammar) in at least one language that had less input. This impacted parental wellbeing.
2. *Experiences of immigrant parents' wellbeing: swimming against the tide* Foreign-born parents find foreign heritage language transmission challenging, difficult, or frustrating; some have considered giving up on a language. Many parents felt that they were constantly swimming against the tide in their attempt to transmit a foreign heritage language—it was very hard work and exhausting. As a result of frustrated development, parents felt a range of negative emotions and family wellbeing suffered.
3. *The sandwich generation: lack of time for transmission* Parents reported that they lacked time and resources in a busy time of life when children are young, their own parents are aging, and life demands increased.
4. *Children's wellbeing and negative responses to FLP from the parents' perspective: they don't want to speak it* Many children felt pressurised to achieve better linguistically, which impacted their wellbeing. This could be highly distressing if they did not feel capable in one (or more) of their languages. Every multilingual child resisted at least one language or parents' FLP at some point, which could impact the FLP.

Second, external factors, or more precisely experiences of ethno-linguistic stereotyping and prejudice influencing (or not influencing) transmission of the languages were investigated. Parents reported both positive encounters and discrimination at certain points in their lives

because of being speakers of either a foreign heritage language or the official minority language. However, only discrimination towards the foreign language had dramatically influenced FLPs, and this was specifically the case in Wales post-Brexit referendum. There was very little mention of discriminatory behaviour towards foreign language speakers in Finland and no indication of this affecting the parents' FLP or wellbeing. Two themes regarding these external factors were observed:

5. *The negative impact of Brexit on transnational families' FLP in Wales: I did not want difficult situations in front of the kids* Post-Brexit referendum attitudes had a deep impression on the families' FLP as parents felt that people were now emboldened to express their negative feelings about foreign language speakers and migrants. Foreign-born parents feared standing out as migrants because of speaking a foreign language with their children, and some families changed their language approach in public. Parents experienced a variety of emotions from anger to concern and frustration related to Brexit's impact on language transmission and family wellbeing.
6. *Societal attitudes towards the official minority language speakers: things have changed* There was a striking similarity in terms of parents' past experiences in the two areas. Parents confirmed that discrimination and negative attitudes still existed, but they expressed that these were less significant or more restrained now. This discrimination, however, did not influence the parents' decision to transmit Welsh or Swedish or speak it in public.

After having discussed parental experiences in this chapter, the next chapter will complete the picture by detailing the multilingual children's accounts of growing up in the two locations. Children's experiences and perceptions differed somewhat from those of their parents, but many parental language ideologies were mirrored in children's accounts. In Chapter 7, I will use the data gathered from the children to investigate their perspectives.

7 Chapter seven: Growing up multilingual: children's perceptions and wellbeing

7.1 Introduction

Most research on multilingual children does not involve children's views in the process. Instead, children are usually the objects of the studies, which are based on observations or parents' interviews (Peace-Hughes et al. 2021, p. 1184). It is only recent work that has looked at multilingual children's experiences; the few FLP studies that use children as data look at children's perspectives of their agency, FLP, or language ideologies (see e.g. Doyle 2013; Fogle 2013; Floka 2014; Gyogi 2015; Smith-Christmas 2016a; Revis 2019; Wilson 2020a; Bui et al. 2022; Fraschini and Lundberg 2022; Kaveh and Lenz 2022). This chapter will add to this selection of FLP studies based on children's perspectives.

My objective is to answer the fourth research question:

iv. What are the multilingual children's own perceptions of becoming and being multilingual?

It is important to note that children's attitudes do not always correspond to what the parents believe (Peace-Hughes et al. 2021; Sorace 2021), and what parents say about language use does not always match the reality (Gyogi 2015, p. 758). Therefore, including children's perceptions offers a valuable addition to the analysis.

Wellbeing related to language transmission came across as an significant theme. We saw in Chapter 6 above that most families struggled to transmit multiple languages simultaneously, causing negative emotions in parents. Wellbeing arose as a theme among children, too, indicating its relevance in language transmission. Publications across different fields, including philosophy, psychology, and economics, researching wellbeing have attempted to define the complex concept (Dunlop-Bennett et al. 2019). For the purpose of this thesis, I will use the Dodge at al. (2012) definition of wellbeing. It occurs when: "individuals have the psychological, social, and physical resources they need to meet a particular psychological, social and/or physical challenge. When individuals have more challenges than resources, the see-saw dips, along with their wellbeing, and vice-versa."(p. 230). Although child wellbeing

has received more attention in the last decade (Lewis 2019, p. 294), again, little research is from the perspective of children (Dunlop-Bennett et al. 2019, p. 98). Not a lot has been written about the adverse effects of multilingualism on children's wellbeing. There is a gap in research when it comes to investigating the wellbeing of the multilingual child (Pietikäinen 2021), and the emotional challenges from the perspective of the child (Wilson 2020b, p. 169). There is not enough research regarding the circumstances pointing out why many parents fail multilingual language transmission rather than achieve harmonious bilingual development (De Houwer 2009a, pp. 307-308), which potentially lead to wellbeing issues in the home. Very little research examines children's wellbeing as a result of (failed or successful) transmission (Pietikäinen 2021). Indeed, it is essential that parents do not strive to raise multilingual children and implement strict FLP at the cost of children's wellbeing (Wilson 2020a, p. 137).

7.2 Children's perceptions

The first section of this chapter, Awareness of parental language strategies: mum decided the school, provides evidence that children have a good awareness of the FLP. The second section—Language preference: well, Finnish is an easy sausage!—looks at how children show agency by language preference and explores the factors contributing towards the child preferring some languages over others. Chapter 6 showed us how parents could find transmission hard work. The following four sections look at different aspects, which impact child wellbeing: Own view of language ability: I can't really read; They say I cannot mix languages; Difficile, difícil, difficult: sometimes I forget the words; and Pride and linguistic identity: I'm proud that I can fluently speak all three. The two final sections of this chapter—Ideological motivations for growing up multilingual: I can speak to more people; and Communication with extended family: being able to speak to your cousins—look at perceived advantages of growing up multilingual.

7.2.1 Awareness of parental language strategies: mum decided the school

In order to gain awareness of the FLP from the children's perspective, I asked what they did to learn their languages. Children's answers corresponded largely with the data from the parents' interviews (Chapter 5); this indicates that the children had a good degree of understanding of the parental strategies. The case study children were able to give very

detailed descriptions of the FLP (see also Wilson 2020a, p. 133).

Family 12's three children were sent to a Welsh medium primary school from age four:

> *Family 12*
>
> *Boy8: Mum decided the school, but dad wanted [us] to go to another school. An English school.*
>
> *Kaisa: Are you happy with the Welsh school?*
>
> *Girl6: Yeah, because mum wanted us to speak more languages.*

The Spanish-speaking mother decided to introduce Welsh to the bilingual OPOL Spanish-English children's language repertoire by sending them to a Welsh medium primary school. The father had attended the same Welsh medium primary school himself, but it is clear here that the children think their father would have chosen an English medium school. This reflects a study (Evas et al. 2017) finding that Welsh-medium education was not necessarily a trigger to transmit the language further. Girl6 expresses that she is content with the mother's school choice and agrees with the language ideology that speaking more languages is a good thing (a parental language ideology discussed in section 4.2.4 above).

The daughter of Family 2 had very concrete ideas of how she acquired each language:

> *Family 2*
>
> *Girl7: I just learned. This is how it went: when I was a baby, I was hearing my mother and father speak English, so I just took it from that. Because I did not know that my head knows the words. So, I just started to understand what it means and speak it. And Hebrew I learned when I was a baby, I had a babysitter who only spoke Hebrew to me because they did not know any other language.*
>
> *Kaisa: How about Swedish and French?*
>
> *Girl7: Well, it's because of my mother and father. I did not know Finnish but then I started kindergarten.*

Kaisa: That's where you learned it?

Girl7: Yeah.[31]

The extract above shows awareness of several language strategies. The 7-year-old mentions Finnish kindergarten—a strategy the father discussed in Chapter 5 (see section 5.2.6 above, also see her brother's adjustment to Finnish medium kindergarten in section 6.2.1 above). She mentions OPOL, and learning to understand the parental language of communication, English. This extract shows evidence that she had an excellent understanding and recollection of how each language was acquired.

Children even had good awareness of the parental discourse strategies:

Family 6

Girl12: If we mix a word with mum when we speak Hungarian, if we have forgotten a word, then we only say that same word in Swedish. Then she tends to say like this: what did you say? Or then she says like this: how you say the right word. Or she says: say it now or nothing![32]

Here, the daughter explains the Hungarian mother's stricter end of discourse strategies of *adult repetition*, *instruction to translate*, and *minimal grasp* (see parental discourse strategies in section 2.5.3 above). The pre-teen's account reflects the mother's earlier extract (see section 5.2.9 above), where the mother reasoned stricter strategies to support the children's Hungarian in Finland.

The girls above mentioned the following language strategies: OPOL, acquiring parental communication language, school language, childcare in target language, and discourse strategies. In addition to that, the children also talked about extended family language

---

[31] *Tyttö7: Mä vaan opin. Näin se meni: kun mä olin vauva, niin mä olin kuulemassa mun äidin ja isän puhuvan englantia niin mä oon ottanu siitä sitä. Koska mä en tienny, et mun pää osaa ne sanat. Niin mä vaan aloin ymmärtää mitä se tarkoittaa ja puhua sitä. Ja hepreaa mä opin, kun mä olin vauva, mulla oli babysittaaja, joka puhu mulle vaan hepreaa ku se ei osannu mitään muuta kieltä.*
Kaisa: Entä ruotsi ja ranska?
Tyttö7: No, se on mun äidin ja isän takia. Suomee mä en tiennyt mut sit mä menin päiväkotiin.
Kaisa: Siellä sä opit sen?
Tyttö7: Joo.

[32] *Flicka12: Om vi blandar ett ord med mamma när vi pratar ungerska, om vi har glömt något ord, sen säger vi det samma ordet bara på svenska. So då brukar hon säga så här: vad sa du? Eller så säger hon att det där är att hur man säger det rätta ordet. Eller hon säger: säg det nu eller ingenting!*

support, family language activities, creating extended networks through local language groups, language immersion visits, and using language resources. In other words, all nine principal parental language strategies investigated in Chapter 5 above, were obvious to the children. This indicates that the children had very good awareness of the parents' strategies to develop and maintain their languages. Although this section has investigated the awareness of language strategies, children also showed agency in decision-making, resisting parental approaches, and influencing strategies. As discussed in Chapter 6 above, FLP was not just something that was done to the children. Indeed, children often negotiate and take up agency, influence parental language use, language choice, and even FLP (Said and Zhu 2019).

7.2.2 Language preference: well, Finnish is an easy sausage![33]

The data revealed that all children favoured one or two languages over the others. One of these tended to be the language they perceived as their strongest, having the most advanced skills in, or knowing best. As children mature linguistically, they may start to use certain languages more than others (De Houwer et al. 2018, p. 146), not always according to the parents' wishes. Having one strong language, however, did reflect one of the parental language ideologies (see section 4.2.10 above).

Most children had one language they felt was more comfortable than the others. School, family language(s), exposure, language ideologies, majority, and minority language all played a part in determining the strongest and/or favourite languages. A multilingual child may get more exposure to one or two languages, thus developing more slowly with the second and/or subsequent language(s) (Devlin 2014, pp. 21-22). The favourite languages could be either school, family, heritage, minority, or majority languages. It was down to individual circumstances which languages were preferred. The data indicate that languages had roles and hierarchies in terms of preference. These roles of languages, language ideologies, and children's different levels of abilities impact their position in the hierarchy,

[33] This Finnish saying relates to something that is easy to do, which is equivalent to the English idiom "a piece of cake". The Finnish word nakki, or small frankfurter type sausage, is also slang for a task (possibly unpleasant), with the etymology deriving from the Finnish military service slang. When I lived in Finland in the 1990s, in my guides and scouts circles, there were verbs deriving from the word nakki, e.g. nakittaa, meaning "to give a task to someone" or "to delegate".

but it does not necessarily mean that the less preferred languages are less important. All children had one or two languages they found easiest. They tended to favour those languages (this was also deliberated by Family 14 parents in section 6.2.2). However, it is difficult to determine which came first: language competence or preference of the language.

All three children of Family 8 reported they did not enjoy speaking English, which was the majority community language. Below, the 9-year-old explained it was because her English was not as strong:

> *Family 8*
>
> *Kaisa: Tell me why you don't like English?*
>
> *Girl9: I just don't like it because sometimes I get mixed up, the words, and it's like... If I'm speaking to someone that doesn't know Mandarin or Welsh, I get a bit scared because I don't know how to tell them something.*

Torras and Gafaranga (2002, p. 540) suggest that language preference is related to either linguistic competence or episode-external ideological factors. In other words, a child may prefer to speak a language they feel most confident speaking, but there are also ideological considerations. Here, it could be that Girl9 did not regard English as important in the OPOL Welsh-Mandarin family, and she had not formed a close connection to the language that was not promoted in the family environment. The two siblings had very similar accounts regarding English and preferred Welsh and Mandarin.

The extract above also shows that Welsh medium educated Girl9's preference for Welsh is likely to be competence based (Gyogi 2015, p. 755) as she struggles to find words in English. This is reflected in Wilson's (2020a, p. 134) study: children preferred speaking a language they spent most of the day speaking, as it was easier for them—perhaps the Welsh language preference was down to practicality as well as ideology.

When I discussed which languages the children found difficult or which languages they favoured, some children preferred a language that was not used in the family:

Family 2

Girl7: But French! Six letters at the end but you do not say them! How do the French understand!

Girl7: Well, Finnish is an easy sausage!

Kaisa: Swedish?

Girl7: Well, it's a bit like Finnish.[34]

Here, Girl7 felt that Finnish, a language introduced via kindergarten and schooling, was easy like the father's Swedish, whereas she found the mother's French increasingly difficult. A study among ten pupils aged 9-16 attending Arabic or Russian home language instruction in Finland found that pupils' preference for languages depended on the role of the languages in the children's everyday life (see Tarnanen et al. 2017). When it came to determining the hierarchy of languages, school and related social contacts had a significant positive impact, as did contact with relatives and parents' appreciation. Here, it seems that the girl has taken preference over Finnish as it is her school language.

In Spanish-speaking Family 13, the parents revealed excellent knowledge of Welsh to the extent that they used it in a professional capacity. Despite promoting it from the start via Welsh language nursery, activities, and school, it had not gained the top spot in the hierarchy for the 8-year-old:

Family 13

Kaisa: Is there a language you do not like so much?

Boy8: Welsh.

Kaisa: You do not like Welsh. Why?

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[34] *Tyttö7: Mut ranska! Kuus kirjainta lopussa mut sä et niitä sano! Miten ranskalaiset ymmärtää!*
Tyttö7: No suomi on helppo nakki!
Kaisa: Ruotsi?
Tyttö7: No se on vähän niinku suomi.

Boy8: I don't like Welsh because it's like, I don't know, a little bit more difficult to remember.[35]

I later asked the boy which language was easiest for him, and without hesitation, he said Spanish. The boy felt that Welsh was difficult and his least favourite language, whereas the family language, Spanish, was easiest despite the parents mentioning that he lacked some more modern vocabulary and had a slight foreign intonation. Here, despite the child being immersed all day in Welsh, he found it more complicated than the family language. This indicates that the school language is only sometimes easiest for the children, or their preferred language. There are two schools of thought regarding school language. Some scholars recommend using the mother tongue as a medium of instruction (which often is not possible), whereas often multilingualism research promotes introducing a new language via schooling (Wa-Mbaleka 2015).

In Arfon's (2019, p. 63) case study of twelve plurilingual Year 10 and Year 11 students of a school in Wales, the children set a hierarchy of languages with English being viewed as a priority as it was the medium of instruction. MFL (French in the case of this school) or Welsh were rated highly as there was a GCSE provision, teachers, and lessons in these languages. The foreign heritage language ranked at the bottom due to lack of provision and lack of speakers in school. However, this finding was not reflected here among these younger case study children; there was no connexion between the preferred languages (or children's insight of level of difficulty), and where it was used (school, home, community).

All children communicated that they had less proficiency in some languages; those were among their least favourite languages. In most families, children tended to show preference over the same languages but the favourite language was not always the same for siblings of the same family (see Wilson 2020a, p. 135); so even if they had been raised in the same sociolinguistic environment, outcomes were not the same. Having a different preferred language could impact the relationships between siblings and parents. It has been suggested that it is good for the child's wellbeing if they share similar linguistic profiles and

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[35] *Kaisa: ¿Hay un idioma que no te gusta tanto?*
Chico8: Galés.
Kaisa: Galés no te gusta. ¿Por qué?
Chico8: No me gusta tanto porque es como, no sé, un poco más difícil de acordarse.

preferences with a parent (Müller et al. 2020, p. 1061); there may be a stronger sense of wellbeing if the family members share a language.

7.2.3 Own view of language ability: I can't really read

In the previous section, we saw that the children preferred languages that they had higher proficiency in or to which they had an ideological link. Some languages the children found more challenging—the implications of this will be investigated below.

The participating children were aware of their perceived limitations (Wilson 2020a, p. 130). I had a conversation with Boy7 regarding his Mandarin ability:

> *Family 8*
>
> *Kaisa: How about Mandarin? Do you read anything in Mandarin?*
>
> *Boy7: I don't read much Mandarin. I can't really read. I can understand some words, like a couple, but not really, no. I can't read it.*

His siblings also reported having little reading and writing skills in Mandarin. They stated that they were *not very good at Mandarin* despite it being, alongside Welsh, their preferred language (see previous section 7.2.2). This further indicates episode-external ideological factors for the Mandarin language preference (Torras and Gafaranga 2002, p. 540).

The youngest participant, a four-year-old flexible OPOL Welsh-Albanian girl, described her language ability:

> *Family 9*
>
> *Girl4: I can speak Albanian a little. I can speak a lot of English, a lot.*[36]

At this young age, the girl could already describe her language proficiency: she could converse in English (although the interview was a mix of Welsh and English), and she had some skills in Albanian. When the multilingual child fails to achieve a certain linguistic level—when they do not understand the language or refuse to speak it—it affects the whole family's wellbeing (Pietikäinen 2021). There was no parental disappointment or negative feelings felt in the girl's interview; she was very proud (see section 7.2.6 below for discussion on pride and linguistic identity) to talk about how she knew some words of Albanian, suggesting that the parents had praised the proficiency she had achieved.

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[36] *Girl4: Tipyn bach fi'n gallu siarad Shqip. A lot fi'n gallu siarad Saesneg lots.*

Still, the children understood that the lower language skills were a result of reduced input or the fact that they had less time to learn a language than some peers. I asked the children of OPOL Hungarian-Swedish Family 6 which they felt was the most difficult language for them:

> *Family 6*
>
> *Kaisa: The most difficult?*
>
> *Boy9: Finnish.*
>
> *Kaisa: Why?*
>
> *Girl12: We have not learned so much.*[37]

The two children chose to be interviewed in Swedish, as they did not feel confident enough to speak Finnish to me. Wilson (2020a, p. 129) found that bilingual children could understand that their heritage language skills were a direct result of their sociolinguistic environment; it was not possible to be a master of a language with the amount of input they got from limited sources. Above, the children show self-compassion; they simply had not had enough lessons in Finnish and that was why they found Finnish difficult. This kind of attitude is likely to be beneficial for the children's wellbeing. However, the realisation of lacking skills can also lead to disappointment (also examined in section 6.2.4 above).

Although a recent review of previous literature in the European context could not find a clear relationship between children's good minority language skills and wellbeing (De Houwer 2017), some studies have suggested a link. Müller et al. (2020) reviewed 17 bilingualism articles in the family setting to investigate the association between children's knowledge of the minority language and wellbeing in the family. The authors identified that it was positive for a child's wellbeing to be proficient in both the home and majority language rather than only one of them. In other words, knowing a minority or a heritage language in addition to the majority language was beneficial for the wellbeing of the potentially multilingual child: it was indeed proficiency in the minority and the majority language that was found to be associated with higher levels of wellbeing. This suggests that children need their entire linguistic repertoire to feel fully comfortable participating in life at

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[37] *Kaisa: Svårast?*
Pojke9: Finska.
Kaisa: Varför?
Flicka12: Vi har inte lärt oss så mycket.

home and in society (Müller et al. 2020, p. 1066). It is important to note that in this study, the children juggled three or more languages regularly and each language was supported in a different way, which did not always lead to fluency. The implications of not being proficient enough to participate in life at home and in society in all their languages are likely to be detrimental for a growing child. Indeed, the children's view of language ability impacted their wellbeing.

I asked the two children of Family 4 regarding the home language instruction classes that they attend (see section 1.2.3.2 above for more information):

> *Family 4*
>
> *Kaisa: Can they all speak really good German?*
>
> *Girl9: Some badly, some well.*
>
> *Kaisa: Are you really good, bad, or average level?*
>
> *Boy10: I would think on the top level.*
>
> *Girl9: Average level.*[38]

Here, it emerges that the children viewed their German language skills gained during the two years in Germany as average or above compared to the other *around 20 other pupils* in the class. The parents elaborated that most of the children in the group had at least one parent who was a German speaker. Later during the interview, the children included these German lessons when they listed their hobbies (handball, show dance classes, scouts, and piano lessons). Additionally, parents stated that German was a *bonus language* and maintenance was more of a *compulsory hobby*. This implies that the pressure to maintain the language of immigration that is not used in the home is realistic, and the children seem pleased with their level of language. They also show pride in being able to speak German fluently (see section 7.2.6 below). The girl initially struggled to express herself (see section 7.2.5 below for Girl9's experience) but was now happy with the level she had gained. It could be that because German was not a family or heritage language, the family members had lower expectations for the language (see section 7.2.4 below).

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[38] *Kaisa: Osaako ne kaikki puhua tosi hyvää saksaa?*
Tyttö9: Jotkut huonosti, jotkut hyvin.
Kaisa: Oottekste tosi hyviä, huonoja vai keskitasoa?
Poika10: Mä luulisin, vähän ylätasolla.
Tyttö9: Keskitasoa.

This section has shown that children felt a range of emotions regarding their language ability from shame to contentment and pride. Children tended to struggle most with their least favourite language, and nearly all children reported they did not have good enough skills in at least one language. Those who spoke all family languages fluently seemed content; the expectations for each family's children were unique depending on their circumstances. This will be considered more in depth next.

7.2.4 They say I cannot mix languages

This theme concerns children's perceptions of parental pressure and expectations regarding children's level of languages. The previous section showed that children were content with varying levels of abilities; these often depended on the expectations from themselves and others.

Some children expressed that parental expectations of language use were too high for them. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 above showed us that parents have language ideologies, which drive their wish to raise multilingual children, and the experiences often do not match the initial plan. Yet, there was a degree of pressure in each family for the children to speak specific languages better.

A lot of the pressure among the families arose from within the nuclear family as parents wished children would make more of an effort to speak their languages or not use words or expressions from non-target language(s). However, sometimes this pressure was based on the wishes of others. Pressure could also be experienced from outside the home, or from extended family members. Not achieving the expected level in a language not spoken in the community, that the children only had limited exposure to, can destabilise the children's emotional wellbeing.

Family 14's French mother occasionally used more restrictive discourse strategies. She expected the children to speak French to her:

Family 14

Kaisa: What happens if you speak English to your mum? Does she say something?

Girl6: She says: o-o. Imagine if I said this in English: Mami, it's snowing! O-o.

Kaisa: It's snowing![39]

Girl6: It's snowing.[40] I'm so tired!

Girl8: For me, it's like, if she asks me, a phrase question. Can you go get the bananas?[41] I'll say yes, I'll get them. Because they understand it. She can see that I'm trying. But she tries to get me to say. She does it like: o-o, say it in French. Just try to say it in French next time. So, there's not too much pressure on us. But if she was like o-o say it in French all the time, I'm like yeah, come on, way too much pressure!

As previously discussed, some discourse strategies can impact children's wellbeing or parent-child communication in a negative way (see also Alraddadi 2021, p. 325). Here, the daughter implies that Mother 14's discourse strategy of *minimal grasp* can put pressure on her daughters. However, Mother 14 does not always use the restrictive strategy, so Girl8 feels that there is not too much pressure. This flexible language approach and the mother's tolerance to the use of English (Wilson 2020a, p. 136) positively impact the children's wellbeing (but not necessarily language development). Girl6 expresses that, indeed, the burden of speaking French can be exhausting.

Some parents are less tolerant of mixing languages:

[39] *Kaisa: Il neige!*
[40] *Il neige.*
[41] *Est-ce que tu peux chercher les bananes ?*

Family 4

Kaisa: Do you ever mix the languages?

Boy10 & Girl9: Yeah.

Girl9: I just sometimes say Swedish and Finnish [words] in the same [sentence] by accident.

Kaisa: What do your mum or dad say to that?

Girl9: Well, they say that I cannot mix languages.

Boy10: I am about the best in class in the Finnish language. It's because I rarely mix Swedish and Finnish.

Kaisa: And your friends mix them?

Boy10: Yeah[42]

The parents of Family 4 felt that to learn to speak properly, you mix as little as possible; they even called themselves *language police*. They had strong opinions about mixing Swedish and Finnish (see 5.2.9 above), but rules about mixing only applied to the two main languages, not the *bonus language*, German (see section 7.2.3 above). Here, it is evident that the children feel pressure not to mix the two languages, but also pride (see section 7.2.6 below) in the fact that their Finnish is good; the boy proudly states that he does not mix the languages like his classmates. It is apparent that the parents expect all languages to be at different levels; Swedish and Finnish are primary, societal languages; therefore, they are the most important languages to them, and parents demand a good level of skills in both.

This section has demonstrated that parents set different degrees of expectations and pressure on the children's languages. Expectations that are too high can result in the child feeling overwhelmed and cause wellbeing issues.

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[42] *Kaisa: Sekoitatteko te ikinä kieliä?*
Poika10 & Tyttö9: Joo.
Tyttö9: Mä joskus vaan vahingossa sanon ruotsii ja suomee samassa.
Kaisa: Mitä äiti tai isä sanoo siihen?
Tyttö9: No ne sanoo, et mä en saa sekoittaa kieliä.
Poika10: Mä oon suunnilleen paras luokassa suomen kielessä. Se tulee just siitä, että mä en melkein yhtään sekota ruotsia ja suomea.
Kaisa: Ja sun kaverit sekoittaa?
Boy10: Joo.

7.2.5 Difficile, difícil, difficult: sometimes I forget the words

Without exception, the word difficult was repeated in all the children's interviews. Difficult was said in all interview languages at some point during my visit to the family homes. For many children, being raised bilingual or multilingual is a considerable burden and many well-meaning parents can be blind to children's suffering from the transmission process (Pietikäinen 2021). No case study child found the transmission or load of languages easy. Certain languages they found easy or easier (as explored in section 7.2.2 above), but all children described some parts of transmission or some languages as difficult.

The following bilingual (Swedish and French) conversation happened between the Family 1 parents and their son. It was drawn from the parental interview to this chapter to show the difference in perceptions and to support the argument of children's challenges. The mother asked her son which languages he spoke:

> *Family 1*
>
> *Boy4: Finnish, Swedish, English, French.*
>
> *Mother: How many languages? Four.*
>
> *Father: Is it difficult?*
>
> *Boy4: Difficult.*
>
> *Father: What is difficult?*
>
> *Boy4: Finnish.*
>
> *Mother: Is it fun to speak many languages?*
>
> *Boy4: No.*[43]

Here, it seems that the four-year-old found Finnish, which is not a language used in the family, the most difficult when it came to his language repertoire of four languages. Difficult language acquisition can be viewed as harmful to a child's wellbeing (also examined in section 7.2.2 above). Finnish is a language principally used in the environment in the

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[43] *Boy4: Finska, Svenska, Engelska, Franska.*
Mother: Hur många språk? Fyra.
Father: Est-ce que c'est difficile?
Boy4: Difficile.
Father: Qu'est-ce que c'est difficile?
Boy4: Finska.
Mother: Är det roligt at prata många språk?
Boy4: Nä.

Helsinki suburb. The parents talked about the maternal grandfather and many neighbours, including children, being Finnish speakers. The child had not had many opportunities for Finnish immersion as he had spent half of his life in the US and most of the time with family, or kindergarten, which did not use Finnish.

The above extract shows that children may find acquiring several languages difficult, and, in fact, *not fun*. In addition to developing skills in many languages, the load of communicating in many languages daily, and getting confused about language, was exhausting for the children:

> *Family 14*
>
> *Girl8: I like to speak French when I feel like it. I'll speak Welsh when I feel like I should speak Welsh. Sometimes I make mistakes. I go and speak Welsh to my mum, one time my mum asked me [in French:] "Have you washed your hands?"*[44] *And I was like: [in Welsh:] "Yes. I have washed my hands".*[45]
>
> *Kaisa: Did you speak Welsh?*[46] *So, you sometimes mix the languages like that?*
>
> *Girl8: Yeah, that's how hard it is!*

The girl's extract shows that she is aware of translanguaging (Wilson 2020a, p. 134), but feels anxious about sometimes replying in a non-target language. Anxiety is common, or even "the most widely documented psychological phenomena in language-learning situations" (Sevinç 2022, p. 4), which can also adversely influence FLP and language development (p. 12). Not being able to fully communicate and having to stop the flow of communication can be harmful to a child's wellbeing. It has also been previously reported (see e.g. Wilson 2020a, pp. 129-130) that children can feel anxious about making mistakes when speaking a heritage language. The two youngest girls of the family later explained that they both found it hard to remember which language to speak to which person. Despite the anxiety over language choice, Girl8 also shows agency by stating that she speaks the language she chooses. It emerges from the extract that Girl8 at times resisted the monolingual policy through flexible use of languages and negotiation of language, or "negative" agency (Gyogi 2015, p. 761), whereby she spoke French and Welsh when she felt

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[44] *"Est-ce que tu as lavé les mains?"*
[45] *"Ydw. Dw i wedi golchi dwylo."*
[46] *Kaisa: Wyt ti wedi siarad Cymraeg?*

like it or when she felt she should speak it.

In another instance, Girl8 explained that she struggled to find the right words in French:

> *Family 14*
>
> *Girl8: If we go to France for example… So, one time I'm talking to my cousin in French, I forgot a word, I and I literally run around the house searching for my mum! And then I'm like: what's this word? And I literally run back to my cousin. And I say that word and I'm like: what was I going to say next? And it's really hard, because you hardly know a lot of the words.*

The daughter's experience—and expression *really hard*—mirrors that of a bilingual girl who found it challenging to find words with her Japanese friend on the phone and had to get her dictionary (Gyogi 2015, p. 754). Here, it seems the girl was worried about making mistakes with her monolingual cousin.

The case study children in Wilson's (2020a) study found bilingualism as "a laborious task" (p. 133), and children felt they suffered from having to work hard to develop and maintain a heritage language and go to a supplementary school (p. 129). These findings are echoed above. The children found the maintenance and development of at least one language (often their least favourite language, see section 7.2.2 above, or a foreign heritage language) tough and hard work; also juggling many languages in everyday life was described as difficult.

The then non-German-speaking Finnish girl of Family 4 started nursery in Germany. Initially, she was mute:

Family 4

Kaisa: Did you also speak German there?

Girl9: First I just did this or like this. [Nods, shakes head]

Kaisa: Why is that?

Girl9: Because I didn't know if I said the things right or wrong. And I did not want to try. But when I did try, I did say it right.[47]

The parents explained that it took the girl a long time to be comfortable enough to say anything in German, but they did not think she was traumatised as there were still adults who would take care of the children in the kindergarten. During their interview, the parents said she was passive and shy to speak German compared to her older brother. According to the parents, it was only during the last six months of the two-year stay that she fluently and confidently conversed with peers. Her brother just used Swedish words whenever he could and did not go mute despite the other children and staff not always understanding him. This indicates that children from the same family background may react in contrasting ways, and specific FLP approaches impact siblings' wellbeing in distinct ways.

This section has shown us that all the case study children found certain parts of transmission difficult. They described three kinds of difficulties: transmission of the weakest languages; the load of languages; and adverse effects of starting childcare with no language.

7.2.6 Pride and linguistic identity: I'm proud that I can fluently speak all three

We have seen that in many families, multilingualism was not harmonious (De Houwer 2015); in the four previous sections, the children described a range of negative emotions regarding their multilingual upbringing. Children's language identities and choices may change during their lives. They can also be problematic as there are expectations from others, which may conflict with the child's own perceived identity and choice (De Houwer 2009a, pp. 313, 316). Children's differing perspectives could lead to conflict (Wilson 2020a). However, all children also expressed positive sentiments about multilingualism.

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[47] *Kaisa: Puhuiksä kanssa saksaa siellä?*
Tyttö9: Eka mä vain tein näin tai näin. [Nyökkää, pudistelee päätä]
Kaisa: Minkä takia?
Tyttö9: Koska mä en tiennyt, sanoinko mä oikein tai väärin. Ja en mä halunnut koittaa. Mut sit ku mä yritin, niin mä kyllä sanoin oikein.

One of the parental ideologies motivating transmission was transmitting heritage and identity (see section 4.2.1 above). Undeniably, it seems that many children had multilingual identities; transmission of heritage and identity had been at least partly successful. Our identity starts to form from early childhood and, language is a significant part of it (Nurmi et al. 2014, p. 41). Therefore, for multilingual children, language is not just a tool of communication but an imperative part of their multilingual and intercultural identity (Salvatierra 2019, p. 28). Identity, or perception of oneself and belonging to a group, changes over time; multilingual children can spend a considerable amount of time thinking about their identity and how they may differ from the society around them (Iranta 2011, pp. 11, 47). Bilinguals or multilinguals tend to struggle more with identity issues than monolinguals (Thomas 2012, p. 165) as they may not fit the monolingual norm of society.

Children's attitudes towards their languages can be complex and ambiguous; many may find it difficult to explain the reasons for their positive attitudes (Wilson 2020a). Below, I will list the reasons the children considered when they stated they were proud of their multilingualism or expressed positive feelings towards languages.

In this investigation, all reported as being content about being able to have at least some understanding of three or more languages:

> *Family 4*
>
> *Boy10: I am proud that I can fluently speak all three. I can converse in German.*
>
> *Girl9: Well, I am proud too. It is fun.*[48]

Family 4 children stated being proud that they could fluently speak three languages. Indeed, fostering pride (Nandi 2022, p. 317) and enjoyment within the family rather than aggressive monolingualism or anxiety is beneficial for transmission (Sevinç 2022, p. 12). They stressed that being able to have conversations in German, their bonus language (see sections 7.2.3 and 7.2.4 above) was something to be proud of; they even reflected being able to converse as fun. This is an interesting finding when we look at the previous section where a young child declared to his parents the exact opposite: not fun. We could consider whether it is the

[48] *Poika10: Mä oon ylpee siitä, että mä osaan sujuvasti kaikkia kolmea. Mä pystyn keskustelemaan saksaksi.*
Tyttö9: No, mäkin olen ylpeä. Se on hauskaa.

act of transmission, the struggles to find words, and the hours spent learning and acquiring languages that the children find hard work and not fun. The result, being able to understand people and speak to them, is the more enjoyable part, which they may find rewarding and take pride in.

Indeed, although according to the parents, all children resisted FLP at some point and many struggled with the transmission, children expressed that they were proud and content with their languages. Some also talked about transmission in positive ways:

> *Family 12*
>
> *Kaisa: Who taught you to speak Welsh?*
>
> *Boy8: The school.*
>
> *Girl6: Our teachers. The school.*
>
> *Boy8: I learned quickly like flash!*

Here, the 8-year-old voices positive wellbeing regarding his language acquisition of Welsh. Although the parents revealed that Boy8 had struggled with his Welsh during primary school and went to a Welsh language immersion unit for one term to get his Welsh up to scratch, he had been left with an optimistic view of his learning process and showed pride in the fact that he had learned Welsh at school. In section 6.2.4 above, Father 12 stated that the boy also felt pride in being able to speak Spanish. Gibbons and Ramirez (2004a, pp. 113, 225) found that a child's pride in the heritage language and culture is vital in transmission. Despite the reports of hard work, difficulty and negative emotions, pride was also an underlying emotion in every interview (see Kaveh and Lenz 2022).

I asked Family 13's children about their sentiments regarding trilingualism:

Family 13

Kaisa: Are you happy with that? [speaking three languages]

Boy8: Yes.

Girl4: Me too.

Boy8: I would have liked four.

Kaisa: Four? What else do you want to speak?

Boy8: All the languages in the world![49]

The findings here compare to recent studies (e.g. Peace-Hughes et al. 2021; Ellis and Sims 2022) noting that children often express pride in their languages and plurilingual identities. Also, Arfon (2019) looked at the children's mobile and fluid linguistic identities: the participants linked their languages outside school with "positivity, pride and continuity" (p. 61). Here, it emerges that the 8-year-old, despite not liking his school language, Welsh, as he found it difficult to remember (see section 7.2.2 above), he was content with being able to speak three languages. He had a positive attitude towards multilingualism and shared the parental ideology that learning more languages was a good thing (see section 4.2.4 above).

Dressler (2014) used creative methods to explore the linguistic identity of multilingual primary school students in a German bilingual programme in Canada. The students were asked to draw a picture of their multilingual selves. According to Dressler (2014, p. 47), the students' drawings suggest that their linguistic identity is strongly linked with oral competence as a measure of their linguistic expertise. Furthermore, Palm et al. (2019) carried out group interviews with 13 Somali-Swedish adolescent students in Sweden. Their research revealed the hierarchical nature of languages in the Swedish education system and students' presumed essentialist connection between linguistic competence and ethnic identity in claiming Somali identity (Palm et al. 2019, pp. 66, 70).

The influence and views of peers in terms of pride and linguistic identity are very important for growing children; it is a crucial factor whether they feel pride in their heritage or bonus

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[49] *Kaisa: ¿Estáis contentos con eso? [hablar tres idiomas}*
Chico8: Sí.
Chica4: Yo también.
Chico8: A mi hubiera gustado cuatro.
Kaisa: ¿Cuatro? ¿Qué más quieres hablar?
Chico8: ¡Todos los idiomas de mundo!

language. I asked Girl9 if she ever taught her peers Mandarin:

> *Family 8*
>
> *Girl9: They ask me to say something.*
>
> *Kaisa: What do you normally say then?*
>
> *Girl9: I just say something like hello.*
>
> *Kaisa: How do you say that?*
>
> *Girl9: Ni hao.*

Girl9's mother held Chinese New Year sessions yearly at the children's primary school. It has been proposed that encouraging children in the classroom, for instance by providing space for cultural and linguistic demonstrations, will foster their willingness to use their heritage language and impact their pride in their heritage (Revis 2019, p. 189). The time Mother 8 spent at the primary school has most probably helped Girl9 develop a multicultural and multilingual identity and feel pride in it. It also raised her peers' interest in the language.

The data indicate that the children had only ever received positive feedback regarding their heritage language. For a growing child, the attitudes and beliefs of a minority language community (Gibbons and Ramirez 2004a, p. 99) are vital. Additionally, the views school and peers have towards the child's languages and multilingualism (De Houwer 2009a, p. 324) contribute to the success of transmission. Wilson (2020a, p. 134) reported that bilingual French-English children's English-speaking peers admired the French language proficiency, which, without a doubt, impacted the heritage speakers' motivation.

7.2.7 Ideological motivations for growing up multilingual: I can speak to more people

Children discussed the benefits of being multilingual; or ideological motivations of wanting to develop and maintain their languages. Many children stated that they felt that being multilingual was good because they could speak to more people outside the majority language group:

Family 3

Kaisa: What's the best thing about being able to speak all these languages?

Girl8: I can speak to more people!

Girl8 had recently spent a few months in the US, which had widened her horizons outside her usual circle of friends and relatives in Finland. The children's understanding of their linguistic identity is linked with mobility as they are able to use their languages in different contexts and separate countries (Arfon 2019, p. 62). In other words, she had experienced real-world context that facilitated her motivation for language acquisition and use of English. Without that context the motivation for children to learn and use a given language is much weaker (see also sections 5.2.3 and 5.2.4 above for parents using extended family and community groups as motivators and strategy).

The young participants also regard foreign language skills as valuable because of benefits for the future and being able to function in a society abroad:

Family 4

Boy10: You may get an advantage from it in the future.

Kaisa: What kind of advantage?

Boy10: If you for instance move somewhere with your own family. So, you may just need that language.

Kaisa: To what purpose may you need German?

Boy10: Well, if you for instance go somewhere in Germany for a holiday. So, you can order yourself in a restaurant.[50]

Boy10 had already travelled to Germany for visits since moving back to Finland. It appears that the experience left him with an ideological motivation; he can travel or move to Germany or another country and function in the society there with his language skills acquired while living abroad.

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[50] *Poika10: Siitä on hyötyä tulevaisuudessa.*
Kaisa: Mitä hyötyä?
Poika10: Jos vaikka oman perheen kanssa muuttaa jonnekin. Et sitä vaan tarvii sitä kieltä.
Kaisa: Mihin vois tarvita saksaa?
Poika10: No jos vaikka lähtee jonnekin vaikka Saksaan lomalle. Niin siellä pystyy ravintoloissa, vaikka itse tilaamaan.

Future opportunities were also mentioned:

> *Family1*
>
> *Girl9: Well, I think it's a really great opportunity.*
>
> *Kaisa: Why?*
>
> *Girl9: Because if you travel somewhere and if you... Well, mum told me it's good to know a lot of languages if you get some kind of a job if you have to know a lot of languages.*

The two accounts above reflect the parental language ideology that multilingualism is useful now and, in the future, considered in section 4.2.7 above. This signals that the parents have had conversations with the primary school-aged children about the benefits of multilingualism to encourage them and to motivate transmission (also mentioned by De Houwer 2021b). Indeed, certain extracts were very similar to those of the parental ideologies. It is worth considering whether the children repeated what had been said to them and to what extent they created ideologies themselves. Alongside languages, the children had also been transmitted specific ideological positions as a part of the FLP. Fogle's (2013) interviews of five bilingual adolescents aged 18-26 in the Southern US reveal that the success of heritage language maintenance, in addition to the family's FLP and the changing levels of children's agency, was down to language and cultural ideologies. Consequently, transmitting an ideological motivation to encourage the children can act as fuel in the language transmission process.

Secret language (see e.g. Gibbons and Ramirez 2004b, p. 134) was cited by a few interviewees, allowing a child to speak to family members without others understanding:

> *Family 3*
>
> *Girl8: When grandmother[51] was there, or if we are, for example, somewhere and we are speaking a secret language, so that nobody understands what we're saying. So we have to do it. Like in America, or something like that.*

Girl8 spoke Swedish with her grandmother while staying in the US. It was their secret language to say things in public that they did not want others to understand. As a child, having a secret language can certainly be a motivation to learn it. This could be considered

[51] *mummu*

an ideological resistance: Mother 3 had the view that Girl8 could go anywhere in the world (see section 4.2.7 above), whereas the daughter's ideological motivation was that she could secretly speak to people in one of her languages.

In general, all children said they benefited from a multilingual upbringing (similar results as Iqbal 2021). They discussed four types of language ideologies supporting transmission, or perceived benefits of multilingualism (in addition to the following section 7.2.8 below): being able to speak to more people, being able to function in a society abroad, future or job opportunities, and secret language. Transmitting heritage and identity was not directly spoken about as a motivation. However, it is clear from the previous section that children had acquired multilingual identities and were proud of them, driving their wish to develop their languages. Therefore, pride and linguistic identity could also be considered an ideological motivation. Interestingly, there were hardly any mentions of other parental ideological motivations, such as inspired by other polyglot families; the earlier, the better, or increased cognitive abilities. Perhaps these were issues that had not been discussed in the family, and the children may take these more into consideration when they grow older.

7.2.8 Communication with extended family: being able to speak to your cousins

This theme is about how communication with extended family is a language ideology supporting transmission, but being able to communicate with them also contributes to wellbeing.

Extended family is a parental language strategy (see sections 5.2.3 and 5.2.4 above). We have seen that FLP may be insufficient if a language is used solely within the nuclear family and there is little external contact with the language. Children may feel that a language is not valuable without the wider context (or extended family). Doyle (2013) researched adolescent Estonian-speaking bilinguals and found that they perceived bilingualism as an advantage but had doubts about the value of a relatively rare language. This may be the case for some children if they do not have a local language community or rarely have the opportunity to see extended family.

Two daughters of Family 14 had the language ideology that speaking French was good because it enabled them to communicate with their French cousins:

Family 14

Kaisa: Is there anything good about [speaking three languages]?

Girl8: Being able to speak to your cousins.

Girl6: Yeah!

Girl8: Otherwise, you're like, I can't speak to any of my cousins. I don't know any language. That would be really weird if I didn't learn French, English, or Welsh.

Parents also brought up communication with extended family; it is found to be a common ideological motivation in previous studies (discussed in section 4.2.2 above). Indeed, the existence of an extended family member motivates children to learn to communicate in a heritage language (see e.g. Wilson 2020a, p. 127; Iqbal 2021, p. 288). Mother 14's language ideology (see section 4.2.2 above for the mother's extract) is replicated in the extract of her daughter; she had transmitted not only the French language but also the ideology that the language was imperative for communication with the French relatives (see also section 7.2.7 above with the same occurrence). The children had also intensified this ideology while spending time with first language French or Welsh-speaking family (investigated in section 7.2.5 above). Communication with extended family in their first language was essential for all family members.

Communication (or communication difficulties) with extended family impact family relations and wellbeing. A study of 106 Hispanic teenagers in Sydney found that contact with family overseas was a motivating factor to develop and maintain heritage language skills as a lack of the skills may mean a barrier to communication (Gibbons and Ramirez 2004b). As previously reviewed in this chapter, failed language transmission or lacking skills can impact the wellbeing of the family. Not being able to communicate with extended family appropriately is likely to impact the family members' wellbeing. The boys of Family 10 were discussing grandparents who live in Turkey:

Family 10

Kaisa: Do you understand them?

Boy6: Only a little bit. Because we know only a little bit about Turkish.

Boy5: I know! Su alabilir miyim means can I have water!

Kaisa: Su alabilir miyim? Is Turkish difficult or easy?

Boy6: A little bit difficult actually.

Here, it seems that the children do not share a language with the maternal grandparents who hardly speak English (see section 6.2.2 above for Mother 10's comment on the children's language use in Turkey). A study on 8-year-old Samoan children found that children felt connecting with loved ones and building relationships was crucial for their wellbeing (Dunlop-Bennett et al. 2019, p. 114). If a child does not have a shared language with grandparents, it could impact their relationship and wellbeing adversely. According to Mother 10, the grandparents are *very loving* and *kind*. Despite this, there is the danger that the language barrier may cause disruption of communication and act as a barrier to a close relationship as the children grow older.

However, the boys are keen to learn Turkish and show pride in their knowledge and the growing vocabulary. It is worth considering whether it is sufficient to have symbolic evidence of a language, or just some knowledge, rather than high competence in a language, to support a child's identity and wellbeing. In other words, in terms of wellbeing and linguistic identity, perhaps a child does not need to speak all three (or more) languages at a native level or for the purposes of everyday communication. The boys appeared happy with their level and managed to communicate a little bit with the extended family on the yearly visits to Turkey.

7.3 Discussion and conclusions

This chapter looked at the insights of the case study children. It started by recognising that there is a gap in FLP research looking at children's perspectives, and especially research concentrating on multilingual children's wellbeing. The chapter then analysed the findings based on the children's data. Specifically, it aimed to answer the fourth research question:

iv. What are the multilingual children's own perceptions of becoming and being multilingual?

To answer this question, eight themes were identified:

1. *Awareness of parental language strategies: mum decided the school* The children's answers largely corresponded to the data from the parental interviews. Children were able to describe each of the nine strategies their parents mentioned (OPOL, school language, childcare language, family language activities, discourse strategies, extended family language support, creating extended networks through local language groups, language immersion visits, and using language resources). This evidences that the children had very good awareness of the FLP.
2. *Language preference: well, Finnish is an easy sausage!* Languages had roles and hierarchies. Children preferred languages they found easier; they tended to describe the weaker ones as their least favourite languages. Language preference was related to either linguistic competence or episode-external ideological factors (Torras and Gafaranga 2002, p. 540). In addition to resisting and forming FLP, children showed agency by language preference and language use; they favoured and used their strongest languages more despite the pressure and expectations to perform in all languages. There was no link to whether the favourite and/or strongest languages were school, family, heritage, minority, or majority languages. It was down to individual circumstances which language the children preferred; the favourite language was sometimes different for siblings of the same family. This is related to wellbeing as interpersonal conflict and feelings of disagreement due to the language choices of family members may affect the children's wellbeing negatively (De Houwer 2017, p. 232).

3. *Own view of language ability: I can't really read* The children were aware of their limitations; nearly all reported they did not have good enough skills in at least one language. This impacted their wellbeing. Children felt a range of emotions from shame to contentment regarding their language proficiency. They were also able to show self-compassion; they asserted that their level of proficiency was a result of their circumstances and the environment.
4. *They say I cannot mix languages* There was some pressure in each family in terms of language proficiency. Parents set different levels of expectations on the children's different languages. Some parents were less tolerant of, e.g. mixing their primary, or what were viewed as the main languages. Sometimes children felt that the parental expectations are too high. This can have a detrimental impact on the child's wellbeing, but children also show agency by voicing their opinions.
5. *Difficile, difícil, difficult: sometimes I forget the words* Being raised multilingual can be a burden. No case study child found the transmission or load of languages easy. Difficult language acquisition can be viewed as negative for a child's wellbeing. The participants found maintaining and developing at least one language (often their least favourite language) hard work; also juggling many languages in everyday life was described as difficult. Going to a school or nursery in a language they a child is not familiar with can severely impact their wellbeing. The same FLP can impact the wellbeing of siblings in contrasting ways.
6. *Pride and linguistic identity: I'm proud that I can fluently speak all three* All children also had positive emotions regarding their multilinguality. All reported being content about being able to have at least an understanding of their languages. Despite the hard work, difficulty, negative emotions, and perceived lacking language ability, pride was an underlying emotion: language is an important part of their identity, motivating transmission. The influence of peers was significant for the children. The case study children reported only ever having received positive feedback regarding their heritage language.
7. *Ideological motivations for growing up multilingual: I can speak to more people* The children discussed four different types of language ideologies supporting transmission: being able to speak to more people, being able to function in a society

abroad, having future or job opportunities, and knowing a secret language. Certain extracts were identical to parental language ideologies.

8. *Communication with extended family: being able to speak to your cousins* The existence of an extended family member can act as a motivator for children. Communication with extended family also impacts family relations and wellbeing, as not being able to communicate with extended family fully can have an unfavourable effect on children.

Figure 6, below, demonstrates how the themes drawn from the children's interviews relate to the topics of wellbeing, FLP, and language ideologies. When we look at children's data in terms of FLP, four themes applied. Children were aware of FLP, often found FLP and transmission difficult, felt there was a degree of pressure to speak a target language, and tended to show agency towards parental choices.

Language ideologies were relevant to five themes. Along with a language, parents often transmitted language ideologies supporting transmission, such as which languages are most important or how much mixing is acceptable. Significant ideological motivators to develop skills in a language not present in the community or school were wanting to communicate with extended family and feeling pride in the multilingual identity. For parents of potentially multilingual children, it may be worthwhile considering that sharing parental language ideologies with the growing child may work as a motivator to develop the languages further, and act as an valuable strategy. Parents and children did not always share these ideological motivations (e.g., secret language), but they influenced the child to see the languages in a more positive light.

Wellbeing touches all themes considered in this chapter, implying it is a crucial element of FLP research that should be given more consideration.

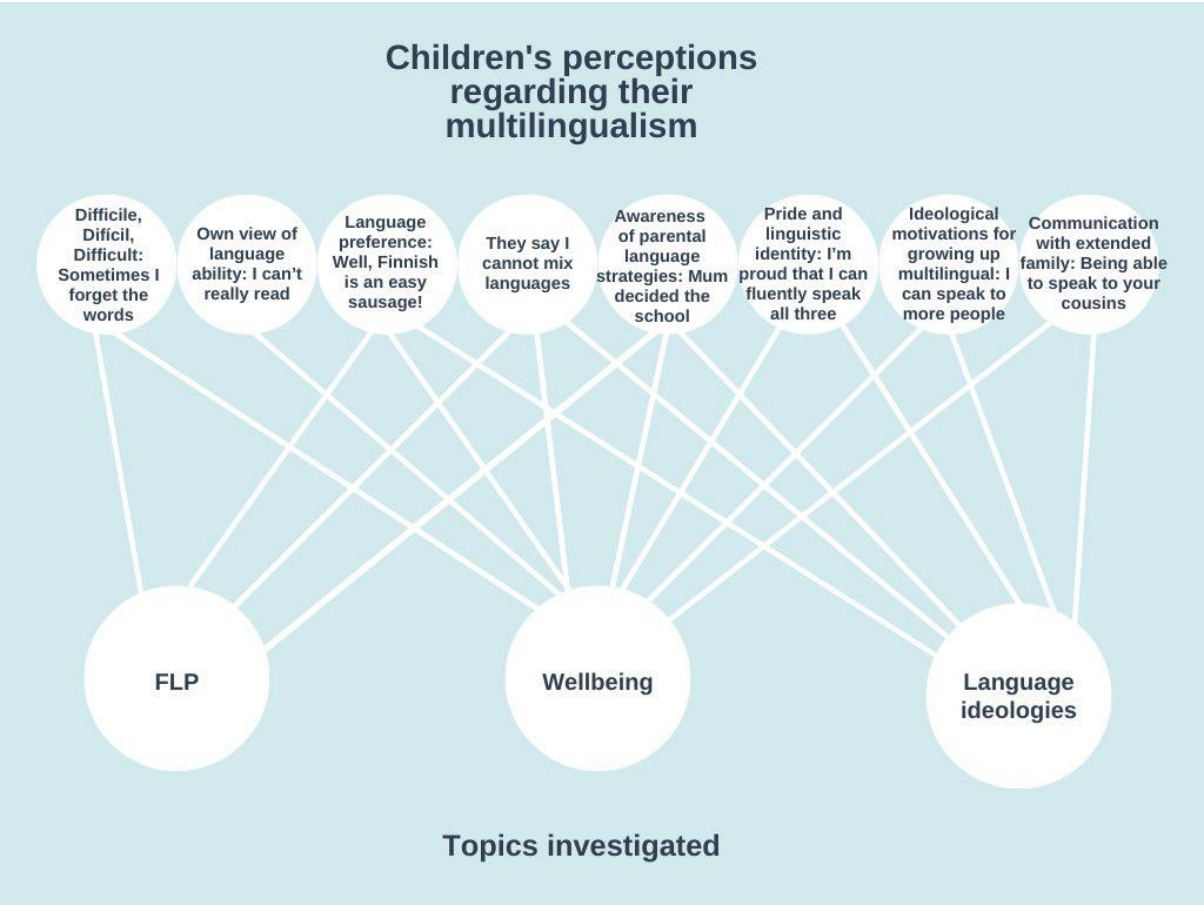

Figure 6 Children's perceptions regarding their multilingualism related to FLP, wellbeing, and language ideologies

8 Chapter eight: Discussion and conclusions

8.1 Introduction

This thesis has provided a detailed sociolinguistic examination of 14 multilingual families in the capital city areas of Finland and Wales. The aim of the study was to ascertain the extent of transnational families' language ideologies, strategies, and experiences in terms of language transmission. I used semi-structured interviews in the family homes as primary data, and data from observations and self-administered online questionnaires supported the analysis.

This discussion and conclusions chapter will link the analysis and considerations together, drawing overall conclusions. This chapter first details further arguments for the key findings of the study, addressing each research question at a time. I then examine the limitations of the research, consider any research implications, and finally propose recommendations for future research.

It is crucial to consider the contribution of the study to the field in general. Smith-Christmas (2016b) and Wilson (2019) called for more research giving voice to young heritage speakers. This study provides an original contribution to the FLP literature by giving the children the opportunity to share their experiences. Chapter 7 told the story of the multilingual children by asking them questions (Peace-Hughes et al. 2021); it showed us how they experienced growing up surrounded by their many languages.

The sociolinguistic context of this study adds an important contribution to the FLP field. Investigating multilingual families in two superdiverse, bilingual areas was beneficial as it revealed consistently similar results across families in the two locations (e.g. similar parental ideologies and strategies, but also experiences, such as wellbeing concerns of family members, and discrimination of minority language speakers), but it also showed an original finding of area-specific differences when it came to external factors or events, i.e., the Brexit referendum. We now know that the impact of external factors, such as the pandemic or Brexit, have an impact on languages and language transmission. The fieldwork was carried out briefly before the COVID-19 outbreak. A future study could also bring to light the social, economic, and psycho-emotional stressors and possible inequalities brought on by the pandemic (King and Curdt-Christiansen 2021, p. 99) impacting FLP.

Parents found that there was sufficient support available to transmit the official languages (schools, hobbies, childminders, and community groups in Welsh and English or Swedish and Finnish) but maintaining or developing a foreign (often heritage) language needed considerable extra efforts from parents and children. A benefit of investigating two areas was the parents' reports of the value of home language instruction classes in Finland; this most probably impacted the families' FLP and experience of foreign (heritage) language transmission. Readily accessible languages with established language communities were perceived as the crucial factor supporting language transmission. The research has highlighted the importance of local community dynamics to support language transmission. In other words, there is a strong relationship between the demographic strength of a language and the success of language transmission.

Smith-Christmas (2016b, p. 25) suggested that to expand the FLP field, it should include more autochthonous minority communities and a blend of prototypes. This study offers an investigation of all three FLP prototypes (Smith-Christmas 2016b): autochthonous minority language speakers, contexts with an OPOL immigrant parent, and families where both parents are immigrants. Language diversity and variability of this thesis add a new aspect to the FLP field, which has often previously concentrated on one or two languages or family types. Rather than concentrating on one aspect of FLP research like most previous FLP studies, such as discourse strategies or language ideologies, this study offers an overall view of the family members' realities: ideologies, strategies, and experiences.

8.2 Main findings of the thesis

This section summarises and analyses the main findings of each results and findings chapters.

8.2.1 How do parents of potentially multilingual children describe their language ideologies?

Many ideologies are comparable to the findings of separate FLP studies on parental language ideologies; some were only discussed by a few investigations. For example, the motivational ideology that when you transmit a language, you also transmit heritage and identity, is discussed by a handful of studies (e.g. Curdt-Christiansen 2009; Ramonienė 2013; Bezcioglu-Goktolga and Yagmur 2022), as is the parental wish that children are able to

communicate with extended family in their first language (e.g. Gibbons and Ramirez 2004b; Pavlenko 2004; Deakin 2016). Parents in a relatively large number of FLP studies (Lyon and Ellis 1991; Piller 2001; Curdt-Christiansen 2009; Guardado 2018; Kozminska and Zhu 2021; Ellis and Sims 2022) consider that languages open doors to future employment opportunities; language transmission is an investment in children's futures.

This research suggests that two of the ideological motivations (sections 4.2.5 The earlier the better, and 4.2.6 Increased cognitive abilities) were based on parents' interpretation of scientific research. This is consistent with King and Fogle's (2006) findings, where the parents of bilinguals drew their ideology selectively from research findings and popular literature to support their beliefs.

In addition to ideological motivations, the data revealed two language ideologies regarding how to raise a multilingual child. Parents were inspired by other polyglot families, and they often felt that it was important that the children had one main, primary language that they mastered at a high level that they could use as a referencing point in their multilingual realities. These are novel views that previous studies have not considered in length. Parents also discussed that they gifted the languages to children and were currently striving to transmit all languages as intended, but also gave them agency to choose, at a certain point in the future, whether they wanted to use these languages or not.

8.2.2 What are the parents' self-reported language strategies, and what are the parental experiences of implementing these strategies?

The second research objective was to investigate the parental language strategies and parental experiences implementing these strategies. The results emerging from this thesis can certainly throw some new light on the variety of strategies and methods of parents wishing to transmit multiple languages to their children.

The results of the study come as no surprise: there is no one-size-fits-all solution for multilingual families. Instead, the study reports different language methods within the home (OPOL, T&P, mL@h, 2P2L), parental approaches (discourse strategies, language resources), and multiple ways (childcare, school, immersion visits, language groups, extended family language support) that increase language exposure. Parents in the two areas consistently discussed similar approaches, many of which had also been previously

explored. This demonstrates the robustness of this investigation. The only exception to some literature was the provision of education available in both countries. Welsh-medium or Swedish-medium schools and pre-school settings enable bilingualism. The only difference in terms of language strategies between the two areas was home language instruction in Finland, which supports the child's heritage or minority language that is not an official language in the country, in an educational setting.

Parents readjusted or abandoned language strategies over time (Ștavans and Hoffman 2015, p. 216). This tended to occur when the children's behaviour conflicted with the parents' language goals. Parents often expected change, and changed strategies when there was a specific turning point, *muda* (Pujolar and Gonzàlez 2013), in the families' lives (such as moving to a different country or starting school or day-care); or it was a reaction to the children's linguistic behaviour (increased mixing, not speaking the target language). The case study families discussed *mudes*, such as starting day-care or school, which triggered a change in language exposure, and language use to favour the language of the care or educational facility.

The parents that reported little language transmission success of the foreign heritage language did not have a language community (such as local language groups or extended family locally) to support them. This is an alarming finding for those who may wish to transmit a language that is not supported by a group of speakers in the community or their area of residence.

8.2.3 How do parents perceive their experiences of raising multilingual children; and to what extent are these experiences shaped by their local community?

The third research objective defined at the start of this investigation was to examine the case study parents' experiences raising multilingual children in the bilingual capital city areas.

In this thesis, I wanted to draw on the differing sociolinguistic contexts under discussion to see the differences and similarities in the two areas investigated. Researching multilingualism in two bilingual areas revealed one considerable parallel when it comes to external factors: parental experiences of discrimination when speaking an official minority language. It is important to note that the respondents felt that ethno-linguistic stereotyping

and prejudice towards official minority language speakers were now much less obvious than in their childhood; this matter has had very few mentions in previous literature.

In data presented in Chapter 6, parents considered that the only distinguishing external factor negatively affecting the transmission process of a foreign language, FLP, and family wellbeing, was the Brexit referendum, and its perceived impact on people's behaviour and attitudes towards immigrants in Wales. This made some change their plans or FLP approach entirely; one family stopped speaking their native language in public as they feared standing out as foreigners.

Qualitative interview data from individual parents in this thesis indicate a crucial finding: most parents felt that transmission was less tidy than expected. De Houwer (2017) used two terms—frustrated bilingual development and harmonious bilingual development—to describe bilingual families' experiences. A sign of frustrated development may be dual-lingual conversation (Saville-Troike 1987), where the parent and the child refuse to speak a shared language, or a child struggles with phonetics, morphology, or grammar in one or more languages. Reported linguistic practices and observations reveal that frustrated development, non-transmission, and not achieving certain linguistic objectives are common, especially for foreign heritage languages.

My study also shows that parents doing what is believed to be the right thing (Chapter 5) does not necessarily fulfil the high expectations regarding children's language fluency based on parental language ideologies (Chapter 4). This limited understanding on the part of the parents may result in a sense of failure, self-doubt and disappointment when children do not grow as "perfectly balanced" bilinguals (Piller 2001, pp. 76-77). This can lead to change, or refusal of FLP and decreased wellbeing. Based on my research, the assumption that the non-transmission or slower than expected development leads to negative emotions for both children and a parent who has invested resources in language transmission (e.g. De Houwer 2017, p. 238), profoundly impacting the parent-child relationship (De Houwer 2009a, p. 311) appears to be justified. The case study parents' accounts reflected feelings of sadness, inadequacy, or disappointment as a result of the unsuccessful or lower than expected transmission. Parents may also feel insecure if they do not have the resources to support their children's language development sufficiently, which in turn may affect the children's wellbeing (De Houwer 2017, p. 232).

8.2.4 What are the multilingual children's own perceptions of becoming and being multilingual?

The final research objective outlined in section 1.3 was to determine the children's perceptions of growing up multilingual.

Possibly because of the nature of the study—the fact that parents who were selected as case study participants already had an interest in multilingual upbringing and had invested time and resources in it—the parents had perhaps spent more time discussing and implementing their FLP in a consistent manner. This may have impacted the children's solid awareness of the parental language strategies.

Many of the children's language ideologies reflected the parental ideologies, sometimes word-for-word. For instance, children said that speaking many languages would allow them to travel and work abroad. This was undoubtedly a parent's view echoed by the child. The evidence from my research strongly suggests that parents transmitted not only their languages, but also their language ideologies. One ideology that was likely organic to both via lived experience, was communication with extended family. Children had also acquired language ideologies that parents did not necessarily transmit, such as secret language (see e.g. Gibbons and Ramirez 2004b, p. 134), allowing them to use one of their languages outside the speaker community without others understanding what they were saying.

A critical finding was that all children found some parts of transmission difficult. This can lead to change, or refusal of FLP, and decreased wellbeing for the family. Children showed agency by resisting languages, language preference, language use, voicing opinions, and negotiating FLP. It seems that children often resisted the languages they perceived as most difficult (language preference). There is no clear indication of which came first: children's competence in a language, or their preference for that language.

It is essential to investigate children's experiences to understand the consequences of FLP (Wilson 2020a). The impact of FLP on family members can be dramatic. Children may feel uncomfortable, annoyed, over-worked, sad, or angry as a result of the parents' strict language principles; strict parental language transmission strategies may impact children's wellbeing negatively and be counterproductive (Wilson 2020a, pp. 135, 136). However, each family is unique. My research supports Wilson's (2020a) view that the same language policy may affect different children within the family in a number of ways. Strict conversational

strategies may stop the flow of conversation and lead to a refusal on the part of the child; for others, for instance, a family speaking two official languages that are fully supported, may find transmission relatively straightforward.

Both parents and children struggled with transmission at some point, especially foreign language transmission, impacting the family wellbeing. It is important to consider how the decision of non-transmission and possible communication barrier with extended family would impact family wellbeing (De Houwer 2021b). Failure to transmit a heritage language can make a family's life more difficult and trigger emotional suffering, causing feelings of guilt for both the child and the parent (Pietikäinen 2021). Wilson argues that "it is essential for parents to strike a balance between the necessity and desire to develop the HL, and a children's unique sense of linguistic and cultural identity" (Wilson 2020a, p. 137). Chapter 4 discussed parental ideologies. Striving for these sometimes elitist ideologies (such as "bilingualism is fun, natural, and good for cognitive development")—often portrayed in a positive light in the media or academic articles can sometimes be in conflict with the wellbeing of children and families (Pietikäinen 2021).

Despite the struggles of acquiring several languages, resistance and negative emotions towards language transmission, all children also expressed pride in their heritage, plurilingual identities, and being able to have skills in multiple languages. This was the underlying motivation to carry on developing or maintaining their languages. It gave them a unique skillset and identity to be proud of among their peers and in the language communities.

8.3 Limitations of the research

The sample of 14 case study families offers a good overview of a particular demographic group. The families are middle-class families of higher socioeconomic status; many parents had a postgraduate degree. There were a few mothers among the group in Wales who were currently supporting their professional worker partners by staying at home to look after the children. All parents at the time of the interview were aged over 30. The families in this study were traditional nuclear families other than one single-parent family and one blended family: all others had a mother and a father living under the same roof with their children together. This study does not investigate other family settings, such as adoptive families or

rainbow families. Families from different socioeconomic, ethnic, or linguistic communities may have resulted in different data.

The attitudes of communities and the status of languages are important factors in language transmission (Yamamoto 2002; Ștavans and Hoffman 2015; Smith-Christmas 2016a; Karpava 2022, p. 291). This study has revealed that these attitudes change over time and differ from place to place. Therefore, the sociocultural factors in the two areas at the time of data collection mean that the results of this study cannot reflect the multilingual families' experiences across the world or even the northern European countries' capital city areas.

It should be added that I only observed and gained recordings of each family for a short time; most observations lasted just a few hours during one afternoon. Also, another researcher may have come up with slightly different data.

Some may consider that the children participating in this research were not old enough to express experiences and beliefs in a consistent way (Gyogi 2015, p. 752); indeed, the youngest two participants were only four years old. However, there is at least one FLP study (Wilson 2020a) using younger children as data. Wilson argues that young children are capable of accurately describing their language practices, feelings and thoughts (p. 137).

There is a case for FLP and sociolinguistic studies, in general, to learn from the methodological approaches of other disciplines here, such as psychology, in which a wealth of very robust studies using various instruments and techniques specifically designed for researching children exists. Using different techniques to research young multilinguals, such as drawing (a method used by Melo-Pfeifer 2015 to analyse children's perception of the role of the family in heritage language acquisition), language portraits (see Purkarthofer 2019), or characters to both engage and help the children visualise their answers (Wilson 2019) have been proven beneficial.

Despite these limitations, the data gathered from the 14 case study families have identified several commonalities across the experiences of parents who are attempting to raise multilingual children.

8.4 Research implications

In this section, I discuss the implications of my research findings to language policy and practice and propose recommendations for parents of potentially multilingual children.

8.4.1 Policy and practice implications

This thesis could form the basis for understanding multilingual families' language transmission challenges. Many immigrant parents fail to transmit a heritage language to their children. More needs to be done from an early age if we want to release the potential of young learners' language skills. This strongly suggests that any future policy agenda, which is going to address the multilingual potential of second-generation immigrants, should consider practical support of heritage languages in mainstream education (like home language instruction in Finland) or include foreign heritage languages in the curriculum in other ways. Collaboration between families, schools, and language education policy is needed to support heritage language learners. Without the support of the school, parents often struggle to transmit heritage languages; perhaps the involvement of the education system is necessary to achieve some linguistic goals. This is where the new Curriculum for Wales has the potential to step in.

Heritage languages and multilingualism benefit both the society and individuals. Families who manage to maintain a heritage language add to the cultural diversity of a nation and can be a valuable resource to a country in terms of linguistic capital bringing economic benefits when it comes to the global economy and trade. For the family members, it can be significant in terms of identity or intergenerational communication (Yates and Terraschke 2013, pp. 105, 107-108). However, efforts to help immigrant communities to maintain their heritage languages have usually been left to the communities themselves:

> *It is only relatively recently that national governments have begun to realise the potential capital these linguistic resources can afford and have initiated some concrete measures such as including some of the major immigrant languages in school curricula on an optional basis* (Ștavans and Hoffman 2015, p. 66).

The findings of the current study highlight the importance of community-level language groups for foreign (heritage) language development. Supporting groups at the local authority level or promoting heritage languages would encourage multilingual families to

create a fully multilingual Wales or Finland. It is also worth considering if funding supplementary schools or lessons would be, in fact, beneficial not only for the potentially multilingual families, but also for the economy of the country.

8.4.2 Advice for parents or caregivers of potentially multilingual children

Migrant families and parents with potentially multilingual children will benefit from learning about the findings of this study. I hope it will promote the wellbeing of potentially multilingual families. It is important to remember that an approach that works for another polyglot family may not work for you, as every family, child, parent, and situation is unique.

First, it would be essential for each parent to consider carefully which languages they may wish to transmit and why. In other words, what are the ideological motivations for raising a multilingual child? Often parents want to encourage the children's sense of linguistic and cultural identity to support heritage language development (Wilson 2020a, p. 137). It may not be straightforward, but the benefit of knowing a heritage language may just be worth the effort. An important finding to emerge from the study is the wellbeing aspect. The wellbeing of different family members should be a primary consideration in the decision-making process. What are the implications if a certain language is, or is not, transmitted?

Nearly all children in this investigation reported not having good enough skills in at least one language. If multilingual children feel that they are not proficient enough in a language, the consequences for wellbeing can be disastrous. Those advocating multilingualism, and especially parents reaching for "the more, the merrier" (see section 4.2.4), may have to take a step back and consider if it is necessary, realistic, or beneficial for the child to acquire or learn more than two languages to use in everyday life. Maybe some languages should be secondary? Parental expectations are not always realistic; we need to lower our standards and practise more self-compassion. Language input, FLP, demands, or the environment need to be adjusted if a child's wellbeing suffers.

The findings suggest that children can feel overwhelmed by acquiring several languages simultaneously. Children may find juggling different languages complicated. I have also demonstrated that transmission, especially of foreign (heritage) languages, is not easy; each family member faced challenges and described the transmission process as being difficult. If a language is not used in the wider community, consider how realistic it is to develop and

maintain it once a child starts school and is immersed in the majority language environment full-time. Parents should involve the child from the start in the FLP, by explaining why specific languages are important; transmit your language ideologies along your language. Perhaps children have their own ideological motivations to acquire a language, such as having a secret language or being able to communicate with extended family.

Finally, it is crucial to formulate a clear plan of how to transmit the languages a child will use, or an FLP. Finding or setting up a network of language speakers in your area can help make your child feel pride in their multilingual identity. For parents of a potentially multilingual child, it is essential to consider who else, in addition to parents or caregivers, can strengthen the child's minority or heritage language (Nurmi et al. 2014, p. 56). A parent alone is often not enough to transmit a language; you are likely to need a local language community for support.

8.5 Recommendations for future research

This thesis has scratched the surface of the perceptions and experiences of multilingual families in two superdiverse (Vertovec 2007) areas. On the basis of the present study, I want to emphasise the importance of any future FLP research to concentrate on multilingual children and to listen to their experiences.

Building on the findings in this thesis, it would also be particularly valuable to do further research exploring the wellbeing of the potentially multilingual family to evaluate why so many suffer because of foreign language transmission, and what can be done to ease the load of developing foreign heritage languages. My research supports the view that multilingual transmission is challenging for children, especially if one of their languages is not widely spoken in the community. Indeed, De Houwer (2021a) suggests that future research should concentrate on how children growing up in multilingual environments manage the challenges with little support.

In addition to this, there needs to be more research on young adults who grew up in multilingual households (e.g. Fogle 2013), and multilingual older children (see e.g. Doyle 2013; Haim 2019). Fogle (2013, p. 196) recommends that FLP studies should take a long-term perspective to investigate changes over childhood rather than focus on one age group or range as it only represents a brief period in their development and a particular moment

in the family's FLP (Smith-Christmas 2016b, p. 29). It would be exciting to see what the case study family members discuss once the children have reached their teenage years or another critical transformative stage in their life. A follow-up study of how the children and parents are doing five to ten years on could give us valuable data. Perhaps the hierarchy of preferring certain languages has changed with the introduction of more MFL at school (see Arfon 2019, p. 63), a new approach, a change in family circumstances, or a new language policy that promotes multilingualism in education. It would also be interesting to see what the same parents and children discuss with the wisdom of hindsight. Would the children still resist heritage languages when they are older? Thomas (2012, p. 153) interviewed young adults who had had a bilingual upbringing. Few experienced inflexible FLP in a negative light, but most wished they had been pushed more to acquire their minority or heritage language (see also Macleod 2022, pp. 53-54).

There is little research on disabled multilingual children (e.g. Kremer-Sadlik 2005; Baker 2013; Hudry et al. 2018; Ward and Sanoudaki 2021; Davis et al. 2023), and I am yet to find FLP studies discussing disabled children. It would be an indispensable addition to the next phase of FLP studies that include a diversity of contexts (see King 2016). One of the case study children was going through an autism assessment at the time of data collection, and the parents described the child's language journey as very different from that of the sibling. Obtaining insights into how different learning impacts FLP and multilingualism may help us understand diverse families better.

Appendix A Glossary of terms and acronyms specific to Finland and Wales

Finland

Finlandssvenskar (Sv) Finland's Swedes, the Swedish language term for the Swedish-speaking population living in Finland. Finnish term: *suomenruotsalaiset*

Kielikylpy (Fi) Language bath, where at least half of the instruction is in Swedish (Bergroth 2015)

Pakkoruotsi (Fi) Compulsory Swedish, the obligatory Swedish language taught in Finnish schools. This term with a negative undertone was established in 1990 when the Finnish parliament rejected, after heated discussions, the proposal of removing the Swedish language from Finnish medium secondary schools (Ihalainen et al. 2011).

Perusopetukseen valmistava opetus (Fi) Instruction preparing for basic education. It involves teaching a pupil during the first year after immigration. It aims to: "give a pupil necessary readiness in the Finnish or the Swedish language and the necessary other readiness to moving to primary or basic education and promote pupils' balanced development and integration into the Finnish society"[52] (Opetushallitus 2015).

Ruotsi toisena kielenä (Fi), Svenska som andra språk (Sv) Swedish as a second language instruction in Finnish schools

Suomi toisena kielenä (Fi), Finska som andra språk (Sv) Finnish as a second language instruction in Finnish schools

Väestötietojärjestelmä (Fi) The Finnish Population Information System is a national register that contains basic information about Finnish citizens and permanent foreign citizens. The information is based on statutory notifications made by private individuals and public authorities (Väestörekisterikeskus 2019).

[52] "antaa oppilaalle tarvittavat valmiudet suomen tai ruotsin kielessä ja tarpeelliset muut valmiudet esiopetukseen tai perusopetukseen siirtymistä varten sekä edistää oppilaiden tasapainoista kehitystä ja kotoutumista suomalaiseen yhteiskuntaan."

Wales

Foundation Phase The statutory, play-based curriculum for all three to seven year olds in Wales was introduced in September 2010 (Welsh Government 2015). Welsh is taught to all 3-7 year olds as a part of the Foundation Phase (Jones 2016).

The Welsh Baccalaureate A qualification for 14-19-year-old students in Wales that can be studied in through the medium of English or Welsh, or a combination of the two languages (WJEC 2019).

Appendix B Autochthonous minority language promotion organisations, bodies, and agencies in Finland and Wales

Finland

Arbetets Vänner (1897) Friends of Work (Heikkilä 2011)

Svenska folkpartiet i Finland (1906) The Swedish People's Party of Finland (Heikkilä 2011)

Svenska folkskolans vänner (1882) Friends of the Swedish Elementary Schools, set up to cater for basic schooling and libraries, and to publish educative books for the Swedish-speaking population in Finland (Heikkilä 2011)

Svenska kulturfonden (1908) The Swedish Cultural Foundation in Finland (Heikkilä 2011)

Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland (1885) The Society of Swedish Literature in Finland (Heikkilä 2011)

Wales

Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg (1962) The Welsh Language Society, the most significant radical pressure group of its time (Jones and Lewis 2019, p. 127)

Cymraeg for Kids A Welsh Government scheme supporting parents to use the Welsh with their children. The scheme is regulated by *Mudiad Meithrin* (Welsh Government 2019)

Mudiad Meithrin (1971) Organises Welsh medium nursery provision and parent and toddler groups. They also publish Welsh medium pre-school materials and training packs, and train nursery group leaders and workers (Jones and Jones 2014).

Plaid Cymru (1925) A political party in Wales promoting the Welsh independence and Welsh language. Started off as a right-wing movement, now a party of nationalist left (Brooks 2017 p.121, 126). First seat in the UK Parliament in 1966 (Brooks 2017 p.120).

The National Assembly for Wales (1999) Inherited the Welsh Office responsibilities. Full law-making powers were gradually transferred to Wales between 2006 and 2011 (Jones and Lewis 2019, pp. 132-133). The Welsh Assembly Government was renamed the Welsh Government in 2011 by practice and by law in 2014.

The Welsh Language Board (1993) Now called the Welsh Language Service. A government

funded body to “promote and facilitate” the use of the Welsh language (Welsh Language Service 2019). The Welsh Language Act of 1993 promoted it to a fully-fledged language promotion agency (Jones and Lewis 2019, p. 128). Abolished in 2012 following the approval of the Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011 (Welsh Government 2023).

The Welsh Language Commissioner (2011) The Welsh Language Measure created the role of the Welsh Language Commissioner (see Appendix C). After the abolishment of the Welsh Language Board, their work was transferred to the Welsh Language Commissioner and the Welsh Government (Welsh Government 2023).

The Welsh Language Petition Committee (1938) Collected 360,000 signatures supporting the general public status of the language (Jones and Lewis 2019, p. 126)

Undeb Cenedlaethol y Cymdeithasau Cymraeg (1913) National Union of Welsh Societies (Jones and Lewis 2019)

Urdd Gobaith Cymru (1922) Welsh League of Youth (Jones and Lewis 2019, p. 124). The largest youth organisation promoting Welsh language (Thomas and Williams 2013 p. 41, Bilingual Cardiff 2016)

Books Council of Wales, Cyngor Llyfrau Cymru (1961) Previously known as Welsh Books Council. Welsh government funded body providing a focus for the publishing industry in Wales (Welsh Books Council 2019)

Appendix C Legislative support for language rights

Finland

Act on Early Childhood Education and Care (Oikeusministeriö 2018)[53]

Section 3 Aims of early childhood education and care

The aims of the early childhood education and care referred to in this Act are to:

6) provide all children with equal opportunities for early childhood education and care, promote parity and gender equality, and help the children develop their capacity to understand and respect the general cultural heritage and each other's linguistic, cultural, religious and ideological background;[54]

Section 8 Language used in early childhood education and care

Municipalities shall ensure that a child can get early childhood education and care in Finnish or Swedish, or in a Sámi language referred to in section 3, paragraph 1 of the Act on Sámi Languages (1086/2003), depending on which of these is the child's mother tongue.

In bilingual municipalities or joint municipal authorities comprising both Finnish and Swedish-speaking municipalities, early childhood education and care is organised in both languages of the municipality or joint municipal authority, so that the users of the service can obtain early childhood education and care in the language of their choice, in either Finnish or Swedish (Opetus- ja kulttuuriministeriö 2018).[55]

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[53] *Varhaiskasvatuslaki* (Fi) *Lag om småbarnspedagogik* (Sv)

[54] 3 § Varhaiskasvatuksen tavoitteet

Tässä laissa tarkoitetun varhaiskasvatuksen tavoitteena on: 6) antaa kaikille lapsille yhdenvertaiset mahdollisuudet varhaiskasvatukseen, edistää yhdenvertaisuutta ja sukupuolten tasa-arvoa sekä antaa valmiuksia ymmärtää ja kunnioittaa yleistä kulttuuriperinnettä sekä kunkin kielellistä, kulttuurista, uskonnollista ja katsomuksellista taustaa;

[55] 8 § Varhaiskasvatuksen kieli

Kunnan on huolehdittava siitä, että lapsi voi saada varhaiskasvatusta lapsen äidinkielenä olevalla suomen tai ruotsin kielellä tai saamen kielilain (1086/2003) 3 §:n 1 kohdassa tarkoitetulla saamen kielellä. Kaksikielisessä kunnassa ja kaksikielisiä tai sekä suomen ja ruotsinkielisiä kuntia käsittävässä kuntayhtymässä varhaiskasvatus järjestetään kunnan tai kuntayhtymän molemmilla kielillä siten, että palvelunkäyttäjä saa varhaiskasvatusta valitsemallaan kielellään, joko suomeksi tai ruotsiksi.

The basic education act (Oikeusministeriö 1998)[56]

Section 6 The determination of a pupil's school

The local authority shall assign to a child of compulsory school age and others receiving education under this Act a neighbourhood school or some other appropriate place where education is given under Section 4(1) and (2) in his or her native language in which the local authority is obliged to provide education.[57]

Section 7 Registered association or foundation as education provider

The government may authorise a registered association or a foundation to provide education referred to in this Act. Such an authorisation shall be conditional on a specific educational or cultural need for the provision and on an agreement between the education provider and the local authority in whose area the education is provided. An authorisation may be granted to provide education by the medium of a foreign language, special-needs education, education according to a particular ideology or education for students other than children of compulsory school age on the grounds of regional or national educational and cultural needs even though the education provider has not concluded an agreement referred to above. The authorisation may also be granted for education provided abroad.[58]

Section 10 Language of instruction

The language of instruction and the language used in extracurricular teaching shall be either

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[56] *Perusopetuslaki* (Fi) *Lag om grundläggande utbildning* (Sv)

[57] 6 § Oppilaan koulupaikan määräytyminen

Kunta osoittaa oppivelvolliselle ja muulle tässä laissa tarkoitettua opetusta saavalle 1 momentin mukaisen lähikoulun tai muun soveltuvan paikan, jossa tämän lain 4 §:n 1 ja 2 momentin mukaisesti annetaan opetusta sellaisella oppilaan omalla kielellä, jolla kunta on velvollinen opetusta järjestämään.

[58] 7 § Rekisteröity yhteisö tai säätiö opetuksen järjestäjänä

Valtioneuvosto voi myöntää rekisteröidylle yhteisölle tai säätiölle luvan tässä laissa tarkoitetun opetuksen järjestämiseen. Luvan myöntämisen edellytyksenä on, että opetuksen järjestäminen perustuu erityiseen koulutus tai sivistystarpeeseen ja että opetuksen järjestäjä ja kunta, jossa opetusta järjestetään, ovat sopineet asiasta. Lupa vieraskielisen opetuksen, erityisopetuksen, erityiseen maailmankatsomukselliseen tai kasvatusopilliseen järjestelmään perustuvan opetuksen ja kansanopistossa muille kuin oppivelvollisille annettavan opetuksen järjestämiseen voidaan myöntää alueellisen tai valtakunnallisen koulutus tai sivistystarpeen perusteella, vaikka opetuksen järjestäjä ei ole tehnyt edellä tarkoitettua sopimusta. Lupa voidaan myöntää myös ulkomailla järjestettävää opetusta varten.

Finnish or Swedish. The language of instruction may also be Sámi, Roma or sign language. In addition, part of teaching may be given in a language other than the pupils' native language referred to above, provided that this does not risk the pupils' ability to follow teaching. (Amendment 1288/1999)

Additionally, in a separate teaching group or in a separate school, teaching may be given primarily or totally in a language other than those referred to in subsection 1.[59]

Section 12 Mother tongue

As mother tongue, the pupil shall be taught Finnish, Swedish or Sámi in keeping with the language of instruction.

As mother tongue, the pupil may also be taught the Roma language, sign language or some other language which is the pupil's native language.[60]

National Core Curriculum for Early Childhood Education and Care 2022 (Opetushallitus 2022)[61]

4.6. Special perspectives of language and culture

In the national core curriculum for early childhood education and care, perspectives related to language and culture are considered to apply to every child participating in ECEC. Children's varying linguistic and cultural backgrounds and capabilities are perceived to enrich the community in a positive way. In linguistically and culturally aware ECEC, languages, cultures, and worldviews are integrated in all activity.

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[59] 10 § Opetuskieli

Koulun opetuskieli ja muualla kuin koulussa järjestettävässä opetuksessa käytettävä kieli on joko suomi tai ruotsi. Opetuskielenä voi olla myös saame, romani tai viittomakieli. Lisäksi osa opetuksesta voidaan antaa muulla kuin edellä mainitulla oppilaan omalla kielellä, jos se ei vaaranna oppilaan mahdollisuuksia seurata opetusta. (23.12.1999/1288)

Lisäksi erillisessä opetusryhmässä tai koulussa opetus voidaan antaa pääosin tai kokonaan muulla kuin 1 momentissa mainitulla kielellä.

[60] 12 § Äidinkielen opetus

Äidinkielenä opetetaan oppilaan opetuskielen mukaisesti suomen, ruotsin tai saamen kieltä.

Äidinkielenä voidaan huoltajan valinnan mukaan opettaa myös romanikieltä, viittomakieltä tai muuta oppilaan äidinkieltä.

[61] *Varhaiskasvatussuunnitelman perusteet*

According to the Act on Early Childhood Education and Care, the municipality must ensure that the child can be provided with ECEC in child's mother tongue if the language is Finnish, Swedish or Sámi. ECEC may be provided in sign language for children using sign language. ECEC may also be provided in the Roma language. Also other languages can be used in ECEC, provided that this does not risk the achievement of the objectives set in the core curriculum. In such cases, it shall be ensured that the development of Finnish/Swedish as the child's mother tongue is also supported.

Cooperation between personnel, guardians and different cultural communities supports the cultural traditions of children and families as well as the children's opportunities for demonstrating their cultural backgrounds. Children are encouraged to interact in bilingual and multilingual environments.

In ECEC, there are children who speak both Finnish and Swedish as their mother tongue. It is important for the development of these children's language skills and identities that both languages are supported, and the children are encouraged to use them.[62]

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[62] 4.6. Kieleen ja kulttuuriin liittyviä tarkentavia näkökulmia

Varhaiskasvatussuunnitelman perusteissa kieleen ja kulttuuriin liittyvien näkökohtien katsotaan koskevan jokaista varhaiskasvatukseen osallistuvaa lasta. Lasten vaihtelevat kielelliset ja kulttuuriset taustat ja valmiudet nähdään yhteisöä myönteisellä tavalla rikastuttavana. Kieli- ja kulttuuritietoisessa varhaiskasvatuksessa kielet, kulttuurit ja katsomukset nivoutuvat osaksi varhaiskasvatuksen kokonaisuutta.

Varhaiskasvatuslain mukaan kunnan on huolehdittava siitä, että lapsi voi saada varhaiskasvatusta lapsen äidinkielenä olevalla suomen, ruotsin tai saamen kielellä. Viittomakieltä käyttävälle lapselle voidaan antaa varhaiskasvatusta viittomakielellä. Varhaiskasvatusta voidaan antaa myös romanikielellä. Varhaiskasvatuksessa voidaan käyttää myös muita kieliä, kun se ei vaaranna varhaiskasvatussuunnitelman perusteissa asetettujen tavoitteiden saavuttamista. Tällöin tulee huolehtia myös lasten äidinkielenä olevan suomen/ruotsin kielen taidon kehittymisen tukemisesta.

Henkilöstön, huoltajien ja eri kulttuuriyhteisöjen keskinäisellä yhteistyöllä edistetään lasten ja perheiden kulttuuriperinteen jatkumista ja tuetaan lasten mahdollisuutta ilmentää omia kulttuuritaustojaan. Kaksi- ja monikielisissä ympäristöissä lapsia rohkaistaan vuorovaikutukseen.

Varhaiskasvatukseen osallistuu lapsia, jotka puhuvat äidinkielinään sekä ruotsia että suomea. Näiden kaksikielisten lasten kielellisen kehityksen sekä identiteettien kehityksen kannalta on tärkeää, että molempia kieliä tuetaan ja lapsia kannustetaan niiden käyttöön.

Early Childhood Education Act[63]

The Sámi, as an indigenous people, as well as the Roma and other groups, have the right to maintain and develop their own language and culture. Provisions on the right of the Sámi to use the Sámi language before the authorities are laid down by an Act. The rights of persons using sign language and of persons in need of interpretation or translation aid owing to disability shall be guaranteed by an Act.[64]

Wales

Welsh Courts Act 1942 (The National Archives 1942)

CHAPTER 40

An Act to repeal section seventeen of the statute 27 Hen. 8. c. 26, to remove doubt as to the right of Welsh-speaking persons to testify in the Welsh language in courts of justice in Wales, and to enable rules to be made for the administration of oaths and affirmations in that language, and for the provision, employment, and payment, of interpreters in such courts.

Welsh Language Act 1967 (The National Archives 1967)

Use of Welsh in legal proceedings.

(1) In any legal proceeding in Wales or Monmouthshire the Welsh language may be spoken by any party, witness or other person who desires to use it, subject in the case of proceedings in a court other than a magistrates' court to such prior notice as may be required by rules of court; and any necessary provision for interpretation shall be made accordingly.

4 References to England in future Acts not to include Wales.

Section 3 of the Wales and Berwick Act 1746 (which provides that references in Acts of Parliament to England include references to Wales and Berwick) shall have effect in relation

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[63] *Varhaiskasvatuslaki*

[64] Saamelaisilla alkuperäiskansana sekä romaneilla ja muilla ryhmillä on oikeus ylläpitää ja kehittää omaa kieltään ja kulttuuriaan. Saamelaisten oikeudesta käyttää saamen kieltä viranomaisessa säädetään lailla. Viittomakieltä käyttävien sekä vammaisuuden vuoksi tulkitsemis ja käännösapua tarvitsevien oikeudet turvataan lailla.

to any Act passed after this Act as if the words " dominion of Wales and " were omitted.

Education Reform Act 1988 (The National Archives 1988)

Power to make different provision for Wales in regulations under the 1944 and 1967 Acts.

(2) In section 4 of the Education Act 1967 (loans for capital expenditure for purposes of colleges of education), after subsection (3) there shall be inserted the following subsection—

"(3A) Regulations under this section may make in relation to Wales provision different from that made in relation to England."

Welsh Language Act 1993 (The National Archives 1993)

CHAPTER 38

An Act to establish a Board having the function of promoting and facilitating the use of the Welsh language, to provide for the preparation by public bodies of schemes giving effect to the principle that in the conduct of public business and the administration of justice in Wales the English and Welsh languages should be treated on a basis of equality, to make further provision relating to the Welsh language, to repeal certain spent enactments relating to Wales, and for connected purposes.

The Welsh Language (Wales) measure (The National Archives 2011)[65]

PART 1

OFFICIAL STATUS OF THE WELSH LANGUAGE

1 Official status of the Welsh language

(1)The Welsh language has official status in Wales.

(2)Without prejudice to the general principle of subsection (1), the official status of the Welsh language is given legal effect by the enactments about—

(a)duties on bodies to use the Welsh language, and the rights which arise from the enforceability of those duties, which enable Welsh speakers to use the language in dealings

[65] *Mesur y Gymraeg (Cymru) 2011*

with those bodies (such as the provision of services by those bodies);

(b)the treatment of the Welsh language no less favourably than the English language;

(c)the validity of the use of the Welsh language;

(d)the promotion and facilitation of the use of the Welsh language;

(e)the freedom of persons wishing to use the Welsh language to do so with one another;

(f)the creation of the Welsh Language Commissioner; and

(g)other matters relating to the Welsh language.

(3)Those enactments include (but are not limited to) the enactments which—

(a)require the Welsh and English languages to be treated on the basis of equality in the conduct of the proceedings of the National Assembly for Wales;

(b)confer a right to speak the Welsh language in legal proceedings in Wales;

(c)give equal standing to the Welsh and English texts of—

(i)Measures and Acts of the National Assembly for Wales, and

(ii)subordinate legislation;

(d)impose a duty on the Welsh Ministers to adopt a strategy setting out how they propose to promote and facilitate the use of the Welsh language;

(e)create standards of conduct that relate to the use of the Welsh language, or the treatment of the Welsh language no less favourably than the English language, in connection with—

(i)delivering services,

(ii)making policy, and

(iii)exercising functions or conducting businesses and other undertakings;

(f)create standards of conduct in promoting and facilitating the use of the Welsh language;

(g)create standards of conduct for keeping records in connection with the Welsh language;

(h)impose a duty to comply with those standards of conduct that are created, and create remedies for failures to comply with them; and

(i)create the Welsh Language Commissioner with functions that include—

(i)promoting the use of the Welsh language,

(ii)facilitating the use of the Welsh language,

(iii)working towards ensuring that the Welsh language is treated no less favourably than the English language,

(iv)conducting inquiries into matters relating to the Commissioner's functions, and

(v)investigating interference with the freedom to use the Welsh language.

(4)This Measure does not affect the status of the English language in Wales.[66]

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[66] 1 Statws swyddogol y Gymraeg

(1)Mae statws swyddogol i'r Gymraeg yng Nghymru.

(2)Heb ragfarnu egwyddor gyffredinol is-adran (1), rhoddir effaith gyfreithiol i statws swyddogol y Gymraeg drwy gyfrwng deddfiadau ynghylch y canlynol—

(a)dyletswyddau ar gyrff i ddefnyddio'r Gymraeg, a'r hawliau sy'n deillio o allu gorfodi'r dyletswyddau hynny, sy'n galluogi siaradwyr Cymraeg i ddefnyddio'r iaith yn ymwneud y cyrff hynny â hwy (megis darparu gwasanaethau gan y cyrff hynny);

(b)peidio â thrin y Gymraeg yn llai ffafriol na'r Saesneg;

(c)dilysrwydd defnyddio'r Gymraeg;

(d)hybu a hwyluso defnyddio'r Gymraeg;

(e)rhyddid personau sy'n dymuno defnyddio'r Gymraeg i wneud hynny gyda'i gilydd;

(f)creu swydd Comisiynydd y Gymraeg; ac

(g)materion eraill sy'n ymwneud â'r Gymraeg.

(3)Mae'r deddfiadau hynny'n cynnwys deddfiadau sy'n gwneud y canlynol (ond nid ydynt wedi eu cyfyngu iddynt)—

(a)ei gwneud yn ofynnol i'r Gymraeg a'r Saesneg gael eu trin ar y sail eu bod yn gyfartal yn nhrafodion Cynulliad Cenedlaethol Cymru;

(b)rhoi hawl i siarad Cymraeg mewn achosion cyfreithiol yng Nghymru;

(c)rhoi statws cyfartal i destunau Cymraeg a Saesneg—

(i)Mesurau a Deddfau Cynulliad Cenedlaethol Cymru, a

(ii)is-ddeddfwriaeth;

(d)gosod dyletswydd ar Weinidogion Cymru i fabwysiadu strategaeth sy'n nodi sut y maent yn bwriadu hybu a hwyluso defnyddio'r Gymraeg;

(e)creu safonau ymddygiad sy'n ymwneud â defnyddio'r Gymraeg, neu â pheidio â thrin y Gymraeg yn llai ffafriol na'r Saesneg, mewn cysylltiad—

(i)â chyflenwi gwasanaethau,

National Assembly for Wales (Official Languages) Act 2012 (The National Archives 2012)

An Act of the National Assembly for Wales to make provision about the use of the English and Welsh languages in proceedings of the National Assembly for Wales and in the discharge of the functions of the Assembly Commission.

1Amendment to section 35 of the Act (Equality of treatment)

(1)Section 35 of the Government of Wales Act 2006 (c.32) ("the Act") is amended as follows.

(2)For subsection (1), substitute—

"(1)The official languages of the Assembly are English and Welsh.

(1A)The official languages must, in the conduct of Assembly proceedings, be treated on a basis of equality.

(1B)All persons have the right to use either official language when participating in Assembly proceedings.

(1C)Reports of Assembly proceedings must, in the case of proceedings which fall within section 1(5)(a) (proceedings of the Assembly), contain a record of what was said, in the official language in which it was said, and also a full translation into the other official language.

(1D)Paragraph 8 of Schedule 2 makes provision about how the Assembly Commission must

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(ii)â llunio polisi, a

(iii)ag arfer swyddogaethau neu gynnal busnesau neu ymgymeriadau eraill;

(f)creu safonau ymddygiad o ran hybu a hwyluso defnyddio'r Gymraeg;

(g)creu safonau ymddygiad ar gyfer cadw cofnodion mewn cysylltiad â'r Gymraeg;

(h)gosod dyletswydd i gydymffurfio â'r safonau ymddygiad hynny sy'n cael eu creu, a chreu rhwymedïau am fethiannau i gydymffurfio â hwy; ac

(i)creu swydd Comisiynydd y Gymraeg a chanddi swyddogaethau sy'n cynnwys—

(i)hybu defnyddio'r Gymraeg,

(ii)hwyluso defnyddio'r Gymraeg,

(iii)gweithio tuag at sicrhau nad yw'r Gymraeg yn cael ei thrin yn llai ffafriol na'r Saesneg,

(iv)cynnal ymholiadau i faterion sy'n ymwneud â swyddogaethau'r Comisiynydd, a

(v)ymchwilio i ymyrraeth â'r rhyddid i ddefnyddio'r Gymraeg.

(4)Nid yw'r Mesur hwn yn effeithio ar statws y Saesneg yng Nghymru.

enable effect to be given to subsections (1) to (1C).”

Foundation Phase Framework (Welsh Government 2015)

Personal and Social Development, Wellbeing and Cultural Diversity Area of Learning

They develop an understanding that others have differing needs, abilities, beliefs and views. The Foundation Phase supports the cultural identity of all children, to celebrate different cultures and help children recognise and gain a positive awareness of their own and other cultures. Positive attitudes should be developed to enable children to become increasingly aware of, and appreciate the value of, the diversity of cultures and languages that exist in a multicultural Wales. They should become increasingly aware of the traditions and celebrations that are important aspects of the cultures within Wales.

Appendix D Participant information sheets (Fi/Sv)

Tiedote haastatteluista ja havainnoinnista tutkittaville vanhemmille

Nimeni on Kaisa Pankakoski ja olen väitöskirjaopiskelija Cardiffin yliopiston kymrin kielen laitoksella Walesissa.

Haluaisin kutsua teidät osallistumaan tutkimukseeni. Osallistuminen on täysin vapaaehtoista. Kerään aineistoa väitöskirjaani varten ja olisin kiitollinen perheenne avusta.

Väitöskirjatutkimukseni tavoitteena on saada lisää tietoa Helsingin ja Walesin pääkaupungin Cardiffin kolmikielisten perheiden taustoista. Väitöskirjani tarkoituksena on tutkia kuinka paljon eri tekijät vaikuttavat kolmikielisten lasten kielten omaksumiseen.

Tutkimus tuottaa myös vertailevan analyysin kolmekielisistä perheistä kahdessa kaksikielisessä kaupungissa. Tutkin kolmikielisten perheiden haasteita ja mahdollisuuksia.

Haastattelen molempia vanhempia ja lapsia sekä lähetän kyselyn mahdolliselle laajennetun perheen jäsenelle, joka puhuu lapsille vähemmistökieltä. Lisäksi tulen havainnoimaan perhettä noin tunnin ajan.

Väitöskirja julkaistaan Cardiffin yliopiston sivustolla. Osia haastatteluista tullaan mainitsemaan tutkimuksessa ja akateemisissa artikkeleissa. Henkilökohtaisia tietoja, joista voisi saada selville tutkittavan nimen ei tulla julkaisemaan. Nauhoituksia ei myöskään tuoda julkisuuteen. Äänitykset haastatteluista ja/tai havainnoinneista, muistiinpanot, litterointi ja suostumuslomake säilytetään salasanalla suojatulla tietokoneella Iso-Britannian tietosuojasäädöksen (1998) mukaisesti. Kopiot säilytetään lukitussa tilassa ja tuhotaan myöhemmin.

Aineistonkeräys Helsingissä on Opetushallituksen ja Iso-Britannian Philolgical Society:n rahoittama.

Jos sinulla on kysymyksiä projektin suhteen tai haluat lisätietoja, voit ottaa yhteyttä tutkijaan: Kaisa Pankakoski, sähköpostiosoite: PankakoskiKM@Cardiff.ac.uk tai Cardiffin yliopiston kymrin kielen laitoksen johtajaan: the Head of the School of Welsh, Professor Sioned Davies, sähköpostiosoite: daviessm@cardiff.ac.uk.

Formulär för föräldrar om intervjuer och observation

Jag heter Kaisa Pankakoski, doktorand vid School of Welsh, Cardiff University.

Jag bjuder in dig att delta i mitt forskningsprojekt. Att delta i projektet är helt frivilligt. Jag samlar in information för min doktorsavhandling och vore tacksam om du kunde hjälpa mig.

I min avhandling studerar jag familjers trespråkighet i Helsingfors och Cardiff. Syftet med avhandlingen är att klarlägga i vilken utsträckning olika faktorer påverkar trespråkiga barns språköverföring.

Studien kommer också att innehålla en jämförande analys av trespråkiga familjer i två olika tvåspråkiga samhällen samt behandla de möjligheter och utmaningar familjerna möter i barnuppfostran.

Jag kommer att intervjua föräldrar och barn samt den utökade familjen. Min plan är också att få tillbringa en eftermiddag med familjen och observera hur familjemedlemmarna fungerar språkmässigt tillsammans.

Uppsatsen kommer att publiceras på Cardiff University ORCA webbplats.

Delar av intervjun kommer att citeras i uppsatsen och i vetenskapliga artiklar. Inga personuppgifter som kan leda till att en deltagares namn avslöjas kommer att publiceras och inspelningar av deltagare kommer inte att vara tillgängliga för allmänheten. Sessionerna kommer att spelas in och inspelningen, anteckningarna, transkriptionen och medgivande kommer att förvaras på en dator bakom ett lösenord enligt villkoren i Storbritanniens Dataskyddslag (1998). En kopia kommer att hållas i låst förvaring och sedan förstöras.

Fältarbetet finansieras av Utbildningsstyrelsen och Storbritanniens Philological Society.

Om du har frågor gällande detta projekt eller om du önskar få mer information, vänligen kontakta Kaisa Pankakoski, PankakoskiKM@cardiff.ac.uk eller the Head of the School of Welsh, Professor Sioned Davies, daviessm@cardiff.ac.uk.

Appendix E Participant information sheets (En/Cy)

Taflen wybodaeth rhieni ar gyfer cyfweliadau ac arsylwi

Kaisa Pankakoski ydw i, myfyrwraig PhD yn Ysgol y Gymraeg, Prifysgol Caerdydd.

Hoffwn eich gwahodd chi i gymryd rhan mewn prosiect ymchwil. Mae cymryd rhan yn y prosiect yn gwbl wirfoddol. Rwy'n casglu'r wybodaeth ar gyfer fy nhraethawd PhD a byddwn yn hynod ddiolchgar am eich cymorth.

Mae gen i ddiddordeb gwybod am gefndir teuluoedd teirieithog yn Helsinki ac yng Nghaerdydd. Prif nod fy noethuriaeth yw archwilio i ba raddau mae agweddau yn dylanwadu ar drosglwyddiad iaith mewn plant teirieithog.

Bydd y ddoethuriaeth hefyd yn darparu dadansoddiad cymharol o deuluoedd teirieithog mewn dwy gymuned ddwyieithog wahanol a'r heriau a'r cyfleoedd sy'n gysylltiedig â magu plant yn deirieithog.

Byddaf yn cynnal cyfweliadau gyda rhieni, plant a theuluoedd estynedig. Hefyd byddaf yn arsylwi'r teulu.

Bydd y traethawd yn cael ei gyhoeddi ar wefan ORCA Prifysgol Caerdydd. Bydd rhannau o'r cyfweliad yn cael eu dyfynnu yn y traethawd ac mewn erthyglau academaidd. Ni fydd unrhyw fanylion personol a all arwain at ddatgelu enw cyfranogwr yn cael eu rhyddhau ac ni fydd recordiad cyfranogwr ar gael yn gyhoeddus. Bydd y sesiynau yn cael eu recordio a bydd y recordiad, y nodiadau, y trawsgrifiad a'r ffurflen gydsynio yn cael eu cadw ar gyfrifiadur o dan amodau Deddf Gwarchod Data (1998) ac o dan gyfrinair. Bydd copi caled yn cael ei gadw dan glo ac yna yn cael ei ddileu.

Caiff y prosiect ei ariannu gan Fwrdd Addysg y Ffindir a Chymdeithas Ffilolegol Prydain Fawr.

Os bydd gennych gwestiynau ynghylch y prosiect, cysylltwch â Kaisa Pankakoski: PankakoskiKM@caerdydd.ac.uk neu Pennaeth Ysgol y Gymraeg, Yr Athro Sioned Davies, Prifysgol Caerdydd: daviessm@caerdydd.ac.uk.

Information sheet for parents regarding interviews and observation

I am Kaisa Pankakoski, a PhD student in the School of Welsh, Cardiff University.

I would like to invite you to take part in a research project. Taking part in the project is completely voluntary. I am gathering information for my PhD, and I would be delighted if you would be willing to help.

I am interested in learning about the backgrounds of trilingual families in Helsinki and Cardiff. The aim of my PhD thesis is to examine to what extent different factors influence trilingual children's language transmission.

The research I am conducting will also provide an analysis of two different bilingual communities' trilingual families and the challenges and opportunities in raising children trilingually.

I will be holding interviews with parents and children. There will also be an online questionnaire sent to the possible extended family members. In addition to that I will spend about one hour observing the family.

The thesis will be published on Cardiff University's ORCA website. Parts of the interview will be quoted in the thesis and in academic articles. No personal details which could lead to a participant's name being revealed will be released and a recording of a participant will not be made publicly available. The sessions will be recorded and the recording, the notes, the transcription and the consent form will be kept on a computer under the terms of the Data Protection Act (1998), protected by a password. A hard copy will be kept securely locked and then destroyed.

The fieldwork is funded by the Finnish National Agency for Education and the Philolgical Society in Great Britain.

Should you have any further questions regarding the project or should you require further information, please contact Kaisa Pankakoski at PankakoskiKM@cardiff.ac.uk or the Head of the School of Welsh, Professor Sioned Davies, Cardiff University at daviessm@cardiff.ac.uk

Appendix F Consent forms for parents (Fi/Sv)

Prifysgol Caerdydd
Adeilad John Percival
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Caerdydd, CF10 3EU
Cymru, Y Deyrnas Gyfunol
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www.caerdydd.ac.uk/cymraeg

Cardiff University
John Percival Building
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Cardiff CF10 3EU
Wales UK

SAMTYCKE TILL DELTA I UNDERSÖKNING

SUOSTUMUS TUTKIMUKSEEN OSALLISTUMISESTA

(INTERVJU OCH OBSERVATION/HAASTATTELU JA OBSERVOINTI)

Projektets rubrik: Trespråkiga familjer i Finland och Wales: sociolingvistik, metoder för överföring av minoritetsspråk över generationsgränserna, hinder för språkutveckling och barns perspektiv./
Tutkimuksen nimi: Kolmikieliset perheet Suomessa ja Walesissa: sosiolingvistiikka, sukupolvien välinen vähemmistökieli ja sen tukemisen metodit, kielenkehityksen esteet sekä lasten näkokulmat.

Projektets bakgrundsinformation: Doktorsavhandlingen undersöker trespråkiga familjer i Helsingfors och Cardiff. Syftet med denna undersökning är att undersöka vilka spekter påverkar språköverföring hos trespråkiga barn./
Taustatietoa tutkimuksesta: Väitöskirja käsittelee kolmikielisiä perheitä Helsingissä ja Cardiffissa. Tutkimuksen tarkoitus on tarkastella mitkä tekijät vaikuttavat kolmikielisten lasten kielten omaksumiseen.

Om du har frågor gällande detta projekt kan du kontakta Kaisa Pankakoski, School of Welsh, Cardiff University, John Percival Building, Colum Drive, Cardiff, CF10 3EU, Wales. E-post: PankakoskiKM@Cardiff.ac.uk

Om du har frågor gällande metoder eller etik kan du kontakta: Head of the School of Welsh, Professor Sioned Davies, Cardiff University, Wales. E-post daviessm@cardiff.ac.uk Telefon: +44 (0)29 2087 5321.

Jos tutkittavalla on kysymyksiä projektin suhteen voit ottaa yhteyttä tutkijaan: Kaisa Pankakoski, School of Welsh, Cardiff University, John Percival Building, Colum Drive, Cardiff, CF10 3EU, Wales. Sähköpostiosoite: PankakoskiKM@Cardiff.ac.uk

Tutkimuksen eettisissä ja menetelmiä koskevissa kysymyksissä voit ottaa yhteyttä yliopiston kymrin kielen laitoksen johtajaan: Head of the School of Welsh, Professor Sioned Davies, Cardiff University, Wales. Sähköpostiosoite: daviessm@cardiff.ac.uk Puhelinnumero: +44 (0)29 2087 5321.

Del 1: Information om deltagaren

Osa 1: Tiedot tutkittavasta

Namn

Nimi_____

Namnet på den organisation du representerar (i förekommande fall)

Edustamasi organisaationnimi (mikäli tarpeen) _____

Del 2: Intyg om samtycke

Jag intygar att jag är över 16 år och samtycker till att delta i den här intervjun som är en del av ovanstående projekt [Datum för intervjun: __/__/____].

1. Jag har läst informationen i detta dokument.

2. Information om förfaranden och risker har förklarats för mig på ett tillfredsställande sätt.

3. Jag ger mitt samtycke till att intervjun kommer att spelas in samt till att inspelningen anteckningarna/ transkriptionen, tillsammans med detta dokument, kommer att förvaras på en dator bakom ett lösenord enligt villkoren i Storbritanniens Dataskyddslag (1998). En kopia kommer att hållas i låst förvaring.

4. Jag är medveten om att jag bör behålla en kopia av detta dokument som referens.

Jag förstår:

- Att jag kanske inte får direkt fördel av att delta i detta projekt.
- Att jag kan fritt dra mig ur projektet när som helst och låta bli att svara på vissa frågor.
- Om jag skulle bestämma mig för att dra mig ur projektet kommer det inte att påverka någon tjänst som tillhandahålls för mig av Cardiff University.
- Jag kan begära att inspelningen avbryts när som helst och och jag kan dra mig ur intervjun när som helst utan att det orsakar mig någon personlig nackdel.

Jag godkänner/Jag godkänner inte* att inspelningen/anteckningarna eller transkriptionen kan användas av forskare som inte är medlemmar i forskarlaget men som utför relaterad undersökning.**stryk det som inte är tillämpligt*

VIKTIGT: Inga personuppgifter kommer att offentliggöras och inspelningen med mitt deltagande kommer inte att göras tillgänglig för allmänheten.

Osa 2: Suostumus

Olen yli 16-vuotias ja suostun osallistumaan tähän haastatteluun, joka on osa yllämainittua projektia [Haastattelun päiväys __/__/____]

1. Olen lukenut tässä asiakirjassa esitetyt tiedot.

2. Menetelmiin ja riskeihin liittyvä tieto on selitetty minulle tyydyttävästi.

3. Suostun myös siihen, että osallistumiseni haastatteluun nauhoitetaan ja nauhoitus / muistiinpanot / litterointi ja tämä suostumuslomake säilytetään salasanalla suojatulla tietokoneella Iso-Britannian tietosuojasäädöksen (1998) alaisesti. Kopiot niistä säilytetään lukitussa tilassa.

4. Olen tietoinen siitä, että minun tulee säilyttää kopio tästä asiakirjasta mahdollisia viitteitä varten.

Ymmärrän:

- Että en saa suoraa hyötyä osallistumisestani tähän projektiin.
- Että voin keskeyttää tutkimukseen osallistumisen koska tahansa eikä minun ei tarvitse vastata kaikkiin kysymyksiin.
- Riippumatta siitä, keskeyttänkö tutkimukseen osallistumisen tai en, se ei tule vaikuttamaan Cardiffin yliopiston minulle antamiin palveluihin.
- Voin pyytää nauhoituksen keskeyttämisen missä vaiheessa tahansa ja voin keskeyttää tutkimukseen osallistumisen milloin tahansa ilman, että siitä aiheutuu minulle mitään henkilökohtaista haittaa.

Suostun/en suostu* siihen, että nauhoitusta/muistiinpanoja tai litterointia käytetään muiden tutkijoiden toimesta, jotka eivät kuulu tutkimusryhmään, mutta tekevät aiheeseen liittyvää tutkimusta. **tarpeeton yliviivataan*

TÄRKEÄÄ: Henkilökohtaisia tietoja jotka voivat johtaa nimeni paljastumiseen ei julkaista ja nauhoitus osallistumisestani ei tule olemaan julkisesti saatavilla.

Del 3: Underskrifter

Osa 3: Allekirjoitukset

Deltagarens underskrift

Tutkittavan allekirjoitus……

Datum

Päiväys……..

Jag intygar att jag har redogjort forskningens syfte för deltagaren och jag anser att han / hon förstår dess innebörd och fritt ger sitt samtycke att delta.

Todistan, että olen selittänyt tutkimuksen kulun tutkittavalle ja uskon, että tutkittava ymmärtää tutkimuksen seuraukset sekä on vapaaehtoisesti suostunut osallistumaan tutkimukseen.

Forskarens namn:

Tutkijan nimi: Kaisa Pankakoski

Forskarens underskrift

Tutkijan allekirjoitus……..

Datum

Päiväys …….

Appendix G Consent forms for parents (En/Cy)

Prifysgol Caerdydd
Adeilad John Percival
Rhodfa Colum
Caerdydd, CF10 3EU
Cymru, Y Deyrnas Gyfunol
Ffôn *Tel +44(0)29 2087 4843*
Ffacs *Fax* +44(0)29 2087 4604
www.caerdydd.ac.uk/cymraeg

Cardiff University
John Percival Building
Colum Drive
Cardiff CF10 3EU
Wales UK

CYDSYNIAD I GYMRYD RHAN MEWN YMCHWIL

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

(DRWY GYFWELIAD AC ARSYLWI /BY INTERVIEW AND OBSERVATION)

Teitl y Prosiect: Teuluoedd Tairieithog yn y Ffindir ac yng Nghymru: Sosioieithyddiaeth, dulliau trosglwyddo ieithoedd lleiafrifol rhwng cenedlaethau, rhwystrau rhag datblygu a canfyddiadau plant./
Project Title: Trilingual families in Finland and Wales: sociolinguistics, intergenerational minority language transmission methods, language development barriers and children's perspectives.

Gwybodaeth gefndirol am y prosiect: Mae gen i ddiddordeb gwybod am gefndir teuluoedd teirieithog yn Helsinki ac yng Nghaerdydd. Prif nod fy noethuriaeth yw archwilio i ba raddau mae agweddau yn dylanwadu ar drosglwyddiad iaith mewn plant teirieithog./
Background information about the project: The thesis investigates trilingual children in Helsinki and Cardiff. The aim of this PhD thesis is to examine which aspects influence trilingual children's language transmission.

Os bydd gennych gwestiynau ynghylch y prosiect, cysylltwch â Kaisa Pankakoski, Ysgol y Gymraeg, Prifysgol Caerdydd, Adeilad John Percival, Rhodfa Colum, Caerdydd, CF10 3EU. Ebost: PankakoskiKM@Cardiff.ac.uk

Os bydd gennych unrhyw bryderon am yr ymchwil neu sut mae'n cael ei gynnal, cysylltwch â Pennaeth Ysgol y Gymraeg, Yr Athro Sioned Davies, Prifysgol Caerdydd drwy e-bost daviessm@cardiff.ac.uk neu dros y ffôn +44 (0)29 2087 5321.

If you have any questions regarding this project, please contact Kaisa Pankakoski, School of Welsh, Cardiff University, John Percival Building, Colum Drive, Cardiff, CF10 3EU. Email: PankakoskiKM@Cardiff.ac.uk

If you have any concerns about the research or how it is being conducted, please contact the Head of the School of Welsh, Professor Sioned Davies, Cardiff University, by email daviessm@cardiff.ac.uk or phone +44 (0)29 2087 5321.

Adran 1: Gwybodaeth am y cyfranogwr

Section 1: Information about the participant

Eich enw

Your Name_____

Y sefydliad yr ydych yn ei gynrychioli (os yw'n berthnasol)

Name of the organisation you represent (if applicable) _____

Adran 2: Datganiad

Rwyf dros 16 oed, a chydsyniaf i gymryd rhan yn y cyfweliad sy'n rhan o'r prosiect uchod ar [Dyddiad cynnal y cyfweliad __/__/____].

Rwyf wedi darllen y wybodaeth yn y ddogfen hon.

Mae manylion unrhyw weithdrefnau a risgiau wedi eu hesbonio i mi i'm boddhad.

Cytunaf i'm cyfranogiad yn y cyfweliad gael ei recordio ac i'r recordiad / nodiadau / trawsgrifiad a'r ffurflen gydysnio hon gael eu cadw ar gyfrifiadur o dan amodau Deddf Gwarchod Data (1998) ac o dan gyfrinair. Cedwir copi caled o dan glo.

Rwyf yn ymwybodol y dylwn gadw copi o'r ddogfen hon at ddibenion cyfeirio.

Deallaf:

- Na chaf fudd uniongyrchol o gymryd rhan yn y prosiect hwn.
- Fy mod yn rhydd i dynnu'n ôl o'r prosiect ar unrhyw adeg ac i beidio â darparu ateb i gwestiynau penodol.
- P'un a dynnaf yn ôl ai peidio, ni fydd hyn yn effeithio ar unrhyw wasanaeth a ddarperir i mi gan Brifysgol Caerdydd.
- Y caf ofyn i'r recordio gael ei stopio ar unrhyw adeg, ac y caf dynnu'n ôl ar unrhyw adeg o'r cyfweliad heb anfantais i mi.

Cytunaf/Ni chytunaf* i'w recordiad/nodiadau neu drawsgrifiad o'r recordiad gael ei ddefnyddio gan ymchwilwyr eraill nad ydynt yn aelodau o'r tîm ymchwil, ond sy'n gwneud ymchwil gysylltiedig.* *dileer fel y bo'n briodol*

PWYSIG: Ni ryddheir unrhyw fanylion personol a all arwain at ddatgelu fy enw ac ni fydd y recordiad o'm cyfranogiad ar gael yn gyhoeddus.

Section 2: Statement

I am over 16 years of age and consent to take part in this interview which is part of the above project [Date the interview was held __/__/____]

I have read the information in this document.

Information regarding procedures and risks have been explained to me to my satisfaction

I also agree for my participation in the interview to be recorded and for the recording / notes / transcription and this consent form to be kept on a computer under the conditions of the Data Protection Act (1998) and under a password. A physical copy will be kept in locked storage.

I am aware that I should retain a copy of this document for reference purposes.

I understand:

- I may not receive direct benefit by participating in this project.
- I am free to withdraw from the project at any time and not to provide answers to certain questions.
- Whether I withdraw or nor, this will not affect any service provided to me by Cardiff University.
- I may request that the recording be stopped at any time and I may withdraw from the interview at any time without any personal disadvantage.

I agree/I do not agree* for the recording/notes or transcription of the recording to be used by other researchers who are not members of the research team, but who are carrying out linked research **delete as appropriate*

IMPORTANT: Any personal details that may lead to the disclosure of my name will not be released and the recording of my participation will not be made publicly available.

Adran 3: Llofnodion

Section 3: Signatures

Llofnod y cyfranogwr

Signature of participant……

Dyddiad

Date……..

Tystiaf fy mod wedi esbonio'r ymchwil i'r cyfranogwr ac ystyriaf ei fod e/ei bod hi'n deall yr hyn sydd ynghlwm wrtho ac yn rhoi cydsyniad rhydd i gymryd rhan.

I certify that I have explained the research to the participant, and I consider he/she understands its implications and freely gives consent to participate.

Enw'r Ymchwilydd:

Name of Researcher: Kaisa Pankakoski

Llofnod yr Ymchwilydd

Signature of Researcher……..

Dyddiad

Date…….

Appendix H Consent forms for children (Sv/Fi)

Prifysgol Caerdydd
Adeilad John Percival
Rhodfa Colum
Caerdydd, CF10 3EU
Cymru, Y Deyrnas Gyfunol
Ffôn *Tel +44(0)29 2087 4843*
Ffacs *Fax* +44(0)29 2087 4604
www.caerdydd.ac.uk/cymraeg

Cardiff University
John Percival Building
Colum Drive
Cardiff CF10 3EU
Wales UK

SAMTYCKE TILL DELTA I UNDERSÖKNING

SUOSTUMUS TUTKIMUKSEEN OSALLISTUMISESTA

(INTERVJU OCH OBSERVATION/HAASTATTELU JA OBSERVOINTI)

Projektets rubrik: Trespråkiga familjer i Finland och Wales: sociolingvistik, metoder för överföring av minoritetsspråk över generationsgränserna, hinder för språkutveckling och barns perspektiv./
Tutkimuksen nimi: Kolmikieliset perheet Suomessa ja Walesissa: sosiolingvistiikka, sukupolvien välinen vähemmistökieli ja sen tukemisen metodit, kielenkehityksen esteet sekä lasten näkokulmat.

Projektets bakgrundsinformation: Doktorsavhandlingen undersöker trespråkiga familjer i Helsingfors och Cardiff. Syftet med denna undersökning är att undersöka vilka aspekter påverkar språköverföring hos trespråkiga barn./
Taustatietoa tutkimuksesta: Väitöskirja käsittelee kolmikielisiä perheitä Helsingissä ja Cardiffissa. Tutkimuksen tarkoitus on tarkastella mitkä tekijät vaikuttavat kolmikielisten lasten kielten omaksumiseen.

Om du har frågor gällande detta projekt kan du kontakta Kaisa Pankakoski, School of Welsh, Cardiff University, John Percival Building, Colum Drive, Cardiff, CF10 3EU, Wales. E-post: PankakoskiKM@Cardiff.ac.uk

Om du har frågor gällande metoder eller etik kan du kontakta: Head of the School of Welsh, Professor Sioned Davies, Cardiff University, Wales. E-post daviessm@cardiff.ac.uk Telefon: +44 (0)29 2087 5321.

Jos tutkittavalla on kysymyksiä projektin suhteen voit ottaa yhteyttä tutkijaan: Kaisa Pankakoski, School of Welsh, Cardiff University, John Percival Building, Colum Drive, Cardiff, CF10 3EU, Wales. Sähköpostiosoite: PankakoskiKM@Cardiff.ac.uk

Tutkimuksen eettisissä ja menetelmiä koskevissa kysymyksissä voit ottaa yhteyttä yliopiston kymrin kielen laitoksen johtajaan: Head of the School of Welsh, Professor Sioned Davies, Cardiff University, Wales. Sähköpostiosoite: daviessm@cardiff.ac.uk Puhelinnumero: +44 (0)29 2087 5321.

Sektion 1: Information om deltagaren

Osa 1: Tiedot tutkittavasta

Namn/

Nimi_____

Barnets namn/

Lapsen nimi_____

Del 2: Intyg om samtycke, förälder eller målsman

Jag ger mitt tillstånd till att mitt barn deltar i intervjun som är en del av ovanstående projekt [Datum för intervjun: __/__/____].

Jag har läst informationen i detta dokument.

Information om förfaranden och risker har förklarats för mig på ett tillfredsställande sätt.

Jag ger mitt samtycke till att mitt barns deltagande i intervjun kommer att spelas in samt till att inspelningen anteckningarna/ transkriptionen, tillsammans med detta dokument, kommer att förvaras på en dator bakom ett lösenord enligt villkoren i Storbritanniens Dataskyddslag (1998). En kopia kommer att hållas i låst förvaring.

Jag är medveten om att jag bör behålla en kopia av detta dokument som referens.

Jag förstår:

- Att mitt barn inte kommer att få direkt fördel av att delta i detta projekt.
- Att mitt barn får dra sig ur projektet när som helst och låta bli att svara på vissa frågor.
- Om han/hon skulle bestämma sig för att dra sig ur projektet kommer det inte att påverka någon tjänst som tillhandahålls för honom/henne av Cardiff University.
- Han/hon kan begära att inspelningen avbryts när som helst och och han/hon kan dra sig ur intervjun när som helst utan att det orsakar dom någon personlig nackdel.

Jag godkänner/Jag godkänner inte* att inspelningen/anteckningarna eller transkriptionen kan användas av forskare som inte är medlemmar i forskarlaget men som utför relaterad forskning.* *stryk det som inte är tillämpligt*

VIKTIGT: Inga personuppgifter kommer att offentliggöras och inspelningen med mitt deltagande kommer inte att göras tillgänglig för allmänheten.

Osa 2: Vanhemman tai huoltajan suostumus

Annan suostumukseni siihen, että lapseni osallistuu haastatteluun, joka on osa yllämainittua tutkimusta. [Haastattelun päiväys __/__/____]

Olen lukenut tässä asiakirjassa esitetyt tiedot.

Menetelmiin ja riskeihin liittyvä tieto on selitetty minulle tyydyttävästi.

Suostun myös siihen, että lapseni osallistuminen haastatteluun nauhoitetaan ja nauhoitus / muistiinpanot / litterointi ja tämä suostumuslomake säilytetään salasanalla suojatulla tietokoneella Iso-Britannian tietosuojasäädöksen (1998) alaisesti. Kopiot niistä säilytetään lukitussa tilassa.

Olen tietoinen siitä, että minun tulee säilyttää kopio tästä asiakirjasta mahdollisia viitteitä varten.

Ymmärrän:

- Että lapseni ei saa suoraa hyötyä osallistumisestaan tähän projektiin.
- Että lapseni voi keskeyttää tutkimukseen osallistumisen koska tahansa ja hänen ei tarvitse vastata kaikkiin kysymyksiin.
- Riippumatta siitä, keskeyttääkö hän tutkimukseen osallistumisen tai ei, se ei tule vaikuttamaan Cardiffin yliopiston hänelle antamiin palveluihin.
- Hän voi pyytää nauhoituksen keskeyttämisen missä vaiheessa tahansa ja hän voi keskeyttää tutkimukseen osallistumisen milloin tahansa ilman, että siitä aiheutuu hänelle haittaa.

Suostun/En suostu* siihen, että nauhoitusta/muistiinpanoja tai litterointia käytetään muiden tutkijoiden toimesta, jotka eivät kuulu tutkimusryhmään, mutta tekevät aiheeseen liittyvää tutkimusta. **tarpeeton yliviivataan*

TÄRKEÄÄ: Henkilökohtaisia tietoja jotka voivat johtaa nimeni paljastumiseen ei julkaista ja nauhoitus osallistumisestani ei tule olemaan julkisesti saatavilla.

Del 3: Underskrifter

Osa 3: Allekirjoitukset

Förälderns eller målsmans underskrift

Vanhemman tai huoltajan allekirjoitus……

Datum

Päiväys ……..

Jag intygar att jag har redogjort för syftet för forskningen till deltagaren och jag anser att han / hon förstår dess innebörd och fritt ger sitt samtycke att delta.

Todistan, että olen selittänyt tutkimuksen kulun tutkittavalle ja uskon, että tutkittava ymmärtää tutkimuksen seuraukset sekä on vapaaehtoisesti suostunut osallistumaan tutkimukseen.

Forskarens namn:

Tutkijan nimi: Kaisa Pankakoski

Forskarens underskrift

Tutkijan allekirjoitus……..

Datum

Päiväys……

Appendix I Consent forms for children (En/Cy)

Prifysgol Caerdydd
Adeilad John Percival
Rhodfa Colum
Caerdydd, CF10 3EU
Cymru, Y Deyrnas Gyfunol
Ffôn *Tel +44(0)29 2087 4843*
Ffacs *Fax* +44(0)29 2087 4604
www.caerdydd.ac.uk/cymraeg

Cardiff University
John Percival Building
Colum Drive
Cardiff CF10 3EU
Wales UK

CYDSYNIAD I GYMRYD RHAN MEWN YMCHWIL

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

(DRWY GYFWELIAD AC ARSYLWI /BY INTERVIEW AND OBSERVATION)

Teitl y Prosiect: Teuluoedd Tairieithog yn y Ffindir ac yng Nghymru: Sosioieithyddiaeth, dulliau trosglwyddo ieithoedd lleiafrifol rhwng cenedlaethau, rhwystrau rhag datblygu a canfyddiadau plant./
Project Title: Trilingual families in Finland and Wales: sociolinguistics, intergenerational minority language transmission methods, language development barriers and children's perspectives.

Gwybodaeth gefndirol am y prosiect: Mae gen i ddiddordeb gwybod am gefndir teuluoedd teirieithog yn Helsinki ac yng Nghaerdydd. Prif nod fy noethuriaeth yw archwilio i ba raddau mae agweddau yn dylanwadu ar drosglwyddiad iaith mewn plant teirieithog./
Background information about the project: The thesis investigates trilingual children in Helsinki and Cardiff. The aim of this PhD thesis is to examine which aspects influence trilingual children's language transmission.

Os bydd gennych gwestiynau ynghylch y prosiect, cysylltwch â Kaisa Pankakoski, Ysgol y Gymraeg, Prifysgol Caerdydd, Adeilad John Percival, Rhodfa Colum, Caerdydd, CF10 3EU. Ebost: PankakoskiKM@Cardiff.ac.uk

Os bydd gennych unrhyw bryderon am yr ymchwil neu sut mae'n cael ei gynnal, cysylltwch â Pennaeth Ysgol y Gymraeg, Yr Athro Sioned Davies, Prifysgol Caerdydd drwy e-bost daviessm@cardiff.ac.uk neu dros y ffôn +44 (0)29 2087 5321.

If you have any questions regarding this project, please contact Kaisa Pankakoski, School of Welsh, Cardiff University, John Percival Building, Colum Drive, Cardiff, CF10 3EU. Email: PankakoskiKM@Cardiff.ac.uk

If you have any concerns about the research or how it is being conducted, please contact the Head of the School of Welsh, Professor Sioned Davies, Cardiff University, by email daviessm@cardiff.ac.uk or phone +44 (0)29 2087 5321.

Adran 1: Gwybodaeth am y cyfranogwr

Section 1: Information about the participant

Eich enw/

Your Name_____

Enw eich plentyn/

Your child's name_____

Adran 2: Datganiad gan riant neu ofalwr

Rhoaf gydsyniad i'm plentyn gymryd rhan yn y cyfweliad sy'n rhan o'r prosiect uchod ar [Dyddiad cynnal y cyfweliad __/__/____].

Rwyf wedi darllen y wybodaeth yn y ddogfen hon.

Mae manylion unrhyw weithdrefnau a risgiau wedi eu hesbonio i mi i'm boddhad.

Cytunaf i gyfranogiad fy mhlentyn gael ei recordio ac i'r recordiad / nodiadau / trawsgrifiad a'r ffurflen gydysnio hon gael eu cadw ar gyfrifiadur o dan amodau Deddf Gwarchod Data (1998) ac o dan gyfrinair. Cedwir copi caled o dan glo.

Rwyf yn ymwybodol y dylwn gadw copi o'r ddogfen hon at ddibenion cyfeirio.

Deallaf:

- Na chaiff fy mhlentyn fudd uniongyrchol o gymryd rhan yn y prosiect hwn.
- Bod fy mhlentyn yn rhydd i dynnu'n ôl o'r prosiect ar unrhyw adeg ac i beidio â darparu ateb i gwestiynau penodol.
- P'un a dynna yn ôl ai peidio, ni fydd hyn yn effeithio ar unrhyw wasanaeth a ddarperir iddi/iddo gan Brifysgol Caerdydd.
- Y caiff ofyn i'r recordio gael ei stopio ar unrhyw adeg, ac y caiff dynnu'n ôl ar unrhyw adeg o'r cyfweliad heb anfantais iddo/iddi.

Cytunaf/Ni chytunaf* i'w recordiad/nodiadau neu drawsgrifiad o'r recordiad gael ei ddefnyddio gan ymchwilwyr eraill nad ydynt yn aelodau o'r tîm ymchwil, ond sy'n gwneud ymchwil gysylltiedig.
** dileer fel y bo'n briodol*

PWYSIG: Ni ryddheir unrhyw fanylion personol a all arwain at ddatgelu fy enw ac ni fydd y recordiad o'm cyfranogiad ar gael yn gyhoeddus.

Section 2: Statement by parent or carer

I give consent for my child to take part in the interview which is part of the above project [Date the interview was held __/__/____]

I have read the information in this document.

Information regarding procedures and risks have been explained to me to my satisfaction.

I also agree for my child's participation in the interview to be recorded and for the recording / notes / transcription and this consent form to be kept on a computer under the conditions of the Data Protection Act (1998) and under a password. A physical copy will be kept in locked storage.

I am aware that I should retain a copy of this document for reference purposes.

I understand:

- That my child will not receive direct benefit by participating in this project.
- That my child is free to withdraw from the project at any time and not to provide answers to certain questions.
- Whether he/she withdraws or nor, this will not affect any service provided to him/her by Cardiff University.
- She/he may request that the recording be stopped at any time and she/he may withdraw from the interview at any time without any personal disadvantage.

I agree/I do not agree* for the recording/notes or transcription of the recording to be used by other researchers who are not members of the research team, but who are carrying out linked research
**delete as appropriate*

IMPORTANT: Any personal details that may lead to the disclosure of my name will not be released and the recording of my participation will not be made publicly available.

Adran 3: Llofnodion

Section 3: Signatures

Llofnod y rhiant neu ofalwr

Signature of parent or carer……

Dyddiad

Date……..

Tystiaf fy mod wedi esbonio'r ymchwil i'r cyfranogwr ac ystyriaf ei fod e/ei bod hi'n deall yr hyn sydd ynghlwm wrtho ac yn rhoi cydsyniad rhydd i gymryd rhan.

I certify that I have explained the research to the participant, and I consider he/she understands its implications and freely gives consent to participate.

Enw'r Ymchwilydd:

Name of Researcher: Kaisa Pankakoski

Llofnod yr Ymchwilydd

Signature of Researcher……..

Dyddiad

Date…….

Appendix J SurveyMonkey parental questionnaire (Fi)

1. Tietoa tutkimuksesta

Väitöskirjani tarkoituksena on tutkia mitkä tekijät vaikuttavat kolmikielisten lasten kielten omaksumiseen. Tutkimuksen tavoitteena on saada lisää tietoa Helsingin ja Walesin pääkaupungin Cardiffin kolmikielisten perheiden taustoista.

Tässä perheen vanhemmille tarkoitetussa kyselyssä kysytään taustastasi ja kielten käytöstä kotona. Pyydän myös henkilökohtaisia tietoja, kuten nimesi, jotta voin viitata vastauksiisi myöhemmin haastattelun yhteydessä. Henkilökohtaiset tiedot säilytetään salasanalla suojatulla tietokoneella Iso-Britannian tietosuojasäädöksen (1998) mukaisesti. Nimiä tai muita henkilökohtaisia tietoja ei tulla julkaisemaan.

Vastaamalla kyselyyn suostut osallistumaan tutkimusprojektiin. Osallistuminen on vapaaehtoista ja voit jäädä tutkimuksesta pois koska tahansa. Voit kysyä lisätietoja projektista milloin vain. Antamiasi tietoja säilytetään Iso-Britannian tietosuojasäädöksen (1998) mukaisesti. Tutkija tekee parhaansa pitääkseen tietosi salassa käsitellessään vastauksia, ja voit koska tahansa ottaa yhteyttä tutkijaan pyytääksesi häntä jättämään pois minkä tahansa tiedon, jonka olet jo antanut.

Kyselyyn vastaaminen kestää 15-30 minuuttia. Molempien vanhempien tulisi täyttää kysely erikseen.

Tutkimukseen liittyvissä kysymyksissä voit ottaa yhteyttä tutkijaan: Kaisa Pankakoski, School of Welsh, Cardiff University, John Percival Building, Colum Drive, Cardiff, CF10 3EU, Wales. Sähköpostiosoite: PankakoskiKM@Cardiff.ac.uk, puhelinnumero: 050-5846478.

Tutkimuksen etiikkaan ja käytettyihin metodeihin liittyvissä kysymyksissä voit ottaa yhteyttä Cardiffin yliopiston kymrin kielen laitoksen eettiseen lautakuntaan: Jonathan Morris, School of Welsh Research Ethics Officer, Cardiff University. Sähköpostiosoite: Morrisj17@cardiff.ac.uk, puhelinnumero: +44 (0)29 208 75394.

Kiitos osallistumisestasi tutkimukseen.

1. Yhteystiedot

Nimi	
Sähköpostiosoite	
Puhelinnumero	

2. Henkilötiedot

* 2. Syntymäaika

* 3. Mikä on korkein suorittamasi tutkinto tai koulutus? Valitse vain yksi.

- Alkeisopetus *(Peruskoulun luokat 1-6)*
- Peruskoulu *(yleensä 11-15-vuotiaana suoritettu, peruskoulun luokat 7-9 ja 10, peruskoulun koko oppimäärän suorittamiseen tähtäävä koulutus aikuisopiskelijoille)*
- Toisen asteen koulutus *(yleensä 16-19-vuotiaana suoritettu ammatillinen perustutkinto tai ammatillinen perustutkinto näyttötutkintona, lukio, ylioppilastutkinto tai lukion koko oppimäärän suorittamiseen tähtäävä koulutus aikuisopiskelijoille)*
- Toisen asteen ammatillinen koulutus *(erikoisammattitutkinto)*
- Korkeakoulu *(kandidaatin ja maisterin tutkinnot)* tai vastaava koulutus *(alemmat korkeakoulututkinnot, ammattikorkeakoulututkinnot, ylemmät korkeakoulututkinnot, ylemmät ammattikorkeakoulututkinnot, erikoislääkärit, erikoishammaslääkärit, erikoiseläinlääkärit)*
- Tohtori/ lisensiaatti

4. Mikä on tämänhetkinen työllisyystilanteesi?

- [ ] Kokopäivätyö
- [ ] Osa-aikatyö
- [ ] Opiskelija
- [ ] Työtön
- [ ] Vanhempainvapaalla
- [ ] Muu (tarkenna)

5. Mikä on työsi ammattinimike? Jos sitä ei ole, kuvaile työnkuvaasi.

3. Taustatiedot perheen olosuhteista

6. Asuuko taloudessasi muita aikuisia?

- [ ] Ei
- [ ] Puoliso
- [ ] Muu (tarkenna)

7. Kirjoita taloudessasi asuvien lasten nimet ja syntymäajat. Mainitse jos lapset asuvat luonasi vain osa-aikaisesti.

Esimerkki: Lucas 24.8.2009

Lapsi 1

Lapsi 2

Lapsi 3

Lapsi 4

Lapsi 5

8. Nimeä paikat, missä olette perheenä asuneet. Haluaisin myös tietää, kauanko vietitte eri paikoissa.

Esimerkki: Madrid tammikuu 2009-tammikuu 2011, Helsinki tammikuu 2011-nykyhetki

9. Aiotko jäädä perheesi kanssa Suomeen?

- ( ) Kyllä
- ( ) En tiedä
- ( ) En. Suunnittelen muuttavani. (paikka, ajankohta ja muuton syy)

4. vanhempien kielet

10. Seuraavaksi haluaisin tietää, mitä kieliä itse osaat. Kirjoita kaikki osaamasi kielet ja arvioi tämänhetkinen kielitaitosi kunkin kielen osalta (aloittelija, keskitasoinen, edistynyt, sujuva tai äidinkieli).
Kuinka opit kielen?

Esimerkki: ruotsi, keskitasoinen, opin tämän kielen puolisoni puhuessa sitä lapsille

Kieli 1	
Kieli 2	
Kieli 3	
Kieli 4	
Kieli 5	
Kieli 6	
Kieli 7	
Kieli 8	

11. Seuraava kysymys koskee yllä mainitsemiasi kieliä. Kuinka usein ja missä tilanteissa/kenen kanssa käytät kieliä nykyään?

Esimerkki: mandariinikiina, puhun sitä kahden paikallisen ystäväni kanssa viikottain kun tapaamme kahvilla

Kieli 1	
Kieli 2	
Kieli 3	
Kieli 4	
Kieli 5	
Kieli 6	
Kieli 7	
Kieli 8	

12. Mihin etniseen ryhmään katsot kuuluvasi?

Esimerkki: olen puoliksi suomalainen, puoliksi iranilainen.

13. Kuinka kuvailisit kansallisidentiteettiäsi?

14. Kuinka tärkeä osa identiteettiäsi aikaisemmin mainitsemasi kielet ovat?

	Erittäin tärkeä	Tärkeä	Kohtalaisen tärkeä	Vähän tärkeä	Ei lainkaan tärkeä
Kieli 1					
Kieli 2					
Kieli 3					
Kieli 4					
Kieli 5					
Kieli 6					
Kieli 7					
Kieli 8					

5. Vanhempien kielten käyttö

15. Mitä kieltä tai kieliä puhut puolisosi kanssa ja missä tilanteissa?

Esimerkki: Puhumme ranskaa julkisissa paikoissa ja englannin ja ranskan sekoitusta kotona.

16. Oletteko aina puhuneet samaa kieltä tai samoja kielä keskenänne vai onko tämä muuttunut ajan mittaan?

6. Perheen kielet

17. Kuinka usein ja missä tilanteissa puhut kutakin kieltä lapsellesi tai lapsillesi?

Esimerkki: Puhun suomea lasteni kanssa yksin ollessa mutta englantia jos paikalla on muita ihmisiä, jotka eivät puhu suomea.

18. Oliko kielten käyttö tietoinen päätös?

- Ei
- En tiedä
- Kyllä (Kuka päätti mitä kieliä lasten tulisi oppia? Koska päätös tehtiin?)

19. Puhuitteko tästä ennen kuin lapsi tai lapset syntyivät?

20. Onko kielenkäyttönne vanhempina muuttunut lapsen tai lasten syntymän tai syntymien jälkeen? Miten?

7. Vanhempien kielistrategiat

21. Tuleeko mieleesi mitään strategioita, käytäntöjä, menetelmiä tai periaatteita jotka ovat auttaneet sinua siirtämään kielen tai kieliä lapsellesi tai lapsillesi?

Esimerkki: Puhuin aina japania lapselle. Lapsi käy kymrinkielistä koulua. Käymme ruotsinkielisessä jumalanpalveluksessa. Lapset katsovat espanjankielisiä DVD-levyjä.

22. Onko mitään strategioita, käytäntöjä, menetelmiä tai periaatteita mitkä eivät toimineet teidän perheessänne?

8. Vanhempien näkemykset kolmikielisyydestä

23. Miksi halusit lastesi tulevan kolmikieliseksi?

24. Huolestuttaako sinua mikään asia lapsesi tai lastesi kolmikielisessä kasvatuksessa?

25. Oletko löytänyt ihmisiä tai organisaatioita, jotka ovat auttaneet sinua turvaamaan sen, että lapset kuulevat eri kieliä?

26. Mitä esteitä olet kohdannut?

9. Lasten kielet

27. Mitä kieliä tai kieltä lähimmät sukulaiset ja ystävät käyttävät lapsesi tai lapsiesi kanssa? Kirjoita ensin henkilön nimi ja tietoja kielestä sitten. Alla esimerkki.

Liisa, isoäiti: puhuu suomea molempien lasten kanssa. Joskus puhuu englantia jos olen paikalla.

Henkilö 1	
Henkilö 2	
Henkilö 3	
Henkilö 4	
Henkilö 5	
Henkilö 6	

28. Kuinka usein lapsesi näkee tai näkevät henkilöitä jotka nimesit yllä?

Henkilö 1	
Henkilö 2	
Henkilö 3	
Henkilö 4	
Henkilö 5	
Henkilö 6	

Lisätietoja

10. Kielille altistuminen kotona ja muualla

Lopuksi haluaisin tietää lapsesi kieliympäristöstä. Ensimmäinen kysymys viittaa vanhimpaan 5-12-vuotiaaseen lapseesi, joka osallistuu tähän tutkimukseen.

Jos sinulla on enemmän kuin yksi lapsi joka osallistuu tutkimukseen, voit vastata toisen lapsen kohdalta kieliympäristöstä kysymyksissä 31 ja 32 ja kolmannen lapsen kohdalta kysymyksissä 33 ja 34.

29. Merkitse kellonaikasarakkeeseen, kuka viettää aikaa vanhimman 5-12-vuotiaan lapsesi kanssa tai huolehtii hänestä tavallisena **arkipäivänä eli maanantaista perjantaihin.** Mitä kieltä tai kieliä silloin puhutaan?

6-8	
8-10	
10-12	
12-2	
2-4	
4-6	
6-8	
8-10	

30. Merkitse kellonaikasarakkeeseen, kuka viettää aikaa vanhimman 5-12-vuotiaan lapsesi kanssa tai huolehtii hänestä keskivertopäivänä **viikonloppuna eli lauantaina ja sunnuntaina.** Mitä kieltä tai kieliä silloin puhutaan?

6-8	
8-10	
10-12	
12-2	
2-4	
4-6	
6-8	
8-10	

31. Merkitse kellonaikasarakkeeseen, kuka viettää aikaa toiseksi vanhimman (eli siis toisen) 5-12-vuotiaan lapsesi kanssa tai huolehtii hänestä tavallisena **arkipäivänä eli maanantaista perjantaihin.** Mitä kieltä tai kieliä silloin puhutaan?

6-8	
8-10	
10-12	
12-2	
2-4	
4-6	
6-8	
8-10	

32. Merkitse kellonaikasarakkeeseen, kuka viettää aikaa toiseksi vanhimman (eli siis toisen) 5-12-vuotiaan lapsesi kanssa tai huolehtii hänestä keskivertopäivänä **viikonloppuna eli lauantaina ja sunnuntaina.** Mitä kieltä tai kieliä silloin puhutaan?

6-8	
8-10	
10-12	
12-2	
2-4	
4-6	
6-8	
8-10	

33. Merkitse kellonaikasarakkeeseen, kuka viettää aikaa kolmanneksi vanhimman (eli siis kolmannen) 5-12-vuotiaan lapsesi kanssa tai huolehtii hänestä tavallisena **arkipäivänä eli maanantaista perjantaihin.** Mitä kieltä tai kieliä silloin puhutaan?

6-8	
8-10	
10-12	
12-2	
2-4	
4-6	
6-8	
8-10	

34. Merkitse kellonaikasarakkeeseen, kuka viettää aikaa kolmanneksi vanhimman (eli siis kolmannen) 5-12-vuotiaan lapsesi kanssa tai huolehtii hänestä keskivertopäivänä **viikonloppuna eli lauantaina ja sunnuntaina.** Mitä kieltä tai kieliä silloin puhutaan?

6-8	
8-10	
10-12	
12-2	
2-4	
4-6	
6-8	
8-10	

35. Onko mitään muuta, mitä haluaisit lisätä siihen liittyen, kenen kanssa ja millaisessa kielympäristössä lapsesi viettää tai viettävät aikaansa? Olisiko sinulla muuta lisättävää, joka ei ole tullut jo kyselyssä ilmi?

Kiitos kun vastasit kyselyyn. Haastattelussa voimme keskustella tarkemmin vastauksista sekä lastesi monikieliseen arkeen liittyvistä seikoista Jos sinulla on kysyttävää, otathan yhteyttä! Sähköpostiosoite: PankakoskiKM@Cardiff.ac.uk tai puhelinnumero: 050-5846478.

Appendix K SurveyMonkey parental questionnaire (En)

1. Information about the research

I am interested in learning about the backgrounds of trilingual families in Helsinki and Cardiff. The aim of my PhD thesis is to examine which different factors influence trilingual children's language transmission.

You will be asked some questions regarding your background and language use in the home. I will also ask you to provide some personal details (e.g. your name) so that I can refer to your answers during my face-to-face meeting with you at a later date. All personal data will be held according to the Data Protection Act 1998 (held on a secure server under password). Your name and any other personal details will not be mentioned in any work resulting from this research.

By completing this questionnaire, you are agreeing to take part in this research project. You understand that taking part is voluntary and that you can withdraw at any time. You understand that you are free to ask any questions about the project at any time. You understand that any information that you give will be held according to the Data Protection Act 1998. You understand that the researcher will make every effort to ensure confidentiality whilst dealing with your comments but you can contact the researcher to ask them to omit from the final reports any information that you have given.

The questionnaire will take 15-30 minutes to complete and should be completed separately by both parents.

Should you have any questions regarding this project, please contact Kaisa Pankakoski, School of Welsh, Cardiff University, John Percival Building, Colum Drive, Cardiff, CF10 3EU, Wales. Email PankakoskiKM@cardiff.ac.uk or phone 050-5846478

If you have any concerns about the research or how it is being conducted, please contact Dr Jonathan Morris, School of Welsh Research Ethics Officer, Cardiff University, by email Morrisj17@cardiff.ac.uk or phone +44 (0)29 208 75394.

Thank you for your help with this work.

1. Contact details

Name

Email address

Phone number

2. Personal data

* 2. Date of birth

* 3. What is the highest level of education or qualification you have completed?

- ( ) Primary education *(primary school, skills for life or equivalent)*
- ( ) Lower secondary education (*usually ages 11-15, secondary school, skillstart or equivalent)*
- ( ) Upper secondary education *(usually ages 16-19, GCSEs, General National Vocational Qualification, Apprenticeship, General Certificate of Education, Welsh Advanced Baccalaureate, International Baccalaureate)*
- ( ) Post-secondary education *(after secondary school, not including university or equivalent, HE Access)*
- ( ) University (undergraduate and post-graduate) or equivalent vocational training *(Bachelor's Degree / Master's Degree / National Vocational Qualification / Higher National Certificate / Professional Post-Graduate on-the-job training / Post-Graduate Diplomas and Certificates)*
- ( ) PhD / advanced research qualification *(Doctor of Philosophy)*

4. What is your current employment status?

- [ ] Full-time work
- [ ] Part-time work
- [ ] Student
- [ ] Unemployed
- [ ] Parental leave
- [ ] Other (please specify)

5. What is your job title? If you don't have a job title, could you describe the work you do.

3. Background information regarding family circumstances

6. Do any other adults live in your household?

- [ ] None
- [ ] Partner
- [ ] Other (please specify)

7. Could you give the names and dates of birth of the children living in your household. Could you also mention if they live with you on a part-time basis.

Example: Lucas 24.8.2009

Child 1

Child 2

Child 3

Child 4

Child 5

8. Could you list all the places you have lived in as a family. I'd like to also know how long you spent in the different places.

Example: Madrid January 2009-January 2011, Helsinki January 2011-present

9. Are you planning to stay in Finland?

- ( ) Yes
- ( ) Don't know
- ( ) No. We plan to move. (place, possible time and reason for moving)

4. Parents' languages

10. I would now like to find out which languages you know. Could you state each language that you know and rate your ability now (beginner, intermediate, advanced, fluent, or mother tongue).
How did you acquire the language?

Example: Swedish, intermediate, I learned this language through my partner speaking it to the children.

Language 1	
Language 2	
Language 3	
Language 4	
Language 5	
Language 6	
Language 7	
Language 8	

11. The next question applies to the same languages you stated above. How often and in what situations/with whom do you use the languages now?

Example: Mandarin, I speak it with two local friends weekly when we meet for coffee.

Language 1	
Language 2	
Language 3	
Language 4	
Language 5	
Language 6	
Language 7	
Language 8	

12. Which ethnic group do you consider you belong to?

Example: I am half Finnish, half Iranian.

13. How would you describe your national identity?

14. To what extent are the languages you mentioned earlier an important part of your identity?

	Very important	Important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not important at all
Language 1					
Language 2					
Language 3					
Language 4					
Language 5					
Language 6					
Language 7					
Language 8					

5. Parents' language use

15. What language or languages do you speak with your partner and in which situations?

Example: We speak French in public and a mix of English and French at home.

16. Have you always spoken the same language/s to each other or has this changed over time?

6. Family's languages

17. How often and in which particular situations (if applicable) do you speak certain languages with the child/ren?

Example: I speak Finnish with my children when we are home alone but English if other non-Finnish speakers are present.

18. Was the use of languages a conscious decision?

- No
- Don't know
- Yes (Who decided what languages the children should learn? When was the decision made?)

19. Did you discuss this prior to the birth of your child/children?

20. Has your language use as parents changed since the birth of your child/children? How?

7. Parents' language strategies

21. Can you think of any strategies, practices, methods or principles which have helped you to pass a language or languages to your child or children?

Example: I always spoke Japanese with the child. Child goes to a Welsh-medium school. We attend the Swedish church service. Children watch Spanish DVDs.

22. Are there any strategies, practices, methods or principles that you can think of that did not work for your family?

8. Parents' views regarding trilinguality

23. What is the reason you wanted your children to become trilingual?

24. Do you have any concerns raising your child/ren trilingually?

25. Have you found that certain people or organisations have helped you to ensure that your children hear different languages?

26. What barriers have you faced?

9. Children's languages

27. What language(s) do the closest family and friends use with your child/children? Write the name of the person first and any details of language(s) second. I have included an example below.

Liisa, grandmother: Speaks Finnish with both children. Sometimes speaks English if I'm present.

Person 1

Person 2

Person 3

Person 4

Person 5

Person 6

28. How often does your child or children see the people you named above?

Person 1	
Person 2	
Person 3	
Person 4	
Person 5	
Person 6	

Comments

10. Language exposure at home and elsewhere

Finally I'd like to know more about the language environment of your child. The first two questions concern your first born child aged 5-12 taking part in this research project.

There will be an opportunity to answer the same questions for your second child if applicable in question numbers 31 and 32 and third child if applicable in question numbers 33 and 34. Please leave them blank if not applicable.

29. On an average day, could you mark who spends time with your oldest child aged 5-12 or who looks after them **during the week or Monday-Friday.** What language/s is/are spoken?

6-8	
8-10	
10-12	
12-2	
2-4	
4-6	
6-8	
8-10	

30. On an average day, could you mark who spends time with the oldest child aged 5-12 or who looks after them **during the weekend or Saturday and Sunday.** What language/s is/are spoken?

6-8	
8-10	
10-12	
12-2	
2-4	
4-6	
6-8	
8-10	

31. Could you now mark who spends time with the second child aged 5-12 or who looks after them **during the week or Monday-Friday.** What language/s is/are spoken?

6-8	
8-10	
10-12	
12-2	
2-4	
4-6	
6-8	
8-10	

32. Could you now mark who spends time with the second child aged 5-12 or who looks after them **during the weekend or Saturday and Sunday.** What language/s is/are spoken?

6-8	
8-10	
10-12	
12-2	
2-4	
4-6	
6-8	
8-10	

33. Could you now mark who spends time with the third child aged 5-12 or who looks after them **during the week or Monday-Friday.** What language/s is/are spoken?

6-8	
8-10	
10-12	
12-2	
2-4	
4-6	
6-8	
8-10	

34. Could you now mark who spends time with the third child aged 5-12 or who looks after them **during the weekend or Saturday and Sunday.** What language/s is/are spoken?

6-8	
8-10	
10-12	
12-2	
2-4	
4-6	
6-8	
8-10	

35. Is there anything you would like to add regarding the time your child/ren spend/s in different language environments? Is there anything you would like to add that you have not yet mentioned?

Thank you for taking the time to fill in the questionnaire. I look forward to discussing these answers and other aspects of your trilingual child/ren in the near future. If you have any concerns, please don't hesitate to contact me! Email PankakoskiKM@cardiff.ac.uk or phone 050-5846478

Appendix L Schedule of questions (Fi)

Haastattelukysymykset

Lyhenteet

OL1	Official Language of the country 1, maan virallinen kieli, enemmistön kieli (englanti tai suomi)
OL2	Official Language of the country 2, maan virallinen kieli, vähemmistökieli (kymri tai ruotsi)
ML	Minority Language spoken in the family, kolmas vähemmistökieli, perinnekieli, jonka lapsi on oppinut vanhemmalta tai yhteisöltä/koulusta/muualta

Vanhempien haastattelukysymykset

Kiitos kun osallistutte tutkimukseen. Haastattelu kestää puolesta tunnista tuntiin. Tämä ei ole mitenkään virallinen haastattelu, joten jos teidän täytyy lähteä, voitte tehdä niin. Voimme myös pitää tauon koska vain.

Olisi tärkeää tutkimuksen kannalta, että vastaisitte mahdollisimman totuudenmukaisesti kysymyksiin.

Onko teillä kysymyksiä ennen kuin aloitamme?

Onko ok, että nauhoitan haastattelun?

Te molemmat täytitte erikseen kyselylomakkeen? JOS SOVELTUU: halusin vain tarkistaa muutaman asian sieltä:

Jos jotain SurveyMonkey-kyselyssä on epäselvää tai puuttuu, pyydä tarkennusta (syntymäaika, työ, työllisyystilanne, perheessä asuvat henkilöt, lasten nimet ja iät, paikat, missä perhe on asunut, tulevaisuudensuunnitelmat)

Perheen kielet ja kielten käyttö

1. Voisitteko omin sanoin kertoa, miten teidän perheenne on kolmikielinen?
    - Miten tapasitte? Mitä kieltä puhuitte kun te tapasitte toisenne?
    - Mikä muuttui lasten synnyttyä?

- Mitä kieliä puhutte lapsille?
- Mitä kieliä lapset puhuvat?
- Onko tilanteita, joilloin käytätte jotakin toista kieltä? Koska?

2. Onko kielten käyttö muuttunut? Miten? Koska?
3. Eli jos yleensä puhutte [kielen nimi] [lapsen nimi] voisitteko kertoa, mitä kieltä he käyttävät, kun aloittavat keskustelun teidän kanssanne? Onko tämä aina ollut niin vai onko se muuttunut? Miten?
4. Onko tilanteita, jolloin puhutte yhtä kieltä lapselle ja he vastaavat toisella kielellä? Tapahtuuko näin silloin kun olette yksin lapsen kanssa vai muiden ihmisten seurassa? Kenen seurassa?
5. JOS SOVELTUU: Onko kielten käyttönne nuorimman lapsen kanssa erilaista kuin vanhemman lapsen kanssa? Miten? Miksi?
6. Olitteko molemmat vanhempainvapaalla (äitiys tai isyysvapaalla)? Kuinka kauan hoiditte lapsia? JOS SOVELTUU: Vaikuttiko se vanhempien lasten kielenkäyttöön?
7. Millä kielellä lapset leikkivät yksin ollessaan?
8. Tuleeko mieleenne tilanteita, jolloin lapset ovat ympäristössä missä puhutaan vain vähemmistökieltä?
9. Jos paikalla on muita ihmisiä (ei vanhemmat eli toinen teistä) [esimerkiksi isovanhempi, täti, muita lapsia] muuttaako se sinun kielenkäyttöäsi lapsen kanssa?
10. Mitä kieliä lapset normaalisti käyttävät, kun sinä/te ette ole paikalla tai keskustelussa mukana? KEHOTE: lapset sisarusten, ystävien, perheen kanssa

Laajennettu perhe

Kuten kerroin aikaisemmin, haluaisin lähettää lyhyen netissä täytettävän kyselyn laajennetulle perheelle ensi talven aikana. Kysymyksiin vastaaminen on täysin vapaahtoista mutta olisi mielenkiintoista saada laajennetun perheen vastauksia mukaan tutkimukseen.

11. Mainitsit kyselyssä X, Y ja Z. *Tarkista lähimmät ystävät ja suku lomakkeesta.* Mitä mieltä nämä henkilöt ovat lastenne kolmikielisyydestä?
12. Voisitko kertoa lisää näistä henkilöistä? Tuleeko mieleesi mitään (kieliin liittyviä) strategioita, käytäntöjä, menetelmiä tai periaatteita joita he käyttävät lasten kanssa?
13. Ovatko he yleensä yksin lasten kanssa vai onko muita ihmisiä paikalla? Mitä kieliä tilanteessa puhutaan? (Yksikielinen, kaksikielinen vai kolmikielinen tila)
14. Tuleeko mieleenne ketään muita ystäviä tai sukulaisia, jotka puhuvat OL2/ML kieltä lapsille? (*Jos kyllä ja ei ole aiemmin mainittu* kuka ja kuinka usein? *Mahdollisesti lisää laajennetun perheen kyselyyn)*
15. Onko henkilöitä, jotka eivät asu samassa maassa ja jotka puhuvat lasten kanssa usein? Kuinka he kommunikoivat? JOHDATUS: puhelin, Skype, FaceTime, WhatsApp, Facebook, Instagram, Twitter

Perheen kielisuunnittelu ja vanhempien asenteet

16. Miksi haluatte, että lapsenne puhuvat kieliä L1, L2, ja L3/montaa kieltä?
    - Mitkä ovat kolmi/monikielisyyden hyödyt ja haitat mielestänne?
17. Puhutaanko perheessänne kieliä, joita arvostetaan enemmän?
18. Mitä keskusteluja kävitte kolmikielisten lasten kasvatuksesta?
    - Voisitteko kertoa lisää siitä, miten ja koska päätitte käyttävänne tiettyjä kieliä lastenne kanssa?
    - Kuka päätti mitä?
    - Miten päädyitte siihen lopputulokseen?
    - Huolestuttiko teitä mikään?
    - Oliko teillä yhteisymmärrys siitä, mitä kieliä halusitte käyttää?
19. Puhuitteko siitä, mitä kieliä aioitte käyttää, kenenkään kanssa (esim. perhe/suku, neuvola, muut vanhemmat)? Mitä he sanoivat?
20. Puhutteko tällä hetkellä lasten käyttämistä kielistä?

Kielistrategiat

21. Nettikyselyssä mainitsette erilaisia keinoja, joilla varmistatte, että lapsenne kuulevat tai käyttävät kaikkia kieliä. Voisitteko kertoa vähän lisää siitä, mitä teette?
    - Kuinka tiedätte, että jokin stategia tai metodi ei toimi tai toimii hyvin? Voisitteko antaa esimerkin? Onko mitään, mikä ei ole toiminut niin hyvin? Onko mitään metodia, mitä ette enää käytä? Miksi?
22. Tuleeko mieleenne **mitään muita** strategioita, käytäntöjä, menetelmiä tai periaatteita, jotka ovat auttaneet teitä siirtämään kielen lapselle/lapsille?
    - Käytättekö mitään **mediaa** vähemmistökielellä, mikä auttaisi lapsia kielten kanssa? JOHDATUS: Internet, televisio, radio
    - Entä **lehdet, kirjat, CD:t tai DVD:t,** käytättekö niitä? JOS KYLLÄ, minkä kielisiä lehtiä, kirjoja, CD:itä tai DVD:itä lapsilla on?
    - **Matkustatteko** koskaan paikkoihin, missä vähemmistökieliä [OL2/ML] puhutaan? Minne matkustatte, kuinka usein, miten se auttaa kielten kanssa?
23. Onko mitään kieliyhteisöjä tai kulttuuriryhmiä (missä ihmiset puhuvat kieliä OL2/ML) joissa käytte? JOS KYLLÄ kuinka hyödyllinen tämä yhteisö on sinulle? Onko ihmisillä samanlainen tausta kuin teillä? Voisitko kertoa lisää?

Lasten kielitaito, varmuus ja asenteet

24. Voisitko omilla sanoilla kertoa lasten kielitaidoista? Onko tämä muuttunut? Onko ollut jokin asia, joka muutti kielenkehitystä?
    - sujuva puhuja, äidinkieli, ymmärtää mutta ei puhu, peruskielentaito, yms.
25. Oletteko tyytyväisiä lasten kielten kehitykseen kolmella kielellä vai onko jotakin, mistä olette huolestuneet?
    - Ymmärtävätkö lapset kolmea kieltä?
    - Puhuvatko he niitä?
    - Entä sanasto ja kielioppi?
    - JOS HUOLIA, Mitä aiotte tehdä asialle?
26. Mitä luulette, että lapset ajattelevat eri kielistään?
    - Ovatko he iloisia, että puhuvat eri kieliä?
    - Onko jokin kieli, jota he eivät puhu niin mielellään?

Tuki

27. Tuleeko mieleenne mitään, mikä olisi tukenut lastenne tiettyä kieltä tai kieliä? JOHDATUS: Joko julkisrahoitteinen tai joku, josta maksatte itse, Helsingin/Espoon kaupungin palvelu/koulusysteemiin kuuluva palvelu
28. Entä mistä saatte tukea lapsenne kolmikielisyyteen?
29. Onko mielestänne riittävästi tukea saatavilla (esimerkiksi kouluissa, kotikielen opetus, yms.) eri kielille? Jos ei, minkälaisesta tuesta te hyötyisitte?

Haasteet

30. Mitä luulette, että ihmiset Suomessa ajattelevat, kun kuulevat erilaisia kieliä? Onko asuinalueellanne paljon erilaisia kieliä puhuvia ihmisiä?
31. Onko kukaan ikinä kyseenalaistanut sitä, että puhutte tiettyjä kieliä lapselle/lapsille?
32. Tuleeko mieleenne mitään haasteellista aikaa liittyen kolmeen kieleen tai yhteen kielistä? Milloin? Mitä teitte?
33. Mikä on ollut kaikkein haasteellisinta tähän mennessä lapsellenne/lapsillenne?
34. Oletteko kohdanneet mitään haasteita yhteiskuntaan liittyen?

Kiitos. Siinä olivat kaikki kysymykset. Onko teillä mitään muuta, mistä haluaisitte kertoa kieliin liittyen? Onko teillä minulle kysymyksiä?

Bonuskysymykset tavoitteista

35. Mikä on tavoitteenne lapsille? Minkälaisia puhujia tai kolmen kielen käyttäjiä haluaisitte heistä?
36. Sanoitte, että tavoitteenne oli [käytä vanhemman sanaa]. Kuinka tiedätte, että he ovat [käytä vanhemman sanaa].

Lasten kysymykset

Kirjoitan kirjaa monikielisistä lapsista ja kysyisin muutaman kysymyksen sinulta.

Perheen kielet ja kielten käyttö

1. Olen kuullut, että puhut X kieltä! Mitä kieliä puhut? Puhutko ikinä OL1/OL2/ML?
2. Mitä kieliä minä voin kuulla, kun vierailen teidän kotonanne? Kuka puhuisi mitä kieltä?
    - Mitä kieltä puhut äidille?
    - Mitä kieltä puhut isälle?
    - Mitä kieltä puhut isovanhemmille? Entä muille perheenjäsenille?
    - JOS SOVELTUU: Entä sinun veljesi/siskosi? Mitä kieltä puhutte toisillenne?
3. Entäs jos menemme kotisi ulkopuolelle (vaikkapa leikkimään ulos). Mitä kieliä siellä puhutaan? Kuka niitä puhuu?
4. Mitä kieliä kuulet koulussa/päiväkodissa?
5. Mitä ihmiset koulussa/päiväkodissa sanovat, kun kuulevat, että puhut x kieltä?
6. Kuka on paras ystäväsi? Mitä kieltä puhutte yhdessä? Kun menette parhaan ystäväsi kotiin, mitä kieltä silloin puhut?
7. Mitä mieltä paras ystäväsi on siitä, että puhut eri kieliä?
8. Onko sinulla ystäviä, jotka puhuvat enemmän kuin vain yhtä kieltä?
9. Onko sinulla kavereita, jotka puhuvat OL1/OL2/ML?
    - Kuinka usein näet heitä?
10. Tunnetko ketään (maailmassa) jotka puhuvat OL1/OL2/ML?
    - Kuinka usein näet heitä?

Käsitys perheen kielipolitiikasta

11. Päättivätkö vanhempasi mitä kieliä sinä puhut? Mitä mieltä olet asiasta?
12. Puhuvatko vanhempasi aina samaa kieltä sinulle? Puhuvatko he joskus OL1/OL2/ML?
13. Mitä tapahtuu, jos puhut jotakin toista kieltä äidille tai isälle? Mitä äiti/isä tekee?
14. Teetkö mitään oppiaksesi OL1/OL2/ML?
15. Kuka opetti sinut puhumaan OL1/OL2/ML? Auttaako kukaan sinua oppimaan OL1/OL2/ML? Kuka opettaa OL1/OL2/ML to you? Mitä he tekevät?
16. Menetkö minnekään paikkaa missä voit puhua OL2/ML? Mitä siellä tapahtuu?
17. Onko sinulla harrastuksia? Mitä teet koulun jälkeen/viikonloppuisin? Urheiletko? Pidätkö siitä? Mitä kieltä käytät harrastuksessasi?
18. Onko mitään muuta aktiviteettia mitä teet usein? Pidätkö siitä? Mitä kieltä käytät siellä?
19. Katsotko televisiota? Pidätkö television katsomisesta? Millä kielellä katsot televisiota? Miksi?
20. Entä tarinoiden/satujen lukeminen? Onko sinulla erikielisiä kirjoja? Kuka niitä lukee? Kuinka usein?

Käsitys omasta kielenkäytöstä, näkökulmia kolmikielisenä lapsena olosta

21. Mitä mieltä olet siitä, etta pystyt puhumaan kaikkia näitä kieliä? Millaista se on?
22. Opetatko joskus ystävillesi OL1/OL2/ML?
23. Sekoitatko koskaan kieliä? Tapahtuuko joskus niin, että et tiedä jotakin sanaa yhdellä kielellä ja sanot sen vain toisella kielellä? Voisitko antaa minulle esimerkin?

Asenteet kieliä kohtaan

24. Pidätkö OL1/OL2/ML puhumisesta? Miksi haluat/et halua puhua OL1/OL2/ML?
25. Onko sinulla lempikieltä? Mikä on lempikieliesi? Miksi?
26. Onko jotakin kieltä, mistä et pidä niin paljon? Miksi?
27. Ovatko OL1/OL2/ML kielet vaikeita vai helppoja? Miksi?

Kiitos paljon, kun autoit. Haluaisitko kertoa jotakin muuta kielistä, mitä puhut? Onko mitään, mitä haluaisit kysyä minulta?

Appendix M Schedule of questions (En)

Schedule of questions

Abbreviations

OL1	Official Language of the country 1, majority language (English or Finnish)
OL2	Official Language of the country 2, minority language (Welsh or Swedish)
ML	Minority Language spoken in the family, third minority language, heritage language passed to child by a parent or community/school/other

Parental interview questions

Thank you for taking part in this research. This interview should take half an hour to an hour. It's nothing formal so if either one of you has to leave, please do. We can also take a break at any time. Also, it would be important for the research that you answer as truthfully as possible.

Do you have any questions before we start?

Is it ok if I record the interview?

So, you both filled in an online questionnaire separately? IF APPLICABLE: I just wanted to check a few things from there:

Confirm background information with both parents if anything is not clear or is missing from the SurveyMonkey questionnaire (date of birth, education, work, employment status, people living in the household, children's names and ages, places where family has lived, future plans).

Family's languages and language use

1. Can you tell me about how your family is trilingual?
    - How did you two meet? What language did you speak to each other when you met?
    - What changed after the birth of the children?
    - What languages do you speak to the children?
    - What languages do the children speak?

- Are there any situations when you use a different language? When?

2. Has your use of languages changed over time? How? When?
3. So if you normally use [name of language] to talk to [name of child] can you tell me about what language/s they use when starting a conversation with you? Has this always been the case or changed over time? How?
4. Are there any occasions when you speak one language to the child and they answer in another language? Does it happen when you are alone with [name of child] or with other people? If so, who?
5. IF APPLICABLE: Is your language use with your youngest child different to with your older children? How? Why?
6. Did you both take parental leave (maternity or paternity leave)? How long did you spend looking after the child/ren? IF APPLICABLE: Did that affect the language of the older children?
7. In what languages do your children play when they're on their own?
8. Can you think of any times that the children spend in an environment with just the minority language being present?
9. What change, if any, does the presence of other people (apart from the other parent or one of you) [e.g. grandparent, aunt, other children] cause in your use with a specific language with the [name of child]?
10. What languages do the child/ren normally use when you are not a part of the conversation or you are elsewhere? PROMPT: children with siblings, friends, family

Extended family members

Like I've told you I'm hoping to send a short online questionnaire to a few family members this winter. Answering the questions is completely voluntary for them but it would be interesting to have their answers as part of the research.

11. You mentioned X, Y and Z. *Confirm closest family and friends using languages in questionnaire.* What do these family and friends feel about your children being trilingual?

12. Could you tell me more about the people? Can you think of any strategies, practices, methods or principles (when it comes to languages) they use with the child/ren at all?
13. Are they usually on their own with the children or are there other people there? Which languages are being spoken? (Bilingual, monolingual, trilingual mode)
14. Can you think of any other friends or relatives that speak language OL2/ML to the children? (If yes and not previously mentioned, who and how often? *possibly refer to extended family questionnaire*)
15. Are there any people who don't live in the country that the children still speak to (or communicate with) on a regular basis? How do they communicate? PROMPT:

telephone, Skype, FaceTime, WhatsApp, Facebook, Instagram, Twitter

Family language planning and parental attitudes

16. Why do you want your children to speak L1, L2, and L3?
    - What are the advantages and disadvantages of being trilingual in your opinion?
17. Are there languages in your family that may have more prestige than others? Are there languages that are respected more?
18. What discussions did you have about raising the child/ren trilingually?
    - Could you tell me more about how and when you decided to use certain languages with your children?
    - Who decided what?
    - How did you come to that decision?
    - Did either of you have concerns?
    - Did you agree on what languages to use?
19. Did you discuss the language you were going to use with anyone else (e.g. other family members, health visitor, other parents)? What did they say?
20. Do you talk to each other about the languages children use at the moment or do you just get on with it?

Language strategies

21. In the online questionnaire you mention some ways in which you try to make sure that the kids hear or use each language. Can you tell me a bit more about what you do?
    - How do you know that certain strategy or method worked or works well? Can you give me an example? Are there any which don't work so well? Are there any which you've stopped using? Why?
22. Can you think of any **other** strategies, practices, methods or principles that have helped you pass on a language to the child/ren?
    - Do you use any **media** in the minority languages (Swedish, ML) that helps the children with their languages? PROMPT: Internet, television, radio
    - How about **magazines, books, CDs or DVDs** – do you use them as at all? IF YES Which language magazines, books, CDs, or DVDs do the children have?
    - Do you ever **travel** to places where the minority languages are spoken or where people speak [OL2/ML]? Where do you go, how often, how does that help with the languages?

23. Are there any **language communities** or cultural groups (where people speak OL2/ML language) that you go to? IF YES, how helpful is this community for you? Are people from similar backgrounds to you? Could you tell me more?

Children's language competence, confidence, and attitudes

24. In your own words, what would you say your children's level of the languages is? How has this changed over time? What has been the big thing that changed the language development?
    - fluent speakers, mother tongue, understand but does not speak, speaks basic, etc.
25. Are you happy with the development in the three languages or do you have any concerns?
    - Do the child/ren understand the three languages?
    - Do they speak them?
    - How about vocabulary and grammar?
    - IF CONCERNS, What are you planning to do about that?
26. What do you think the children think about their different languages?
    - Are they happy to speak the different languages?
    - Is there a language they are not too comfortable with?

Language support

27. Can you think of any support that that has helped with the language or languages of your children? Prompt: either publicly funded or you pay for privately, part of the council's services/education system, payable services
28. Where do you get support for the trilinguality of your child?
29. Do you think there is enough support and provision (for example, schools, home language tuition) for the different languages? If not, what kind of support would you benefit from?

Challenges

30. What do you think people in Finland think about different languages being spoken? Where you live are there many people speaking different languages?
31. Has anyone here ever questioned why you speak a certain language with your

child/ren?

32. Can you think of a difficult time of dealing with the three languages or a minority language? When? What did you do?
33. What has been most challenging so far for you or your child?
34. Are there any challenges that you have faced because of the society you live in at the moment?

Thank you. Those were all the questions I have for you. Is there anything else you would like to say about what we have discussed today? Do you have any questions for me?

Extra questions about goals

35. What is your goal or aim for the children? What kind of speakers or users of the three languages would you like to see as them in the future?
36. You said your goal was [use parents' terminology]. How do you know they are [use parents' terminology]?

Children's questions

My name is Kaisa and I have two children who speak three languages as well. I'm writing a book about children like you that can speak many languages. I'd now like to ask you a few questions that will help me write the book. You don't have to answer any questions if you don't want to but you can answer to all. You can also tell me about other things about your languages if you like. I'd really just like to know what you think of your life as a multilingual child!

Family's languages and language use

1. I've been told that you speak X languages! What languages do you speak? PROMPT: Do you ever speak OL1/OL2/ML?
2. What languages could I hear in your home? Who would speak what language?
   - What language do you speak to mum?
   - What language do you speak to dad?
   - What do you speak to grandparents? Other family members?
   - IF APPLICABLE: How about your brother/sister? What do you speak when you're together?
3. How about if we leave your house (to play outside). What languages are spoken

there? Who speaks them?

4. Which languages do you hear at school/nursery?
5. What do people at school/nursery say when they hear that you speak x languages?
6. Who is your best friend? What language do you speak together? When you go to your best friend's house, what language do you speak?
7. What does your best friend think about you speaking x languages?
8. Do you have any friends like you that speak more than one language?
9. Do you have any friends who speak OL1/OL2/ML?
    - How often do you see them?
10. Do you know any other people (in the world) that speak OL1/OL2/ML?
    - How often do you see them?

Perception of family language policy

11. Was it your parents that decided what languages you speak? What do you think of that?
12. Do they always speak the same language to you? Do they sometimes speak OL1/OL2/ML?
13. What happens when you speak another language to mum or dad? What does your mum/dad do?
14. Do you do anything to learn OL1/OL2/ML?
15. Who taught you to speak OL1/OL2/ML? Does anyone help you learn OL1/OL2/ML? Who teaches OL1/OL2/ML to you? What do they do?
16. Do you go anywhere where you can speak OL2/ML? What happens there?
17. What hobbies do you have? What do you do after school/weekends? Do you play sports? Do you enjoy it? What language do you use there?
18. Are there any other activities you do often? Do you enjoy it? What language do you use there?
19. Do you watch television? What do you enjoy watching on TV? What language is it in? Why?
20. How about reading stories? Do you have books in different languages? Who reads them? How often?

Perception of own use of language, perspectives of being a trilingual child

21. What do you think about being able to speak all these languages? What is it like?

22. Do you sometimes teach your friends OL1/OL2/ML?
23. Do you ever mix the languages? Do you sometimes not know a word in one language and just say it in another language? Can you give me an example?

Attitudes towards the three languages

24. Do you like speaking OL1/OL2/ML? Why/why not do you want to speak OL1/OL2/ML?
25. Have you got a favourite language? What is your favourite language? Why?
26. Is there a language you don't like so much? Why?
27. Are the OL1/OL2/ML languages easy or difficult? Why?

Thank you so much for helping me out with my work. Is there anything else you want to tell me about the different languages you speak? Or do you have questions for me?

Appendix N Schedule of children's questions (Sv)

Barnens frågor

Jag heter Kaisa och jag skulle vilja fråga några frågor av dig.

Familjens språk och språkanvändning

1. Jag har hört att du talar tre språk! Vilka språk talar du? Talar du OL1/OL2/ML?
2. Vilka språk kan jag höra i ditt hem? Vem skulle tala vilket språk?
   - Vilket språk talar du med mamma?
   - Vilket språk talar du med pappa?
   - Vilket språk talar du med mormor/farfar/etc.?
   - Vilket språk talar du med din bror/syster? Vad talar du när ni är tillsammans?
3. Hurdant är det om vi går ut (hemifrån) och leka? Vilka språk talas där? Vem talar dem?
4. Vilka språk hör du i skolan / dagis?
5. Vad säger folk i skolan / dagis / förskola när de hör att du pratar tre språk?
6. Vem är din bästa vän? Vilket språk talar ni tillsammans? När du går hem till din bästa vän, vilket språk talar du?
7. Vad tycker din bästa vän om att du talar tre språk?
8. Har du vänner som du som talar mer än ett språk?
9. Har du vänner som talar OL1 / OL2 / ML?
   - Hur ofta ser du dem?
10. Känner du till andra människor (i världen) som talar OL1 / OL2 / ML?
    - Hur ofta ser du dem?

Uppfattning om familjespråket

11. Var det dina föräldrar som bestämde vilka språk du talar? Vad tycker du om det?
12. Pratar de alltid samma språk **till** dig? Pratar de ibland OL1 / OL2 / ML?
13. Vad händer när du pratar ett annat språk till mamma eller pappa? Vad gör din mamma / pappa?
14. Gör du något för att lära dig OL1 / OL2 / ML?
15. Vem lärde dig att tala OL1 / OL2 / ML? Hjälper någon dig att lära dig OL1 / OL2 / ML? Vem lär OL1 / OL2 / ML till dig? Vad gör de?

16. Går du någonstans där du kan tala OL2 / ML? Vad händer där?
17. Vilka hobbyer har du? Vad gör du efter skolan / helgerna? Sportar du? Gillar du det? Vilket språk använder du där?
18. Finns det några andra aktiviteter du ofta gör? Gillar du det? Vilket språk använder du där?
19. Ser du på tv? Vad tycker du om att titta på tv? Vilket språk är det i? Varför?
20. Vad tycker du om att läsa böcker? Har du böcker på olika språk? Vem läser dem? Hur ofta?

Uppfattning om eget språkbruk, perspektiv på att vara ett flerspråkigt barn

21. Vad tycker du om att kunna tala alla dessa språk? Hur är det?
22. Undervisar du ibland dina kompisar OL1 / OL2 / ML?
23. Blandar du ibland språk? Känner du ibland inte ett ord på ett språk och säger det bara på ett annat språk? Kan du ge mig ett exempel?

Attityder mot de tre språken

24. Gillar du att prata OL1 / OL2 / ML? Varför / varför vill du inte prata OL1 / OL2 / ML?
25. Har du ett favoritspråk? Vad är ditt favoritspråk? Varför?
26. Finns det ett språk som du inte gillar så mycket? Varför?
27. Är OL1 / OL2 / ML lätt eller svårt? Varför?

Tack så mycket för att du har svarat på mina frågor. Finns det något annat du vill berätta om de olika språk du pratar? Eller har du frågor till mi

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