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BILINGUAL PARENTS

Experiences of Being Bilingual and Aspirations and Plans for Their Children’s Language Development

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As a consequence of globalisation, bilingualism has become more common even in the Western world. It is likely that this will result in more families where one or both parents are bilingual. Much research has been done on bilingualism and bilingual families, but the focus of the studies tend to be on the bilingual development of the children, or on two parents who are monolingual in different languages and their strategies for bringing up their children bilingually. This thesis focuses on the bilingual parents: their experiences of being bilingual and their aspirations, plans and strategies for their own children’s language development.

The goal of this thesis is not to find results that could be generalised for all bilingual parents. However, it provides an insight to the experiences, aspirations and plans of some bilingual parents. This is a qualitative study, focusing on the experiences and thoughts of the bilingual parents who have participated. All parents in the study were early bilinguals who had acquired two or more languages naturally. Most of the participants were young adults with very small children, but the study also included some persons who were a bit older and with adult children. The data was collected by asking the participants to write a narrative about their experiences of being bilingual and of their aspirations and plans for their own children’s language. One of the narratives was collected in the summer 2017 as a part of the pilot study for this thesis, and the rest during the summer and fall 2018. All the participants received a guideline paper to give them ideas of topics that could be addressed and to secure relevant data for the study. The analysis of the 10 narratives that were collected was inductive, which is characteristic in qualitative research. The analysis method used is inspired by thematic analysis and of the tradition of phenomenology. The findings from the data were organised into four main categories: Childhood and youth, Adulthood, Views, attitudes, beliefs and experiences of bilingualism and language and Own children and language, which again included several subcategories.

The main findings of the study were that all the participants seemed to have a very positive attitude towards bilingualism despite the fact that some of them had met negative attitudes connected to being bilingual. There were huge variations in the schools’ attitudes towards and support of bilingualism. Several of the participants mentioned advantages of being bilingual. These were also mentioned as a reason for raising their own children to become bilingual. Most of the participants planned to raise their children bilingually, and the 1-2 participants who had not raised their children bilingually, regretted this. The strategies to carry out the plans and the aspirations for the children’s language development and language skills varied a lot.

Keywords: bilingualism, bilingual parents, bilingual language development, aspirations for language development, language plans, language strategies, bilingualism in school
Globalisaation tuloksena, kaksikielisyys on yleistynyt myös länsimaissa. On todennäköistä, että tämän tuloksena yhä useamman perheen toinen tai molemmat vanhemmat ovat kaksikielisiä. Kaksikielisyyttä ja kaksikielisiä perheitä on tutkittu paljon, mutta tutkimusten fokus on yleensä lasten kaksikielisessä kehityksessä tai kahdessa yksikielisessä vanhemmassa ja heidän strategioissaan, joiden avulla tahtovat kasvattaa lapsista kaksikielisiä. Tämä tutkimus keskittyy kaksikielisiin vanhempiin: heidän kokemuksistaan kaksikielisenä olemisesta sekä heidän tavoitteisiinsa, suunnitelmiaan ja strategioihinsa omien lastensa kielellisen kehityksen suhteen.


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1 Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

Having grown up in Norway with a Norwegian father and a Finnish mother, who both spoke their own language to me from the moment I was born, made me an early, simultaneous bilingual with two first languages. When people asked me how it felt to be bilingual, I could not give them an answer. When they asked me which language I was usually thinking or dreaming in, I could not give them an answer either. For me being bilingual was just as natural and just as much an unconscious thing to do as breathing. Which language to use was always a result of the situation, the topic or the people I was speaking to, except when I had to decide which language to e.g. write my diary or blog posts in. The first time I actually had to make a big decision on which language to use, was when I and my husband, also he bilingual, were expecting our first child. I myself had had an enormous advantage of being bilingual as it had always enabled me to stay in touch and communicate with my Finnish relatives and friends, and later on giving me the possibility to live, study and work in Finland. I have always been incredibly thankful to my parents for giving both their languages to me and had a strong wish of giving my children the possibility of acquiring both of my languages, and also my husbands second language. However, I was unsure about how to proceed to achieve my goals, and as searching for information about bilingual parents on the internet and in the library only lead to books and articles focusing on children growing up with several languages, I was left empty-handed.

During my Norwegian as a Second Language studies at the University of Oslo, and then the Intercultural Teacher Education Programme and various courses at the Faculty of Humanities at Oulu University, I had attended several courses addressing different aspects of language and bilingualism. Hence I was already familiar with much of the literature and research done about bilingualism, but could not remember ever having come across any research focusing on a parent who had acquired two or more languages early in their life and their language choices for their own children. The choice of topic for my Master’s thesis was therefore partly a result of my personal interest and need for information about other bilingual parents in a similar situation as mine. At the same time, I was also interested in learning about all different aspects of language learning and bilingual development from a professional point of view as I consider
the understanding and knowledge about language and bilingualism an important part of a language aware teacher.

Another reason for another study about bilingualism is the globalisation of the world. Globalisation is not a new phenomenon, but it has sped up during the last half-century (Globalisation, 2014). As a logical consequence of this, bi- and multilingualism has become more common even in such countries where it has not been common before. I would see it as likeable, that the globalisation might have resulted in, and will also in the future result in more families, where one or both of the parents are bilingual themselves. I also believe that being aware of and knowing as much as possible about bilingualism would be important for all future teachers, so that the likely growing number of bilingual pupils would be met by language aware teachers. Chin & Wigglesworth (2007, p. 124) think that teachers are, without doubt, central in young children’s lives and that their positive and negative attitudes towards the language use of bilingual children probably have an impact of the language behaviour and choice of the children. Even if Chin and Wigglesworth admit that there have not been any comprehensive studies focusing on how the attitudes affect the bilinguals’ development, there are several studies confirming that teachers working with bilingual children have beliefs and attitudes concerning bilingualism and that they predispose the teachers being either supportive or unsupportive towards bilingualism.

Bilingualism has of course already been researched a lot. Central research on this area will be addressed in my thesis and also central concepts which I use in my thesis will be defined. The focus of my study will be on what language experiences and attitudes bilingual parents have themselves and on what aspirations, plans and strategies they have for their own children’s language development. I will also discuss whether it is possible to find any connections between their own language experiences and the language aspirations, plans and strategies they have for their own children. In addition to this, I will also include parts of the bilingual parents own language experiences in school and on their expectations for the support given to their own children by kindergarten and school and trying to find connections between own experiences and expectations for the children’s kindergartens and schools.

My research questions are:

- What experiences and attitudes do bilingual parents have concerning their own bilingualism?
- What aspirations do bilingual parents have for their own children’s language development and what plans, strategies and choices have they made considering this?
- What kind of support have the bilingual parents themselves received in school and what are their expectations for the kindergarten or school in order to support their own children’s language development?

The participants of my study are people who feel that they have acquired two languages fluently during their childhood or early youth and in a native like way. Most of the participants know more than those two languages, but the focus is on those who know two or more languages that have been fluent from their childhood or early youth. In addition to this, one of the participants know three languages on a native like level. I could therefore have called the participants multilingual instead of bilingual. However, I have chosen to use the term bilingualism and bilinguals about the participants. Bilingualism is a hyponym to the term multilingualism (Institute for multilingualism, 2014). As bilingualism could be defined as the fluency of two languages (Bilingualism, n.d.) With the concept multilingual, I mean using, or knowing several languages. (Multilingual, n.d..) Multilingualism could mean using or knowing two, but even more. Actually, also the term bilingual could be used to mean knowing two or more languages, according to e.g. by Myers-Scotton (2006). Later in this thesis I will define these and other important concepts in more detail.

1.2 Earlier Research

Very little research has been done on the situation where one or both parents are early bilinguals and which focus is the bilingual parent’s language choices for his or her child and the reasons behind this choice. There are studies where some of the participants are parents and bilinguals themselves, but it was hard to find any research where the combination of being a bilingual parent and their language choices for their own children, was focused on.

Bilingualism is a much studied topic. In most of the literature about bilingualism, the French linguist Jules Ronjat’s empirical study on his bilingual child, published in 1913, is mentioned as the first larger important study of a child’s early bilingual acquisition and bilingual behaviour (e.g.: De Houwer, 2005, p. 30). Ronjat’s study is also mentioned by e.g. Genesee (2006, p. 45), who also mentions Leopold’s study of his two bilingual daughters, published between 1939 and 1949 as another early report of bilingual children. According to Genesee, there is not much
further research done on the topic between these and until the 1980’s. According to Arnberg (Arnberg, 1981a, p. 13), bilingual studies of children are quite typically carried out by the children’s own parents, who are also trained linguists, just like in the cases above. Myers-Scotton (2006, p.79) writes that most studies about language in different situation is based on self-reports. She further writes that one of the problems with these self-reports is that the speakers seem to be quite bad at paying attention to their own language use, another that the speaker might want to please the researcher or appear more educated than he or she is. Therefore the given answers are not necessarily accurate.

In Genesee’s book from year 2006 (p. 45) he writes that even though bilingualism is a much studied topic, theories of language acquisition are still based largely on monolingual children. Even if most theories do not exclude the possibility of learning more than one language at the same time, they do not really address bilingual first language acquisition (BFLA).

Another little researched topic is trilingualism. Hence it is not clear how sensible it is to raise a child in three languages (Baker, 2007, p. 51). Maybe this is one of the reasons why the term bilingualism is still much more commonly found in literature than multilingualism. However, Skutnabb-Kangas (1981, p. 82) writes that two minority languages at home and a third in society can be hard, but can also work well e.g. if the parents are patient, and argues that the children could be, to a great extent, trilingual.

According to Grosjean (2010, p. 4) there is a long tradition in the field of using the word bilingualism about knowing either two or more than two languages. With these arguments in mind, I made my decision of using the term bilingual, and not multilingual, in my thesis. When discussing why he is not using the word ”multilingual”, he points out the fact that many people are not multilingual, but bilingual, knowing ”only” two languages.

As there are lots of bilingual people in the world, it is clear that there are also many bilingual people who are parents. What struck me as interesting was that when searching for information with the words 'bilingual parents’ on the internet, what came up was mostly information about parents of bilingual children, and not anything about parents who are bilingual themselves. Of course some of the parents of bilingual children might be bilingual themselves, but I have failed to find any studies focusing on the bilingual parents, their background and the aspirations they have and choices they make for their own children’s language acquisition or learning. The closest I got to find research on this topic was when reading Una Cunningham’s book Growing up with two languages (2011), where bilingual parents’ bilingual experiences and their
language choices for their own children is addressed as one of several topics. One of the chapters in the book is named "Looking back on a bilingual childhood, and includes 10 cases based on interviews with people who have grown up with two or more languages. Some of these people are now parents themselves, and in the light of their own background, they have told about their language choices for their children. (Cunningham, 2011, p. 136.) I will write more about Cunningham’s interviews in a later section. Another study I found about this specific topic was the one of Okita (2002). The study is about Japanese-British intermarried families living in the UK and the dilemmas they face concerning language use. Several of the parents in the study were bilingual themselves. Even though the choice of whether to use Japanese or English with the children, the fact that many of the parents were bilingual themselves, was not focused specifically on. Even so, the factors influencing the language decisions the parents make, how these decisions influences the family arrangements and how these dynamics change over time were discussed and researched. (Okita, 2002, p. 1-2.)

In Oulu University, there has been made several Master’s thesis Studies about bilingualism. Many of them have been published through the Faculty of Humanities as a part of various language studies, but also some through the Faculty of Education. One of the newest Master’s thesis about bilingualism from the Faculty of Education is Maiju Ainesmaa-Gabelle’s (2016) thesis The language behavior of early bilinguals in the context of emotions. Most of the thesis from the Faculty of Humanities seem to focus on the language structure. Riitta Leinonen’s (2012) Master’s thesis named Parental views on children’s bilingualism, Strategies of language choice and activities supporting the linguistic development of children. Even if this is one of the few thesis taking the parental views into consideration that I managed to find, it also focuses on the language structure. As my thesis does not focus on the children’s actual language development or language structure, and as it focuses on parents who are early bilinguals themselves, it has a different main focus than all the studies I have managed to find so far.
2 Language Acquisition and Learning

Before defining bilingualism and other related concepts, the concept of language will be defined. According to Skutnabb-Kangas (1981, p. 12), language is a set of symbols which people can use to describe the outside world and the reality around and inside us and the relationship between these two. The language gets its meaning when being social with other people and it is also changed and learned through this. Hence its existence is socially dependant. Language could be described as our most important tool in conceptualisation. Further could be said that all languages are worth the same and no languages are non-systematic or irrational. (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981, p. 12). Bloomfield (1935, p. 3) states that "Language plays a great part in our lives.” He also writes, that the effects of language are remarkable. Despite this, language is taken for granted like breathing or walking, he argues. He argues that the fact that we rarely observe language might be because of the familiarity of it.

There are several theories of how languages are really acquired. Some of the first theories were the contrastive analysis, error analysis and the interlanguage theory. These were dominant theories from the 1950’s to the 1970’s but many of these were not adequate. One of the most famous theories is without doubt Chomsky’s theory of the Universal Grammar (UG), which comes up in most literature about language acquisition. Chomsky’s idea was that human language is too complicated for small children to be reconstructed by small children who’s cognition is not fully developed. He argued, that the language competence is an autonomous module or an organ which is a part of the human biology. This autonomous module or organ is what guides children learning their mother tongue in what are possible linguistic forms. This explains the quick and complete way of mother tongue acquisition. The competence is seen as partly innate and is identified with UG. (Berggren & Tenfjord, 1999, p. 25-26).

Chomsky’s theroy is still used and "valid” for those believing in it. As is commonly known, his theory has been and is widely debated by linguists. Myers-Scotton writes that those linguists who believe strongly in the theory about universal grammar, think that only little exposure is needed for very young children to be fluent in speaking and understanding whichever language they are exposed to. However, she argues that the ability to read and write requests more than just simple exposure. (2006, p. 42-43). Another theory is that there are innate features affecting language acquisition, but no specific language module. This view is constructivistic, explaining the development of linguistic competence as the result of external linguistic data and different
features in our cognitive abilities. This means that learning a language is like learning any other complex skill. (Berggren & Tenfjord, 1999, p. 26.)

The majority of children become proficient speakers of their first language during their first five years of life (Cunningham, 2011, p. 51). The process in which a first or second language is internalized is called language learning. Certain authors think that ‘language learning’ should be used for only formal learning while others think it could also include also informal language learning. (Baker, 2007, p. 214.) However, normally a line is drawn between the concepts language acquisition and language learning. Language acquisition is what happens when a language is spoken as a first language at home, whereas language learning usually describes a situation where a language is learned later in life. It is worth mentioning that many people learn their second language informally. (Myers-Scotton, 2006, p. 42-43.) This means that the term language acquisition could used for second language as well. When talking about bilingual child language acquisition it generally means acquiring two or more languages through being exposed to them as a very young child. In this case the term ”acquisition” refers to spontaneous learning without obvious effort or instruction. (Myers-Scotton, 2006, p. 324.)

Different factors affect how fluent someone’s language is, how it is processed and how the brain stores and deals with the language. Two important factors are how the language. A language could, e.g. be acquired natural or in school, or a combination of these two. Another factor affecting the fluency of a language is how much the language is used. (Grosjean, 2013, p. 11). The acquisition process of one language for monolinguals and several languages for the bilingual, seem to be very similar (De Houwer, 2005, p. 30). Some people might still have the misconception that bilingual children develop their languages more slowly than monolingual peers. De Houwer (2005, p. 41) claims that there is no empirical basis for this. She continues by stating that the result of comparisons that have been made, it is actually striking similarities between the language development if comparing a monolingual and a bilingual of the same age and focusing on one language, which is obviously the monolingual’s only language and one of two or more languages for the bilingual.

Another factor which is likely to have an effect acquisition is the status and prestige a certain language has in the society. Baker defines minority language as a language of a language of low prestige and low in power but adds that it is sometimes also used to mean a language which is spoken by a minority of the population in a country (2007, p. 217). The definition of minority language as the language spoken by a minority of the country is a definition used in several
countries. Another characteristic of minority language is that it is often used in informal situations, e.g. inside family. The status of the minority language depends on attitudes and laws of the society. (Frågor och svar om minoritetsspråk, 2014). When using the term in my thesis, this latter definition is the one that will be used. 'Majority language’ could mean a high-status language, and often refers to status and power more than the size of a group speaking the language in question. It could also mean the language used by a majority of the population of a country. Again, this latter part of the definition is what is meant when using the concept 'majority language’ in this thesis.

2.1 Mother tongue

The term 'mother tongue’ is not unambiguous. That is the case also in this thesis, where it comes up both in the theory part and several times during the empirical part of the study. There are different criteria for when it is possible to say that a language is someone’s mother tongue. Whether a language could be considered someone’s mother tongue or not depends on which criteria is taken into consideration.

Whether mother tongue is a static concept or not, all depends on the criteria the concept is based on. Skutnabb-Kangas (1981, p.25) points out that all criteria except the criteria of origin make it possible to change mother tongue several times throughout life. In other words, mother tongue is bound to time and can change depending on the perspective (Håkansson, 2003, p. 17). Baker states that mother tongue could mean e.g. the language that a person has learnt from the mother or the first learnt language from whoever, the stronger language, which could of course be different at different times of life, the language of the country, the language most used by a person or the language that a person has the more positive attitudes towards or is the more affected to. (2007, p. 218)

Skutnabb-Kangas (1981, 22-23) describes four different criteria for mother tongue: origin, competence, function and attitudes. If defining mother tongue based on the criteria of origin, it is the language that is learned first (Ibid. 1981, p. 26). This is the criteria used in the definition of Oxford Advanced learner’s dictionary (Hornby, 2010, p. 998), where mother tongue is the language that is learnt first when a child learns to speak and is synonym to the concept of first language. The criteria of origin could be bound to the diciplin of sociology (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981, p. 26). If defined based on the criteria of competence, a criteria which is rising from the linguistics, the mother tongue is language a person knows best. The criteria of function has a
sociolinguistic touch to it, and claims that the mother tongue is the language most used by a person. The last of the four criteria described by Skutnabb-Kangas is the criteria of attitudes, which could be divided into two; the language a person identifies with or the language other people identify that is a person’s native language, which by Baker is defined as “the language which a person acquires first in life, or identifies with as a member of an ethnic group.” (2007, p. 218). The first of the two criteria is connected to both social and individual psychology, the second to social psychology and sociology (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981, p. 26). As the participants of the research done in the empirical part of this thesis use different definitions of the term, I am not able to state the use of only one type of criteria determining the definition of mother tongue throughout the thesis. I will try to make clear what it means in situations where it is possible to explain. In the empirical part I will be loyal to the participants, accepting that they have the right to define what is their mother tongue.

As bilingualism is central in this thesis, it is natural to ask whether a person can have two mother tongues. According to the criteria of origin, a child could have two mother tongues. If using the criteria of competence, having two mother tongues would mean that a person is balanced bilingual, knowing two languages in the same way that two monolinguals, each speaking one of the languages of a bilingual. (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981, p. 28-40). I will come back to balanced bilingualism later, but as balanced bilingualism might actually be a hypothetical construction (Lanza, 1997, p. 6), having two mother tongues could also be hypothetical if using a definition based on the criteria of competence. If using the criteria of function, it is rare that a speaker has the same control of the two languages and using them for the same purposes. However if the definition of mother tongue is based on attitudes, having two mother tongues is possible. (Skutnabb-Kangas, p. 28-40).

Skutnabb-Kangas underlines the important role mother tongue plays in a person’s life. She states that the huge difference in how a mother tongue is acquired, in the way all other languages are acquired. This, she writes, makes it easier to understand why questioning the justification of a person’s mother tongue could be understood not only as the questioning of a language but that the whole person is cast into doubt and of what he or she identifies with. (1981, p. 57).
2.2 First and Second language

Just like 'mother tongue', first language and second language could be defined in numerous ways. In the definition of Oxford advanced learner’s dictionary, first language could be either the language learnt to speak first as a child or the language that a person speaks best (Hornby, 2010, p. 581), whereas second language is a language that is learned to speak well, often used in e.g. school or for work, but it is not the language learnt first. (Ibid., p. 1380.) The concept of second language is possible to use also in a situation where a certain language is widely spoken in the country where the language learner stays, in contrast to a foreign language. Baker (2007, p. 221). An example of this is English, which is often mentioned, e.g. in University bilinugalism sources, as something in between a second and a foreign language. The reason is that it plays such a great part in many countries even if it is not an official language or the mother tongue of the people.

First language acquisition, often referred to only as L1 (Language 1) includes one or more languages learned before the age of three. Second language acquisition, or L2, happens after the first language has been established, which means after age three. (Håkansson, 2003, p. 145). When speaking about “second” in this case actually means second, third, fourth language etc., meaning all language learnt after the first language (Berggren & Tenfjord, 1999, p. 16). It is not always clear whether a language is a child’s first- or second language. An example of a situation where this might be unclear is when a child is speaking one language at home and one at day care. (Håkansson, 2003, p. 165.)

In contrast to a first language learner, the second language learner already has one (or more) language, and has also achieved a certain cognitive level. This can be observed if looking at the learner’s language output. An example is that second language learners make different mistakes than those acquiring a language as their first language. Before learning a second language, the speakers speak a version of the second language which has interference. (Håkansson, 2003, p. 166-167 meaning linguistic features, from their mother tongue. ). According to Baker, interference a decreasingly used concept because of its negative and humiliating undertones (2007 p. 212). The language these learners speak, has features having to do with the developmental process. Another difference between first and second language learners is that more or less all first language learners achieve a high level of language proficiency. (Håkansson 2003, p. 166-167.) This is not always the case for second language learners. One of the many factors affecting how well a second language is learnt is the way it is learnt. Grosjean states that
if the learning of a second language happens in a classroom, which is quite artificial and formal, the result of this kind of learning is rarely a functional and regular use of two languages. (1982, p. 191-192).
3 Bilingualism

3.1 Bilingualism on a Societal and Personal level

3.1.1 Bilingualism on a Societal level

When discussing bilingualism, it is important to separate societal and personal bilingualism. Therefore I am not going to describe bilingual societies in detail in my thesis, even if some of the countries or areas where my participants live might be bilingual in some way. I will, however, start by addressing societal bilingualism as a concept, then continuing onto the concept of personal bilingualism. In fact, the majority of the world’s population grow up in surroundings where two or even more languages are constantly used in both social and educational contexts (Chin & Wigglesworth, 2007, p. 53). If thinking of the languages in different countries, most countries have only one language as their official language even if more than one language is spoken in the majority of the world’s countries. However, the variation is huge. As European countries usually operate with one official language, many Asian and African countries have several official languages. (Håkansson, 2003, p. 27). Obviously there are exceptions to this norm. An example is Finland, which has been officially bilingual Swedish and Finnish since 1919 (Håkansson, 2003, p. 30). A majority of the people who participated in this study, had connections to Finland.

The situation in the different countries that the participants in this study are connected to actually have quite different language situations. Swedish is the official language in Sweden. It actually got its official status in 2009. (Frågor och svar om minoritetsspråk, 2014). In addition to this there are five national minority languages in Sweden. These are Finnish, Jiddish, Meänkieli, Romani and Sami (Om minoritetsspråk, 2016). In Norway Sami has actually got the status of an official language in addition to Norwegian. In addition to this Romanes and Romani are defined as minority languages. (Vikør & Jahr, 2018). USA has been defined as a monolingual society by Myers-Scotton (2006, p. 325).

Language and language use has always been connected with status and power. Whereas multilingualism has high status and is not only a feature of minorities in many parts of the world, in Western countries, the norm has been to speak one language whereas bi- or multilingualism has been rare. A high level of competence in one language (the one with high status), has been preferred. (György-Ullholm, 2010, p. 32.) In Sweden, the general expectation
is the Swedes get one language from home, and other languages, one or more, are learned first in school (György-Ullholm, 2010, p. 33). Too often multilingualism and diversity is seen more as a problem than as a resource and something that opens up possibilities. (Musk & Wedin, 2010, p. 10).

Diglossia is an aspect of societal bilingualism. Diglossia describes a situation where two varieties of a language have very precise domains of use. (Grosjean, 2013, p. 12). Growing up as a bilingual in a society with diglossia is obviously very different from growing up in a society where the norm is having one language as mother tongue. One difference is how bilingual children are viewed. People from monolingual societies like the United States or e.g. Western European countries where other lanugages are only learnt in school, young children speaking more than one language might be seen as something miraculous, even if their development is just very normal, and something all normally intelligent children are able to do (Myers-Scotton, 2006, p. 325).

In this paragraph I have written a bit about bilingualism on a societal level. When used from now on, bilingualism refers to bilingualism on a personal level, which will be described below.

3.1.2 Bilingualism on a Personal Level

Whereas a monolingual person speaks only one language, (Myers-Scotton, 2006, p. 2), a bilingual or multilingual person uses two or more languages in his or her everyday life (Grosjean, 2013, p. 5). According to some definitions, multilingual describes persons who know and/or use three or more languages (Baker, 2007, p. 219) or “Speaking or using several different languages.” (Hornby, 2010, p. 1005). To make it even more complicated, there is also the term "plurilingual", which according to Baker (2007, p. 219) is a person who is competent in two or more languages.

According to Myers-Scotton, bilingualism is the ability to use two or more languages sufficiently to carry on a limited casual conversation. (2006, p. 4) She does not want to set specific limits when it comes to proficiency or comprehension of another speaker, as she in her book considers speaking the most essential when it comes to this definition (Ibid., p. 44). Also De Houwer (2005, p. 41) seems to find making oneself understood the most important criteria for language proficiency. She states that the major difference between actively bilingual
children and monolingual children is that the first of the two are able to make themselves understood in two languages, while the latter group is not.

There are also less strict definitions of bilingualism. Myers-Scotton presents one of the looser definitions, requiring only that the speaker has learned to speak or understand at least some phrases “that show internal structural relations in a second language”. She underlines, however, that usually it is not seen as enough to be able to read something in a person’s L2 using a dictionary to be called bilingual. (2006, p. 3).

Chin & Wigglesworth (2007, p. 3) give both a looser and stricter definition of bilingualism. According to them, it could refer to either simply the use of two languages or the native-like control of two languages. Whereas the first definition highlights the use, not necessarily requiring more of the speaker than some rudimentary formulatic expressions, there are strict requirements for the language proficiency in the second definition. However, most bilinguals would probably be somewhere in the middle of a continuum with the two definitions in either end. Important to note is that definitions read about in the literature are often made by experts, not necessarily taking the speakers’ own views into consideration.

Primary bilingualism means that two languages have been learnt naturally, meaning not via e.g. formal learning (Baker, 2007, p. 220). Skutnabb-Kangas defines the term naturally bilingual, which meaning is very similar to primary bilingualism. Naturally bilingual people have, similar to the primary bilingual people, learned both their languages without formal education, through using them in the surroundings where they live their everyday life and using their language as natural way of communicating, usually also in a quite young age. (1981, p. 97).

### 3.2 Reasons for Bilingualism

An interesting question when discussing bilingualism, is why people become bilingual. Myers-Scotton (2006, p. 45) states that "Bilingualism is the result of contact between speakers speaking different languages, especially different L1s.”. Becoming bilingual is not something only a few people can achieve. As Baker states, "Children are born ready to become bilinguals and multilinguals.” (2007, p. 28). Even if there are no clear data for the whole world, the opinion of researchers on bilingualism is that half, or maybe more, of the world’s population is bilingual and that bilingualism is found in all age groups, all levels of society and in most countries. Some of the reasons for people becoming bilingual is that some countries house
different languages, which leads to contact between the inhabitants and this again to bilingualism. Also work related issues, such as diplomacy, business, foreign journalism and language teaching lead to language contact. As many students do part of their studies in an area or country with a different language than their own, they become bilingual. Hence, education and culture also plays a role in this. (Grosjean 2013, p. 6-7).

Today many of the countries have been affected by immigration (Grosjean, 2013, p. 6). The huge movements of populations, consisting of migrants and refugees, inter-ethnic romances and also marriages are increasing. In the case of marrying outside your group, which is called exogamy, the children may learn either one of the parents’ languages, or they may learn both. As already mentioned, his might be affected by which of the language has the most prestige where the family is living. If one of the language is not the language of local prestige, it is usually the mother who encourages learning this not presigious language. (Myers-Scotton, 2006, p. 52).

### 3.3 Bilinguals’ language proficiency and language skills

#### 3.3.1 Definitions of Language Proficiency and Language Skills

Several different terms are used for describing how the knowledge of a person’s language is. One is language proficiency, which could be considered an umbrella term. In some situations it is used as a synonym to language competence, sometimes as an outcome of language testing, which is measurable. The term language proficiency could be used both in situations when the language is learned formally or acquired informally. Often there is made a division between language competence and language performance. Language competence tends to be used when describing the inner, mental representation of language. Hence the language competence is something that cannot necessarily be seen, in contrast to language performance, which is observable. The term language skills, which could include listening, speaking, reading and writing, could be used when evaluating the language performance, as these components are specific, observable and clearly definable. (Baker, 2007, p. 214-215).

Bilingualism or multilingualism could be considered an umbrella term covering many different levels in two (or more) languages. Bilingualism is not only about proficiency in two languages, but also abut how language is used and how to behave bilingually. (Baker, 2007, p. xvii). Myers Scotton divides language competence into two different groups: grammatical competence and
communicative competence. Native speakers, term defined later, acquire both automatically. Hence communicative competence is a part of bilingualism. An example of this is the knowledge or understanding about whether it is appropriate to mix language or not in a certain situation. Professionals usually assess language proficiency of linguistic varieties dividing it into three systems: phonology, morphology and syntax and lexicon. Whereas L1-speakers have almost equal competence in the other aspects but vocabulary, L2-speakers might have higher competence in one or two of the systems (2006, p. 39-41).

The terms bi- and multilingualism are non-static (Musk & Wedin, 2011, p. 13). As Grosjean writes: "Bilingual’s languages wax and wane over the years." (2013, p. 11). In other words, the skills of bilingual children constantly change”. (Baker, 2007, p. 7.) In addition to this, bilinguals do not usually use their languages in the same situations and with the same people, meaning that very few bilinguals have been equally exposed to the different languages they know (Myers-Scotton, 2006, p. 3).

To be able to conclude anything about a person’s linguistic- and identical development, we would actually need to know something about all the different surroundings the child has met during the childhood, and be able to relate our understandings against this. However, this is a quite impossible task. (György-Ullholm, 2010, p. 32.)

3.3.2 Who is Bilingual?

Grosjean states that a bilingual person has a unique, specific linguistic configuration (2008, p. 13-14). The requirements for bilinguals vary depending on who is setting them, when they are set etc. Some think that a bilingual has to master two languages fluently, others that bilinguals should not have an accent in either of the two languages, some that they must have learned their languages in childhood. (Grosjean, 2012, p. 7). One of the strict definitions is set by Leonard Bloomfield in his classical book Language, which is referred to by numerous linguistics in serveral studies throughout the years. His definition is that bilingualism is the native-like control of two languages (Bloomfield, 1935, p. 56).

Researchers disagree on whether bilingually raised children are able to reach monolingular proficiency in both of his or her languages or not. One of the problems with the existing research is that most studies that claim that it is possible, are carried out by linguist parents. Bilingual parents might have higher motivation of raising the child/children bilingually than
others. (Arnberg, 1981a, p. 93). Bilinguals who have native like competence in both languages are rare. According to an estimation, only about 5% of all people using two languages are fluent bilingual. Many researchers of bilingualism think that as the different languages tend to be used in very different situations, this should not be the goal. An example of that a person’s two languages are developed equally, is given by Musk & Wedin. People who speak another language than Swedish in Sweden usually use their own language at home and with friends, whereas Swedish is the most used language in school (2010, p. 11). This is, of course, the case in many other countries too, where the minority language is not an official language of the country.

Very much of the information we have about bilinguals is influenced by a monolingual, or fractional, view on bilingualism. According to a strong version of this view, the bilingual person corresponds two monolingual persons and the two languages are separate and should be isolable and equally and fully fluent. This definition would mean that all others than those meeting this requirement are not "really bilingual" or somehow less bilingual. (Grosjean, 2008, p. 10-15). In the light of newer and more open definitions, this seems like a very strict and maybe extreme definition of bilingualism.

Traditional language and psycholinguistic tests are based on the view described above. The tests used for bilinguals have therefore been evaluated using monolingual standards not taking the different needs of bilinguals into consideration. This has resulted in that bilinguals have earlier been seen as less proficient than monolinguals. It is quite clear, that this kind of tests are usually not an accurate way of measuring the language skills of bilinguals. Because of the monolingual viewpoint on bilingualism, the cognitive and developmental consequences have received close scrutiny. As Grosjean states: "The researchers have invariably used the monolingual child as the yardstick against which to judge the bilingual." He further underlines how important it is to understand how destructive this view on bilingualism has been and is. Often the communicative competence of a bilingual person might be equalent to other speaker-hearers, even if it might, at first, seem abnormal, e.g. as a result of mixed speech, which is often seen as evidence of semilingualism to a monolingual researcher. There is a need to develop new testing procedures to replace the traditional language tests that concentrates more on the form of the language than the communications skills in a certain context. (Grosjean, 2008, p. 10-15.)

If looking at bilingual people’s experiences, they show that bilinguals really do not and even cannot function like two monolinguals. The language competence of both languages is
influenced by how the languages are used, which of course is different for all bilingual persons. (Chin & Wigglesworth, 2007, p. 5.) Using two language like this is quite natural for bilinguals. Bilinguals are people for whom using two languages on a daily basis is the norm rather than the exception, the term stable bilinguals could be used (Chin & Wigglesworth, 2007, p. 20).

Skutnabb-Kangas (1981, p. 45) describes what is called the "one code theory" (enkodsteorin in Swedish). According to this theory it is not possible to compare the language skills of a bilingual person with the skills of a monolingual person. According to her it is even questionable whether it is possible to even compare it to the language skills of other bilinguals. What should be possible, however, is comparing the abilities the bilingual person has to fulfill his or her communicative needs to a monolingual’s abilities to do the same. By doing this, the discussion is about the result of the communication rather than the tool used for the communication. This changes the discussion about complete bilingualism from the individual to the society, as the important question is in which societies the bilinguals have the best possibility to fulfill his or her communicative needs instead of comparing bilingual and monolingual individuals. When talking about language learning and language forgetting, Grosjean (2008, p. 16-17) emphasizes the way which a person adjusts and uses one or several languages, either separately or together to maintain the level of necessary level of communicative competence rather than focusing on which grammatical competence is achieved in the different languages. Often the latter has been emphasized too much when studying children; each language has been taken individually and out of contexts.

When finding participants for my study I looked for speakers who were native speakers of two or more languages. According to Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary a native speaker is "a person who speaks a language as their first language and has not learned it as a foreign language" (Hornby, 2010, p. 1018). This is a quite strict and narrow definition. Actually it seems that the concept actually cannot be defined in an easy and short way. Davies (2003, p. 207) writes:

"[...] the concept of the native speaker is not a fiction but has the reality that 'membership', however informal, always gives. Therefore the native speaker is relied on to know what the score is, how things are done, because s/he carries the tradition, is the repository of 'the language'. The native speaker is also expected to exhibit normal control especially fluent connected speech (though not of course in writing), and to have command of expected characteristic strategies of
performance and of communication. A native speaker is also expected to ‘know’ another native speaker, in part because of an intuitive feel, like for like, but also in part because of a characteristic systematic set of indicators, linguistic, pragmatic and paralinguistic, as well as an assumption of shared cultural knowledge.”

Davi’s definition shows that ’native language’ is not necessarily a term that could be given a short, easy definition, and that the definition is not as strict as the one in the Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary. When using the term in this thesis, it is not restricted to only those participants of the research who have learned their languages simultaneously as first languages, but I have chosen to use the term for all the participants. As they have all learned two or more languages in their early childhood and have been living and been a part of natural environments for both of all languages, at home, in the society etc., I consider them to meet the criteria given by Davis.

3.4 Types of Bilingualism

3.4.1 Balanced Bilingualism

Interestingly enough, the definition of bilingualism found in Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary is “able to speak two languages equally well” (Hornby, 2010, p. 136), which is actually giving the impression that all bilinguals should be balanced bilinguals. Cunningham’s definition is similar as she describes it in the following way: “[...] that both languages are equally strong” (2011, p.17). A somewhat looser definition is given by Baker, who states that balanced bilingualism means having approximately equal competence in two languages (2007, p. 203). Lanza (1997, p. 6), argues that the term ”balanced bilingual” might actually be hypothetical construction. Bilinguals use their languages for different purposes, which means that they do not have equal proficiency in both languages and that the social needs of a bilingual person is what influences which skills are developed in each language. Baker states that bilinguals might prefer to use one language in certain circumstances, another in other circumstances (2007, p. xvii). Situations where a bilingual speaker has to use the ”wrong language”, might feel problematic, such as when counting, giving phone numbers or praying. Few people themselves feel that their competence in two languages is adequate. (Grosjean, 2013, p. 7-13.)
The fluency of a language is usually greater the more domains the language is used in. Even so, bilinguals who cover all domains in life with both or all languages are rare. (Grosjean, 2013, p. 12.) A domain refers to certain contexts where a language is used, e.g. the family domain or the work domain (Baker, 2007, p. 208). In a situation where all languages were used in all situations, bilingualism would not actually be necessary, as another language would be enough. (Grosjean, 2013, p. 12.)

Some parents’ goal is that their children shall grow up to become bilingual, meaning that they will have the same competence in both languages as monolingual native speakers of these languages. Often this is unrealistic at least if the family in question does not stay in both countries where the languages are spoken for an equal amount of time. Parents who expect balanced bilingualism might be disappointed if the child does not speak the minority language like a native. There are also cases where the child has interference from the minority language to the majority language. This might be a hard situation, as it is important for everybody to master one language fully, regardless of the amount of other languages the child knows. (Cunningham, 2011, p. 17-18.)

3.4.2 Active and Passive Bilingualism

Bilinguals may be either "active" or "passive" bilingualism, according to Myers-Scotton (2006, p. 44). De Houwer (1999, p. 77) has divided mono- and bilinguals into three categories, but underlines, that it is not always easy to draw a clear line between the groups. Pre-school aged children who regularly respond and initiate a conversation in either of the languages he or she knows, are examples of active bilinguals. When it comes to early passive bilingualism, that is defined as the state where a child younger than 6 years old understands two languages but respond in only one. Early monolinguals then are those children under the age of 6 who neither understands nor speaks more than one language. Chin & Wigglesworth defines passive bilingualism as "[…] the ability to understand but not produce meaningful utterances […]" which is, according to them, contrasted with active bilingualism which means "[…] the productive use of both languages" (2007, p. 8).

3.5 Bilingual Language Development

The concepts simultaneous and successive bilingualism are based on the criteria of origin. Simultaneous bilingualism is achieved when acquiring two languages from the very beginning.
If learning two languages simultaneously from birth, it is called infant bilingualism (Lanza, 1997, p. 11). However, even bilinguals who have acquired one of his or her two or more languages some time after birth could still be called simultaneously bilingual. If two languages are acquired simultaneously, both the languages are first languages, and it is inappropriate to speak about one of the languages being a second language in such situations even though one of the languages usually become the dominant language (McLaughlin, 1984). By dominant language I mean the more proficient language of a person, or the language that a person uses more often (Baker 2007, p. 208). The less dominant language could be referred to as the subordinate language. A dominant bilingual is a bilingual person who is dominant in one language. However, the language is not necessarily dominant in all domains. (Chin & Wigglesworth, 2007, p. 7).

The line between simultaneous and successive bilinguals is drawn at the age of three in most literature. (See e.g. Baker, 2007, p. 222; Håkansson, 2003, p. 165; McLaughlin, 1984, p. 72-73). However, McLaughlin (1984) adds that defining the exact point of when a language is established is problematic. The age three is used as is is thought that that is approximately when the first language or first languages have developed. When stating that a language has been established at the age of three, that does not, of course, means that the language is fully established (McLaughlin, 1984, p. 101). As one of the languages has had a considerable head start, it is no longer possible to speak about simultaneous language acquisition (See e.g. Håkansson, 2003, p. 165 and McLaughlin, 1984, p. 72). Languages learned after this is called second language learning (Håkansson, 2003, p. 165). When one of the languages is learned later then the other language, as a second language, this is called successive bilingualism. (Håkansson, 2003, p. 20.) This could also be called sequential bilingualism (Baker, 2007, p. 221-222). Successive bilingualism could either happen additively, in those cases when the second language adds to the first language. The opposite of this is if the second language replaces the first language. (Baker, 2007, p. 202).

Children from both groups, can of course achieve bilingual competence. What the bilingualism will be like in the end, does not necessarily depend on how early the language has been acquired. (McLaughlin, 1984, p. 73.) A difference between the two types of bilingualism is the language proficiency as the language learning process is different, and certain features might not be automatized the same way as they are in the simultaneously bilingual person. Very few successive bilinguals reach the same level of language proficiency as simultaneously bilingual children. Especially the pronunciation is harder to learn the older the person learning a new
language is. (Håkansson, 2003, p. 165.) Important to note is also that simultaneous acquisition of two languages does not automatically lead to so called balanced bilingualism, as one language usually dominates as a consequence of the different roles the languages have in a bilingual person’s life (Döpke, 1992, p. 2).

Another way of dividing bilinguals into groups is dividing them into early bilinguals, including speakers who acquired their languages in early or middle childhood, before the age of 12, and late or adult bilinguals who acquired their L2 after age 12 or after puberty (Pavlenko, 2014, p. 22). This division has affected the requirement for who could participate in the research of the empirical part of this study.

3.6 Code-switching and mixed language

Mixed language is used to describe unconscious mixing of a child’s different languages before the age of three. Some researchers think, though that even this small children are conscious about their languages and might switch consciously between the different languages. The reason why some children ”mix” their languages might be that their parents understand both languages. Thus they are copying the parent’s language behaviour if they are also using both languages when they speak. (Håkansson, 2003, p. 125-126). Language mixing is a strategy used in families where there has not really been made any decision about how to act with the children. If the parents are bilingual, it is normal to use different language in different situation, which is then also quite natural for the bilingual parents to do. According to research done, children in such families have a harder time differentiating the two languages. (Ibid., p. 153.) However here is no scientific evidence that this kind of mixing would be harmful in any way (Ibid., p. 25).

Håkansson refers to Jürgen Meisel (1989 and 1990) and Annick De Houwer (1990) when writing about the case where a child puts word from another language into the utterance. A case like this does not need to mean that the child has one mixed language system, but that he or she just uses words from the two different language systems in the same utterance. (Håkansson, 2003, p. 116.) Today, the term code switching seems to be commonly used in literature and among people when describing situations similar to those mentioned above. Code-switching means moving between different languages inside a sentence or across sentences (Baker, 2007, p. 204). Code-switching sounds a lot more positive than language mixing and this kind of language behaviour shows a strong language competence (Håkansson, 2003, p. 125). Instead of being a
sign on weaknes, this could actually be evidence of a high level of language skills, as the switching between the two language is often done in a really advanced and systematic way. In a way the speaker has two languages active when doing this. (Ibid., p. 25.)

By Myers-Scotton (2006, p. 76), code-switching is defined as "the use of two language varieties in the same conversation." Code-switching may involve a word, a phrase or a sentence. As code-switch means the alternate use of two language, borrowing means the integration of one language into another language. If the other participant of the interaction shares a bilingual’s languages, there is always a possibility to bring in the other language. This is done when the speakers feel comfortable with it. Some bilinguals actually do not do this, but stick to one language only (Grosjean, 2013, p. 18-19). Myers-Scotton (2006, p. 76) states that bilinguals tend to be "economical" about their languages and that how bilinguals allocate their language can tell us a lot about how stable the person’s bilingualism is.

The main difference between monolinguals and bilinguals is, that as monolinguals might switch between different registers or dialects, bilinguals can, in addition to this, switch language in or between conversations. (Håkansson, 2003, p. 123-124). Grosjean (2013, p. 13) actually talks about a language mode continuum, where at the one end only one language is activated in the middle both are activated and at the other end only the other language is activated. A speaker could be at different places of this continuum at different times, in different situations, with different people and when discussing different topics. It is normal that bilingual speakers often prefer one specific language with a bilingual interactant they know. Important to note is that bilingual speakers are different. Some bilinguals rarely mix their languages, whereas others do that a lot, e.g. those who live in a community with several other bilinguals, where mixing languages might be almost a language norm. (Grosjean, 2008, p. 17-18).

Below I have tried to visualize the language mode continuum that Grosjean writes about.

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LANGUAGE A                       LANGUAGE A & LANGUAGE B                           LANGUAGE B
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![Figure 1: Language mode continuum (by Grosjean, 2013), showing which language/languages are activated and at what degree.](image-url)
3.7 Effects of Bilingualism

3.7.1 Cognitive Effects

Even if today’s view on bilingualism is positive, the cognitive effects of bilingualism depends on the levels of competence in both languages. Skutnabb-Kangas argues that bilingualism can have either positive, negative or no effect at all on a child’s cognitive development, and that this depends on the circumstances in which children become bilingual (1981, p. 239). Even though it is a while since Skutnabb-Kangas’ classical book ”Tvåspråkighet”, similar ideas are found in more recently published literature as well. Baker has described three different cases when it came to the outcomes of bilingualism. I have called this a ‘floor model’. If the speaker has low levels of competence in both languages, it is likely to have negative cognitive effects on the bilingual person and the competence of both languages is lower than the competence of others in the speaker’s age group. This level Baker has called the lower floor. On the middle floor the speaker has age-appropriate competence in one of the two languages. It is unlikely that being in the middle floor has any positive or negative effects on the speaker’s cognition. Being on the top floor means to have age appropriate competence in both languages. It is likely that this has positive cognitive advantages for the speaker. Baker (2007, p. 44-45).

3.7.2 Advantages of Bilingualism

Today it might seem obvious that bilingualism gives a lot of advantages. Baker (2007, p. 1) states that bilingualism has educational, social, economic and cultural consequences. In those cases where the parents have different first languages, both parents can speak their own language, which might enable a more subtle relationship. If thinking about the extended family, a bilingual child could bridge between generations and be able to communicate with relatives speaking different languages. Said more clearly, a bilingual person has wider communication possibilities than a monolingual person. (Baker, 2007, p. 2.)

Another advantage is the advantage in thinking. As bilinguals usually have two or more words for each object or idea, the link between a word and a concept is usually looser. (Baker, 2007, p. 5). Knowing several languages might give a person a deeper view even of his or her own language. Skutnabb-Kangas, (1981, p. 15) writes that it is only when learning other languages and not having "the monolinguistic simplicity" that a person realizes the relative and arbitrary way of the way his or her language describes the world.
Knowing two languages gives access to different worlds and gives twice as many opportunities as knowing only one language (Chin & Wigglesworth, 2007, p. 53).

On a more societal level, bilinguals are able to take part of the literature, tradition, ideas, ways of feeling and acting in two (or more) languages (Baker, 2007, p. 4). Hence bilinguals have access to two (or more) different cultures. Knowing two languages gives access to different worlds and gives twice as many opportunities as knowing only one language (Chin & Wigglesworth, 2007, p. 53).

Baker writes: “One of the advantages of a bilingual child and adult is having two or more worlds of experience.” He also writes that having two languages and therefore getting a wider cultural experience, bilingual children much probably have greater tolerance of cultural differences, which again can lead to less racist thoughts and opinions (2007, p. 4). Chin & Wigglesworth agree by writing, that bilingualism can even improve the acceptance and understanding of other ethnic groups (2007, p. 128). Thus, a bilingual person could maybe bridge not only between generations inside the extended family, but also between cultures and countries. In a globalised world this seems like a quite useful task.

Identity is yet another aspect that bilingualism might affect. Belonging to certain groups and not belonging to others affects a child’s development of his or her identity. Also, through being a part of several different social contexts, the child meets different patterns of language use, which again helps him or her to have access to different social groups. (György-Ullholm, 2010, p. 32).

3.7.3 Possible Disadvantages of Bilingualism

For a long period of time, the view towards bilingualism was negative. Chin & Wigglesworth (2007, p. 58), state that the concept bilingualism was not associated with anything positive up until the 1960s even though Leopold’s study (1939-1949) proved bilingualism positive in his study. The problem was that this was the only case study showing the contrary amongst negativity towards bilingualism, and thus had little impact.

Even though the view towards bilingualism is mostly positive today, at least in linguistics, it is important to point out possible problems of bilingualism as well. Even if the view of semilingualism is not longer in force, it is, however, common for children growing up in a bilingual situation that there are challenges with the minority language. Some might even have
problems with the majority language, e.g. with the vocabulary. (Cunningham, 2011, p. 114). Baker (2007, p. 66) states that even if it is unusual, sometimes there are situations when both languages of a person are underdeveloped, which might cause problems, e.g. for coping with curriculum at school.

The term semilingual is a highly controversial term (Baker, 2007, p. 221). According to Baker, the term semilingual was first used by Hansegard (cited in Baker, 2006, p. 9) in 1968 to refer to Finnish minority students in Sweden who lacked proficiency in both their languages. Another definition of semilingualism is the case where a speaker mixes two languages (Håkansson, 2003, p. 25). An old conception is that the two language systems of a bilingual person should be autonomous at all times, and that if there is contact between them, that is accidental and a result of language interference (Gosjean, 2008, p. 12).

The lack of empirical evidence of that semilingualism should exist, is has caused strong criticism of this term. There is nothing that indicates that learning one language should affect another language negatively. (Håkansson, 2003, p. 24-25.) According to Chin & Wigglesworth the thought of low-achieving bilinguals who are not linguistically competent in any of their languages is still discussed, but using other words, as the term semilingualism is no longer fashionable (2007, p. 9).

Subtractive bilingualism describes a level of bilingual competence that is similar to the concept ‘semilingualism’ that has been used by Scandinavian researchers. The semilingualism term describes a situation where individuals have been in contact with two languages since childhood, but who have not had adequate training in either of the languages. The consequence of this is that none of the languages develop as the individual’s native language, and even that both languages are known poorly. (Cumins, 1976, p. 21).

An alternative term to substractive bilingualism is the term differential bilingualism. The term is more neutral and describes a situation, where the L2 does not simply replace the L1, but where the development of the languages change as a consequence of the lack of academic support and instructional input of the L1, it does not have the possibility to develop as well as the second language. The two languages get an unequal status. (Chin & Wigglesworth, 2007, p. 16-17). Skutnabb-Kangas (1981, p. 259) points out that semilingualism cannot be seen as a flaw of the person in question, but a as a result of the condition he or she has been living in.

Cumins writes about the so called threshold level of L2 which pupils in immersion or bilingual
education programmes should reach in order to avoid cognitive disadvantages. This would of course also make it less probable that the bilingualism would influence on the cognitive functioning would be positive. Obviously a low level of competence in the second language might lead to that the interaction happening in that language. This might again affect the individual’s schooling, the development of intelligence and operating in the environment negatively. (Cumins, 1976 p. 23). This is a quite old source that might reflect some views that seem a little bit old fashioned. However, it actually holds similar thoughts as Baker’s ‘floor leve’, as I chose to call it, and which was described in the beginning of this subchapter.

The current view seems to be that being bilingual is not seen as a disadvantage, but in addition to the very positive view, focusing on all the advantages that bilingualism undoubtedly gives, there is the realistic view of possible problems and of that bilingualism is not achieved without sacrifices. Baker (2007, p. 67) writes that a certain amount of effort is often required to raise bilingual children and that adding bilingualism to the already existing emotionally demanding task of raising children might be like adding another problem. He continues by painting a verbal picture: “It is not like scattering a few seed son the ground and expecting swift, strong and simple growth.” and “The parent has constantly to tend the language garden.” Another challenge can be if the other parent of the child does not understand e.g. what the mother and child speak to each other (Baker, 2007, p. 68).

Another issue which has to be taken into consideration is the fact that a bilingual family does not live separately from the rest of the world, and even if the parents want to raise their children bilingually, they are is inevitably affected by e.g. extended family, relatives, friends, colleagues, religion and dominant language politics in the region where the family lives, some of these probably having a powerful influence. (Baker, 2007, p. 69).

Skutnabb-Kangas (1981, p. 81) points at the risk of a case where the child fails to become "fully" bilingual, by becoming monolingual or that one of the language is very dominant. In a situation like this, the relations to one of the parents might be weaker as they do not have the same mother tongue. This will also make it impossible for the child to take part of the other parents cultural heritage and maybe also fully understand that parent’s background. Neither will the child be able to move to the other parent’s country without meeting challenges. In a way this risk, which Skutnabb-Kangas points out, tells more about the advantages of becoming bilingual than the disadvantages of trying to become bilingual, but the disappointment of not becoming bilingual and the affects this might have for the relationship between the parent who
cannot speak his or her mother tongue with the child might be even bigger than if there had never been a goal of raising the child bilingually.
4 Factors Affecting Bilingual Language Development

As mentioned in the part of possible disadvantages of bilingualism, several different parties can affect the bilingual development. This can happen e.g. through providing or not providing support for bilingualism. This can affect the development of a bilingual persons’s self identity. It is clear that positive attitudes towards bilingualism leads to the promotion of cultural dieversity and negative attitudes works against this. (Chin & Wigglesworth, 2007, p. 129). Also supportive educational encironments combined with enlightened language politics is believed to promote bilingualism (Ibid., p. 129). The maintenance of two lanugages is affected by e.g. the prestige of each language, cultural preassures, motivation and of the opportunities to use the language, but actually not of the age of acquisition (McLaughlin, 1984, p. 73).

Several factors affect whether it is probable that a family is able to raise their children bilingually. Some of these are: how geographically stable or mobile the family is, the working situation of the parents, the language situation and attitudes in the local community, if the family is e.g. a migrant and if they have come recently or are established, priority changes in the family, e.g. how important they see language development compared toother developmental issues, the child’s own attitudes and motivations, the influence of siblings, friends or other significant people outside the community and the chil’d school. Some situations are not promoting bilingualism. An example is if the parent who is speaking the minority language is not present at home for long periods of time or if the child goes to day care (where the minority language is not spoken). (Baker, 2007, p. 6-7).

4.1 AoA and Critical Age Hypothesis

Age og acquisition (often referred to as AoA) is one of the important variables in acquiring two languages (Lanza, 1997, p. 11) and refers to the age when the leanring of an L2 began (Pavlenko, 2014, p. 22). Several researches disagree on the existance of a certain critical age (Myers-Scotton, 2006, p. 345), this despite of an agreement of that SLA (Second language acquisition) is less successfull in older learners (Ibid. P. 367) and even though the evidence is not totally conclusive there is a strong associaion between AoA and the ultimate attainment of proficiency, which indicates that age is an important factor. (Chin & Wigglesworth, 2007, p. 12). Empirical evidence shows that AoA seemes to be strongly negatively correlated with ultimate second language proficiency, both when it comes to grammar and pronounciation. It However, it is important to note, that the thought ”earlier is better” when it comes to language
acquisition/learning, this only applies to certain kinds of naturalistic learning, which is something schools usually cannot offer (De Houwer, 2005, p. 6). Myers-Scotton states that the success of success of different L2 learners varies. (2006, p. 367).

Another central and much discussed concept is ‘critical age hypothesis’. According to this hypothesis, children easily acquire whichever language they are exposed to before the puberty. If learning a language after this, the language acquiring becomes more challenging and a more conscious procedure. (Myers-Scotton, 2006, p. 36). It seems that the view of the Critical age hypothesis has changed during the last decades. McLaughlin writes that ‘the view of that the child possesses a capacity for language that the adult has lost is widely shared’ (1984, p. 45) whereas Baker (2007, p. 206) states that the critical period hypothesis, which he defines as ‘A generically determined period of child development when learning must take place, otherwise it will not be learned later’, in language meaning that a first or second language is best learnt between birth and the age of 13, is a largely discredited theory. Chin & Wigglesworth use the term ‘sensitive age’, which they argue ceases around puberty. (2007, p. 12) Myers-Scotton argues that there is little evidence about the existence of any neurological component in the brain that control when the window of language acquisition is open. (2006, p. 345).

Cut-off-point or not, most researchers agree that acquiring languages needs less effort in a period in early childhood. The age between 9 and 12 is mentioned as a point when the ability to acquire a second language reaching native-like ability has decreased considerably. This is what has affected the idea of a critical age hypothesis, and is, according to Myers-Scotton, often attributed to Lennenberg (1967) (2006, p. 345).

4.2 Parents and Home

4.2.1 Beliefs and Attitudes

Language attitudes could be defined as the beliefs and values that people express towards different languages, having to do with favourability (Baker, 1007, p. 213). Chin & Wiggleswort state that parents have a strong influence over their children. Some studies have actually confirmed the hypothesis that positive attitudes to bilingualism will probably correlate with higher levels of language maintenance. (2007, p. 123).
De Houwer (1999, p. 85-86) proposes a three-tiered framework for the development of early active versus early passive bilingualism and also monolingualism in a potentially bilingual input condition. The three-tiered framework describes the relationship between parental beliefs and attitudes, and children’s language development in a input condition that is potentially bilingual.

![The three tiers](image)

The three tiers are:

- Parents’ beliefs and attitudes
- Linguistic choices
- Interactional strategies

These tiers lead to

*Figure 2: The three-tiered Framework by DeHouwer (1999)*

De Houwer (1999, p. 87) admits that it is hard to find evidence for her three-tiered framework in families where two or more languages are spoken as there are very few studies focusing on all the three tiers for one particular family.

Grosjean points out the importance of support for becoming bilingual, not only from the close and extended family, but the family should also get help from others. Others playing an important role in the child’s world are e.g. relatives and friends, and also the school. (2010, p. 213) Also the child’s attitude towards his or her two languages is important and it should therefore be encouraged continuously (Baker, 2007, p. 28).

Parents attitudes towards a particular language, towards bilingualism and child bilingualism all help determine their linguistic choices when they interact with their children. Their attitudes also affect e.g. mixed utterances ad code switching and other interactional strategies when speaking with their children. Another aspect, which has a huge impact on parents’ linguistic behaviour is how they believe that children acquire a language and how they view their own role in the language acquisition. (De Houwer, 1999, p. 82-83.) To develop early active bilingualism, it is crucial that the parents have a positive attitude to both languages, and to early child bilingualism in general. They also need to believe that they have an important role in the language acquisition process and believe that they have an impact on it. (Ibid., p. 87)
De Houver divides the factors that are relevant for parent’s linguistic choices and integration strategies into two main groups. One of the groups contains attitudes, which I already mentioned, the other is the belief-category, which consists of the parent’s impact belief. The parents might or might not have an impact belief, and it can be strong or weak. Parents having an impact belief, believe that they and their language use can have an impact on the child. The stronger the impact belief is, the stronger the belief that the parents have an important exemplary function to fill and can control the child’s linguistic functioning somehow and that the parent’s language has a direct influence on the child’s language learning. (De Houver, 1999, p. 83).

To visualize how attitudes and believes that might affect parent’s linguistic choices and interaction strategies, I have made my own figure using Annick De Houver’s (1999, p. 85) figure named “Parental beliefs and attitudes that are relevant for the linguistic choices and integration strategies” and its contents.

RELEVANT FOR LINGUISTIC CHOICES AND INTEGRATION STRATEGIES

### PARENTS’ ATTITUDES
- Towards a particular language
- Towards (early child) bilingualism
- Towards (aspects of) language choice

### PARENTS’ BELIEFS
- Impact belief
  - belief that parents can exercise some control over their children’s linguistic functioning

All above could be placed on a continuum: negative | neutral | positive
---|---|---

Both above could be placed on a continuum: strong | weak
---|---

*Figure 3: Based on Annick De Houver’s figure "Parental beliefs and attitudes that are relevant for the linguistic choices and integration strategies" (De Houver, 1999, p. 85)*
In order to create a supportive environment for the early active bilingual development of a child, the parental attitudes towards attitudes to the two languages involved and to early child bilingualism and bilingualism in general need to be positive (De Houwer, 1999, p. 90)

4.2.2 Language Planning

According to Baker (2007, p. 6) language planning is important. The language planning needs to start already before the child is born, and continue when it is actually born and go on as a constant discussion. Cunningham also underlines the importance of making plans already before the birth of the first child. This is because changing the language which has been used to establishing a relationship might, for many people, be extremely hard. The plans could be about who will speak which language and whether this will change in different situations, e.g. depending on whether they are inside or outside their home, in which country they are in or in situations where there are monolingual guests. (2011, p. 20). Plans made for language acquisition might need to change. Baker states that established languages patterns might have to be changed e.g. if the lifestyle of the family changes somehow. (2007, p. 64).

When doing language planning and creating goals for the linguistic outcome of the children, there are several different factors to take into consideration. Arnberg states that it would maybe be good for parents to know that reaching a high degree of bilingual competence if the family lives somewhere where one language is dominant at the societal level if there is not any opportunity to use the ’second language’ outside home, requires great effort from the parents. She does not see any reason why parents who are really motivated should not have as their goal for the children to reach a high degree of bilingualism. However, she is of the opinion, that for some parents a more passive approach is more realistic and involve fewer ’risks’ as she calls them, refering to the child’s development in other areas, as also this could result in bilingualism. (1981b, p. 29). It might be good to take the study’s age into consideration here, as nowadays bilingualism is usually not connected to any developmental risks.

4.2.3 Parents’ Language Choices

If more than one language is used between the child and the parents, there is a possibility for the child to become bilingual. However, whether the child will use two languages depends much on the linguistic behaviour of the parents. The aspects of the parents’ linguistic behaviour could be divided into two categories which are parents’ linguistic choices and parents’ interaction
strategies. (De Houwer, 1999, p. 77.) In this section, aspects considering parents’ linguistic choices will be discussed. Interaction strategies will be discussed in the next section.

There might be a question of whether to raise a child bilingually or not, and the reasons for doing it or not are many. Whether the parents actually choose bilingualism for their children or if it is automatic, without any certain language planning, seems to depend on the situation. If the community is bi- or multilingual and people need two or more languages to operate successfully in their everyday life, bilingualism is probably a quite automatic choice for the parents. (Baker, 2007, p. 5-6).

One of the factors affecting the choice could be e.g. pressure to pass on the language of the grandparents who speak a minority language (Cunningham, 2011, p. 136). There are mothers who do not choose to use their heritage language with the child, as it feels more sensible and useful to use the local language, the language of the other parent or the school language. This might be e.g. because in-migrants might strive for integrating into the host country. (Baker, 2007, p. 8).

It is not only important what language a parent speaks to their child but also what language the parents speak with each other when the child is present. It might feel the most natural to continue using the language that has been always used between the partners, but for the sake of the child’s bilingual development, it would be important to consider a change if another language than the one the parents are speaking to each other is needing more support. This change would then lead to an appropriate balance within the family between the two languages. This is of course a decision the parents have to make. Baker also states, that both parents are really important in the development of the child’s language and explains it well by comparing the discussion about language at home, with the discussion of the dietary balance of the meals: “Just as the dietary balance of meals is increasingly of interest and debate in families, so it is important that the diet of language in the home is also open to discussion. Both mothers and fathers are important chefs in the language kitchen.” (Baker, 2007, p. 9).

De Houwer starts from the assumption that the children are dependant on their parents when it comes to what happens in their language development in their infancy and later childhood. As there has been a general lack of studies that would have systematically investigated what links there are between the language development of bilingual children and the environments where they have grown up, it is hard to say how the language usage patterns of young children are affected by the linguistic choices and interaction strategies of their parents. It seems, however,
that the variation in parental linguistic choices and interaction strategies is quite large. If researched more, we could get a better understanding of what might cause this variation and which factors are leading to the development of early bilingualism. (De Houver, 1999, p. 79-80).

Whether the parents are monolingual or bilingual is something De Houver sees as a potentially influential factor in the bilingual language acquisition, even if she does not have empirical evidence providing support for her view. Another aspect that might be significant from the children’s point of view, is to what degree the parents’ language choices overlap, or in other words, what kind of linguistic identity the parents have. This has not got much attention in the literature either. (De Houver, 1999. P. 79.) Persons who has been raised bilingually, but who are not active bilinguals, will probably not speak two languages to their children when they become parents (De Houver, 1999, p.75). When bilinguals who have grown up with two languages become parents, they make a choice whether to pass on both languages or not. What the result of the decision is, depends on the linguistic situation in the family. Factors that might affect the choice are e.g. whether both parents know both languages, where the family lives and if the bilingual parent him- or herself feel confident in his or her ability to be a good language model. (Cunningham, 2011, p. 135-136.)

Cunningham (2011, 136-164) has interviewed adult persons who grew up with two languages. Some of the people who were interviewed had children of their own, and tell about the choices they have made for their children in the light of their own background. Through the interviews she found out that none of the people regretted being exposed to more than one language in their childhood but feel really thankful for this. Some of the participants see this as a reason to pass the language on to the next generation. On the other hand, Cunningham also states, that it is not true that bilinguals get one language for free, even if that might be a common misconception. Sometimes sacrifices have been made to enable the acquisition of two languages. According to the participants themselves, they have, however, gained more than they have lost by having acquired or learned more than one language. Of the person who have been interviewed and who have their own children, most of them seem to have a positive attitude towards bilingualism when it comes to their own children. However, they have made different language choices and chosen different strategies for what language/languages to teach them and how. Some of them chose to pass on both of their languages to the children whereas others did not.
Some of the bilinguals participating in the interview shared their thoughts about whether to raise the children bilingually or not, even if they do not have children of their own. They mention e.g. to be able to interact with people, and be with people of their own culture, gaining culture, tradition and talking with many people and exchange ideas. An interviewee says the following: “[…] you are limited in your thought by your language so you can only think as far as you can describe what you are thinking.” (Cunningham, 2011, p. 149).

4.2.4 Interaction Strategies for Becoming Bilingual

A child who grows up in a home where two languages are spoken from the beginning, gets two first languages. Even if the situation for different families might be the same, different families choose different methods to realize the child's bilingual language acquisition. (Håkansson, 2003, p. 150-151.) In this section, different strategies for becoming bilingual will be discussed. Different researchers suggest several different strategies for parents wanting their child to become bilingual. Many of these are similar. In this section I will list the strategies proposed by a few different researchers.

De Houwer (1999, p. 77-79) points out that there could be different parental language background situations. As could be observed from the list below, the different parental background situations might result in different language strategies. Below is a list of some situations and outcomes:

- Both parents are monolingual and have their own language
- Both parents are bilingual and speak the same languages
  - Both parents speak both languages half of the time each
  - One parent speaks mainly one and the other parent mainly the other
  - One parent speaks both language half of the time, the other mainly one
- One of the parents is monolingual and other bilingual
  - One of the bilingual parent's language the same language that the monolingual’s language and the bilingual speaks mainly either the mutual language or the other

De Houwer (1999, p. 77-79)
According to De Houwer (1999, p. 91) it is obvious that children need to be frequently exposed to two or more languages and that there has to be a need for using these languages for socio-communicative purposes in order for active bilingualism to develop from a young age and to sustain when the child grows. Baker (2007, p. 6) points out that a child needs a huge amount of stimulating language experience in both languages in order to become fully bilingual. This is irrespective of what kind of community the family lives in.

Baker, 2007, p. xvii-xix) lists some main language strategies used by parents wanting their children to become bilingual or multilingual.

1. One person-one language
2. One language spoken at home by the parents, other acquired outside home
3. Both languages spoken by both parents. Mixing language is acceptable both at home and in neighbourhood and the result is that the child code-switches with bilinguals but not with monolinguals.
4. Parents speak minority language at home, but delays introducing the other language, e.g. a language that has higher status in the society and is a language used in school or in other parts of the society. Delaying the introduction of the majority language is done e.g. to secure a strong foundation of a heritage language.

Whereas strategies 1 and 2 are associated with upper and middle class families, strategies 3 and 4 might be found among more economically disadvantaged heritage language groups or among immigrant- or working class families (Baker, 2007, p. xviii-xix).

Baker (2007, p. 48) also lists the following strategies for achieving separation of languages:

1. One language-one parent
2. Minority language at home, majority language outside the home
3. Speaking one of the languages on certain days
4. Learning a different language than the home language outside home in e.g. school or in another institution.

Baker states, that the question is how natural or artificial strategy number 3 is. Grosjean (1982, p. 18) discusses why speaking certain languages at certain times does not seem to work. In his opinion this might be because time units do not give the speaker any unconscious associations imposing the appropriate language. Instead, the speaker must check the time and make a conscious decision of which language to speak. According to him, most families do not organize their time in such a way that they permit the use of such time boundaries. Hence this is maybe
not one of the most used ways of raising children bilingually. Håkansson (2003, p. 153) also writes about the strategy of having certain times or places, but gives more examples than those that could be seen in Baker’s list above. The minority language could e.g. be spoken e.g. when eating dinner, in the evenings, in certain weekdays or in certain rooms or floors of the home.

Grosjean (1982, p. 174-175) states that there are advantages and disadvantages of the different strategies. Arnberg’s study about four young children from English-Swedish-speaking families living in Sweden showed that carrying out a strategy consistently was often difficult. This was e.g. because parent’s were embarrassed of speaking English outside home or with non-English speaking Swedes or with older children who were speaking more and more Swedish. The difficulty of raising children bilingually in a situation where one of the languages dominated on societal level even though it was a high status language was not bound to any certain strategy, but was difficult regardless of that, according to Arnberg’s results. (1981b, p. 17)

Based on her research, Arnberg made the following list of four different strategies that the families used:

1. A mixed strategy (languages used interchangeably by one or both parents).
2. A one person-one language strategy
3. An initial one-language strategy (exposed to only one language until it began speaking).
4. A home-outside language switch strategy (English spoken at home and Swedish outside).

Arnberg (1981b, p. 16)

In the literature, Ronjat (1913) is usually described as the first person having analyzed and written about the one parent-one language approach. A more extensive study was done by Leopold (1939-1949). In both studies, each parent spoke one language with the children. This approach is seen as the classical strategy for children to acquire two languages simultaneously. (Håkansson, 2003, p. 151). Based on observations, the one person-one language approach is seen as the best way of helping a child to become bilingual. However, there are challenges with this strategy as well. (Håkansson, 2003, p. 153). Lanza (1997, p. 14) points out that even if this is the approach used in the family, there might be great variations in how the family implements and keeps to this strategy. Although the best results are achieved if each parent keeps strictly to their own language, not even showing that they understand the other parent’s language, this might be hard, as the parents usually know the other parent’s language, at least to a certain extent, and will hence understand if the child addresses the parent in the “wrong” language. A
common problem is that as the child understands that the parent who is not speaking the majority language of the country to the child however understands the majority language, e.g. if the majority language is used as a family language when the whole family are together, the child might answer the parent in the majority language even if the parent speaks another language to the child. If this happens, but the parent continues using their "own" language, the child will at least develop a passive language competence, which could then develop into an active language competence later in life, if the child stays in an environment where the language he or she knows passively is used and needed. (Håkansson, 2003, p. 153-154).

The truth is that many families are not able to keep the two language totally separate. Even though the parents follow the one person-one language strategy when speaking to the child, the language that is used between the parents and with guests present, affects the child, as the child will listen and also participate in discussions happening in those situations. Also siblings are a part of the language picture. However, children seem to cope well with the shifting of languages and are able to understand what language is suitable to use in different situations and with different people. (Baker, 2007, p. 50).

Grosjean (2010) writes that the one person-one language approach is a good strategy for the first months of the child when the child is mostly with the parents. One of the huge challenges is, that as the child starts spending more time in the so called outside world, they will probably hear the majority language more, and the minority language input decreases unless the parents take action so that the amount of input will not decrease. Another challenge might be if the child wants to be similar to the other children and not be singled out, which again forms a threat against the minority language. This means, that the parent speaking the minority language has a huge responsibility of the bilingual development, and has a more challenging task that the parents speaking the majority language. (Grosjean, 2010, p. 208).

Having a bilingual language strategy means that the use of two languages are allowed in a certain discourse situation. A monolingual interaction strategy disallows or discourages the use of two languages and supports using only one language. In extreme terms the difference is, that the bilingual strategy allows a child to answer a bilingual speaker, e.g. a parent, in different languages, whereas that is not accepted if using the monolingual strategy. How parents respond to what the child expresses is probably really important for childrens’ early bilingual development. De Houwer, 1999, p. 80). De Houwer also refers to Lanzas (1990-1992) research, showing that different interaction strategies of the parents possibly cause children growing up
in bilingual environments to have certain linguistic behaviours. Lanza has also found, that adult bilingual speakers may use either bilingual or monolingual interaction strategies in a bilingual situation. (De Houwer, 1999, p. 80.)

4.3 School

Earlier in the thesis I have mentioned the importance of teachers in the language development of children. Keshavaz and Bahrainy (2008, p. 118) describe some of the results of their study done in Teheran to 150 students at three pre-university centers, consisting of Persian and Turkish-Persian speakers. The findings revealed that language teachers should correct their attitudes when it comes to status and value of bilingualism. Keshavaz and Bahrainy argue, that language teachers who have been trained in a monolingual paradigm often have been too harsh towards bilingual students. A more realistic attitude would be reached through an enlightened and informed approach to language teaching. (Keshavaz and Bahrainy, 2008, p. 126).

In many countries the home language of bilingual children is different from the language that is spoken elsewhere, (e.g. in the western countries United States, Australia and Britain), and children’s home language often gets little or no support from school, and going to school means learning the language of the society. (Chin & Wigglesworth, 2007, p. 16). Skutnabb-Kangas (1981, p. 57) argues, that by not giving the mother tongue of an immigrant child the same status that, in the case she is writing of, Swedish, the whole value of the immigrant child’s mother tongue is actually questioned. The child might actually feel that this is a symbolic act, which makes everything that the child represents less worth. This shows the importance of a school that would support especially a bilingual child’s language development.

However, of those bilingual parents who participated in the research, only four wrote about having been offered mother tongue education in their minority language Finnish in school. This could be explained by the fact that in Sweden, pupils are entitled to mother tongue education if one or both parents have another mother tongue than Swedish, if the language is used as a daily communication language at home, and if the pupil has basic skills of the language. In addition there needs to be a certain amount of pupils in each municipality for the education to be offered. (Rätt till modersmålsundervisning, 2018).
5 Methodology

5.1 Qualitative research approach.

The starting point of qualitative research is describing real life (Hirsijärvi et al., 1997, p. 157). The goal of qualitative research is to deepen the understanding of different phenomena and even one new angle might be meaningful (Jokikokko, 2017). As the goal of this thesis is to research the experiences and thoughts of a certain group of people, a qualitative approach seems suitable. According to Hesse-Biber & Leavy (2011, p. 4), qualitative research focuses on finding out about the social meaning which people attribute to their experiences, circumstances and situations. In contrast to quantitative research where the focus is numbers, the focus of qualitative research is words and texts.

Even though qualitative research includes an interconnected family of terms and assumptions and even though each definition of it must work within the field of its complex history, an initial, generic definition of it could be given:

“Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and monos to the self.” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 2-3.)

Even though my research does not include interviews, conversations, photographs and recordings, I, as a researcher observe the world using the practices of the qualitative research to understanding the topic in the research, also trying to make it clearer and more understandable of those reading the thesis. The representations in my study would be the narratives from the researchers and my notes from them. Another characteristic of qualitative research is that the researcher study things in their natural settings and trying to make sense of and to interpret the different phenomena of the research, based on the meanings people bring to them. (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 3.)

Creswell describes some common characteristics of qualitative research. The holistic account, meaning reporting multiple perspectives and the reflexivity, meaning the researchers positioning themselves, is important qualitative research. The researcher is seen as a key instrument in the research and the use of multiple methods, including the gathering of multiple
forms of data and organising it into categories that cut across all the data sources is another important characteristic. The inductive process (described by Cresswell (2013, p. 22) itself as a process going ‘from the ground up’) that is usually used in qualitative research requires the researcher to go back and forth between the themes and the database until managing to establish a comprehensive set of themes. Usually the data is collected in a so called natural setting, usually through face-to-face interaction. In addition to this, the data and the analysing method, qualitative research focuses on the meaning the participants have about the issue studied rather than the meaning that comes from the researcher or literature. Another characteristic is that there cannot be any tight plan for the research, as phases of the process may change. Here Cresswell mentions that even the questions may change. The most important is to learn about the issue through the participants, not to stick strictly to the original plan. (2013, p. 45-47.)

This research holds many of the characteristics above. The role of the researcher is seen as important and therefore discussed in detail. Even though there has not been collect many different forms of data for this research and even though it is not collected through face-to-face interaction, the collected data consists of narratives from several participants and the information from all of the narratives have been organised into categories, which cut across the collected data, and the analysis of it is inductive. This means, that the starting point is the participants’ own experiences and meaning of experience rather than literature or the researcher. Also in this thesis, the research question had to be modified in order to get the most out of the data collected from the participants.

Cresswell (2013, p. 44) points out that in qualitative research, the final written report includes not only the voices of the participants, but also reflexivity of the researcher, a (complex) description and interpretation of the problem that is researched and also its connections to the literature. In the “Findings” part of this thesis, both the voices of the participants and the findings’ connections to literature are included, and in the Discussion the main findings will be discussed even further. These parts also includes reflexivity of the researcher.

Finally, qualitative research is often compared with quantitative research as it cannot be generalised its findings to larger populations. The samples given in qualitative research are typically generally small and nonrepresentative, but the goal of qualitative research is another kind of generalisation called analytic generalisability. Although different, it is comparable in its power when compared to quantitative research. (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011, p. 53).
5.2 Reliability and Ethical Issues

Essential in qualitative research is that the researcher embraces the idea of multiple realities. The researcher, the individuals that are researched and the reader of the qualitative study all embrace different realities. The researcher’s important task is to report these multiple realities in the research. This could be done e.g. through including different kind of evidence in the themes by using the actual words of participants and representing various perspectives. (Creswell, 2013, p. 20.) My goal is to find the factors that are meaningful for the choices that my participants take, not to find one specific truth. This is done e.g. by using actual words of the participants, letting them take space in the empirical part of the study.

The researcher can never be totally objective as the researcher and the already existing knowledge is seamlessly connected. The researcher is also bound by values, as they affect how the researched phenomenon is understood. (Hirsijärvi et al., 1997, p. 157.) As all the values of the researcher are somehow brought into the study, an important aspect of qualitative research is that the researcher admits that the nature of the study is value laden and therefore report their values and biases and also the value-laden nature of information gathered from the field. This is done e.g. by the so called positioning of oneself. (Creswell, 2013, p. 20.) I have done this by telling about those parts my personal and professional background that have to do with the topic of bilingualism and about the fact that I myself am a bilingual parent, in the same way as the individuals researched in my study.

In addition to this the researcher will always make choices when it comes to which sources to use and how to use them. In the empirical study the researcher’s role is very important, and in qualitative research it is not even a goal that the researcher should stand outside the research. It is important, though, that he or she makes clear what is his or her position and also what his or her subjective thoughts are. As a researcher I will try to be as objective as possible, especially in the parts where I analyse the participants’ data and make it clear what it is my own thoughts when I include those in the master’s thesis/research paper.

Before starting to do the research, there are a few questions that are good to address to secure the reliability of the research: how to gather material to achieve the goals set for it, whether the goal that is set is to prove something the researcher thinks, how many people that should be integrated into the study and whether it matters if the researcher knows the people participating in the research (Jokikokko, 2017). When it comes to this research, I had to begin the process finding people who had actually experienced the phenomenon that I research; being a bilingual
parent. As I have quite many contacts who either are bilingual parents themselves, or that at least know one or more bilingual parents, finding enough people was not too hard, even though it took some time. The biggest challenge was probably the lack of time of the people I asked, which is quite understandable as most of them live a quite hectic life with one or more small children. A more challenging task was to make a guideline paper for the participants, (who were asked to write narratives to me,) this because I did not want to affect them too much, neither did I want to make limitations for what to include and not include in the texts. At the same time I wanted to give them some topics that could help them write which again would make sure that I would get useful material for my research. I ended up writing down some issues that I wanted the participants to include in their narrative and some issues that they could address if the wanted. At the same time, I made it clear, that they were free to also write about other topics than those mentioned and that the order of which the issues were addressed or the length of the narrative was up to them. The guideline paper will be attached as an appendix in the end of this thesis.

When it comes to the question about how many people to include in my study, the first thought was to include about 6 people, later 10-15 people, this as a result of what advice I was given by different supervisors. I ended up having 10 participants. The participants about my study were collected from my own contacts and by using what is called ‘snowballing’, by which I mean that participants have been found through some of my contacts who have heard of my study and my need of participants. Snowballing has been defined e.g. in the doctoral thesis of Patrick, Pruchno & Rose. (1998, p. 297), where the phenomenon is described as involving the “nomination of other potentially eligible people by study participants.” Even though this is, as could be seen from Patrick et al.’s study, a method that could be used, there is no denying that this could be a challenge for the ethics and reliability of the study. Therefore an effort has been put into securing the anonymity of the participants. E.g. the first thing done when receiving each of the narratives was to give the participants a pseudonym. This was not only to anonymize them when using parts of their narratives in the thesis, but also for me to distance myself from the people, whom of some are my acquaintances, and to only look at the participants’ experiences through their narratives and the information given in them. This really helped me not to think about aspects of their lives or experiences I know about that were not mentioned in the narratives.

This leads to another challenge, which is to do the analysis in a good way. This includes that I neither do not over analyse nor under analyse the data. What has also been important is explaining
the choices that have been made and analysing process to the readers. (Jokikokko, 2017.) As I know or somehow know a part of the participants of my research, it has been very important to be loyal to the data I have collected. Sometimes I know more about the participants than what they have written, but I have, of course, only included information given in their narratives, or information that is possible to conclude from reading the narratives. In a couple of situations when something in the narratives that I think would be important to include in my research has been unclear, I have asked the participants to clarify it for me.

According to Jokikokko (2017), it is really important to try to collect the data in a way that the content of the data actually comes from the research participants themselves, and not because of the researcher’s own interest in the topic or thoughts about it. This is connected to what I have just written about the guideline paper and of the fact that I know or somehow know several of the participants in my study. This, in addition to that many of the participants know me or at least know who I am, it could have an effect on how they write. E.g. some of the participants might know my thoughts about bilingualism and know about what choices I myself have made when it comes to what languages I want my children to learn. I have tried to make the guideline paper as value neutral and free of preconceptions as possible, but of course that is almost impossible to achieve properly. Already the topics I have chosen to mention in the part where I give ideas to what to include in the narrative, tell about my preconceptions and probably about my attitudes, despite my efforts to make it as general as possible. In addition to this, I have consciously tried to be very objective, not expressing value laden comments or showing strong emotions which have to do with the topic of bilingualism during the whole process of writing this thesis. I have tried to do this also in my personal life: both when meeting and speaking with people face to face and when e.g. writing something in social media, as some of the participants of my study might have heard these, which again could have affected their narratives somehow.

When analysing my data, I have a relativistic view In relativism it is important to agree on that all people have different experiences and hence different truths. The goal is not to find one specific truth. (Jokikokko, 2017.) The researcher’s own background affects the interpretation process (Cresswell, 2007, p. 21). That is the reason why it is important to make clear the researcher’s own knowledge of the topic and his or her ontological view. As a researcher I have tried to be open about my background and connection to the topic that I research so that it is clear to the readers, e.g. by writing about my professional and personal experiences and interests in the topic researched in this thesis. In this way, they will also be aware of that my background might somehow affect my analysis or thinking. At the same time, I will make clear that I will,
as far as it is possible, put my own thoughts and ideas aside when analysing the data that I gather from my participants.

When it comes to ethical issues, there are several aspects to take into consideration especially in the empirical part of the study. In addition to securing the anonymity of the participants, which I have already written about, it is important that all the participants in the study get to know what the collected material is used for and how it is used. In the instruction paper made for those people who agreed to participating in my study, where I have informed about that my study is a Master’s thesis about bilingual parents, and that only I and probably my supervisor will read the narratives they have written. I have also promised to change their real names and to generalise e.g. the places they mention in their narratives so that it will not be possible to recognize them from my thesis when referring to the data.

5.3 Research Process

After choosing the topic for my research, I started looking for theory for my theoretical framework. As my Bachelor’s thesis was written about a totally different subject, all the theory for the Master’s thesis has been collected quite recently. At the same time as I was looking for sources and writing the theoretical basis for the research, I planned and carried out the data collection. In the midst of finding participants for my study, I also wrote my own narrative to clarify my own thoughts and experiences. My own narrative is not included in this research, but as it is important to position oneself as a researcher’s position, and to set aside own subjective thoughts when possible, this was my way of placing myself ”outside” the research mentally. I felt this was an important part of the research process. After having a quite good theoretical base, I concentrated on the data analysis process for a few weeks. This will soon be explained in more detail. The final step was to discuss the findings from the data and to combine the theory and the findings.

5.4 Data Collection

One of the most common qualitative data collection methods is interviewing. It would absolutely have been a good choice for me to do e.g. a thematic interview either face to face or through phone or skype. Despite this, I ended up deciding to ask the participants to write narratives to me. However, through qualitative research, it has been more common to use data collection methods where the goal is to understand the actors studied using stories and
recollections produced by the actors themselves (Hirsijärvi et al., 1997, p. 2012). I would claim, that writing a narrative without any strict directions, these were truly stories produced by the actors themselves, meaning the participants of this study. A narrative might leave the persons participating in the research freer to emphasize those aspects that they themselves find important than for example in an interview.

As collecting narratives is not the most common way of collecting data in a qualitative research, I will briefly explain why I chose this method. Firstly, I wanted the data to include what the participants themselves found important when it comes to bilingualism in their own childhood and thoughts about their own children. I did not want to guide them more than necessary. In an interview situation, I think that I might have guided them too much. Another reason was, that I wanted the participants to have enough time, peace and space for collecting their thoughts about a very large topic (actually something that has to do with their whole life), and at least if thinking of myself, I would probably not be able to "do my best" and collect my thoughts in an interview situation, which is always somehow artificial. Many of my participants also live in another country, and making interviews, would require doing this e.g. on the phone or through Skype. This, I think, would make the "interview" situation even more artificial, and even harder not to guide the participants too much. Also, as I myself am a bit nervous of talking on the phone in general, and would prefer either to meet people face to face or through writing, I was afraid that this would affect the data collection in a negative way.

van Manen (1990, p. 63-64) states that the data of the research about human science are the human experiences. He argues, that if wishing to study e.g. a certain phenomenon, a most simple way would be to ask them to write about their experiences. A challenge might be the fact that many people find it harder to write than to talk about their experiences. The fact that writing forces a person into a reflective attitude, which is not happening the same way when talking face-to-face combined with the possible demands of writing does, according to van Manen, limit what we achieve obtain from the descriptions of lived experiences. However, in my study, where the participants are adult and the goal is to get an understanding of not only their experiences of being bilingual, but also deeper thoughts and views when it comes to their own beliefs, attitudes and aspirations and plans for their own children’s bilingual development, I find that this actually strengthens my view on that asking the participants to write a narrative instead of interviewing them was a right choice.
One of the narratives was collected already in June 2017 as a part of a qualitative research course, which included doing a pilot study. As the guideline paper I sent to my participants has not changed much since then, I have used this narrative as a part of my study alongside the other narratives, which I collected during the summer 2018. The length of the narratives varied, and were from about half a page to about three pages. Some of the narratives were written like an essay, others had taken the headings and topics from the guideline paper which I sent them and written their thoughts beneath those. The participants had the possibility to write in whichever language they liked as long as it was a language that I could understand. Therefore, in reality this meant Finnish, Norwegian, Swedish or English. This was important, as I wanted the participants to write in the language they felt most confident writing in. As has been discussed, the domains in which a language is used, varies a lot. As some bilinguals might happily write in both languages, others do not feel comfortable with that. Actually, even one of the participants expressed this feeling when informing me of which language the narrative had been written in.

Six of the narratives were written in Finnish, three in Swedish and one in Norwegian. As I understand all the three languages perfectly well, this has not caused any problems or affected the analysis of the material. In the cases where I have made citations to the narratives written by the participants, I have translated the quotation into English. The original quotations could be found in an appendix, organized into the different categories and subcategories they are a part of.

There are examples of researchers using the knowledge they already have about a phenomenon researched in the qualitative study when searching for participants (see e.g. Lehtomaa (2005, p. 167). This was what I did to collect the data for the study, as I contacted people both through personal messages sent through Facebook to people I knew were early bilinguals and who had children, or to people I thought knew some early bilingual parents. A couple of people were contacted directly through email after tips from friends and relatives, and the rest contacted me through an official post on Facebook, which I posted in Norwegian, Finnish and English. The Facebook posts will be added as an appendix.

As I have already mentioned, it was challenging to write the guideline paper in the right way to achieve my goal: to get to know which factors and aspects the bilingual parents participating in the research found important and worth mentioning, from their own experiences as early bilinguals and of the aspirations and plans for their own children. I thought much about this,
afraid of that I had affected them too much through the guideline paper, but at the same time worrying whether I gave the participants too much freedom by not clearly asking them about certain aspects. I also wondered whether it was a right decision to tell the participants that the narratives did not have to be of a certain length, and that even a short narrative would be really useful. When being in touch with the participants, many of them gave the impression that they would actually have wanted to write more if they have had more time. The length of the narratives varied a lot. However, many of the same aspects and topics are mentioned even when comparing the shortest essays with the longest ones. I therefore concluded, and chose to trust that the participants have, regardless of the length of their texts, probably written what first came into their mind, and thus probably was most important.

5.5 Data Analysis Method

Several different analysis methods have inspired my data analysis. One of them is thematic analysis. Thematic analysis focuses on the content of the material (Riessman, 2008, p. 53). This is in contrast to e.g. structural analysis, where the narrative itself, the form and how the story is told, plays an important role (Riessman, 2008, p.77). Creswell (2013, p. 193-194), gives a possible way to interpret and analyse data in the tradition of phenomenology. My research is not phenomenological, however I use some of Creswell’s ideas when analysing my data. The first step consists of making and organizing files for the data. Then the researcher reads through the text making notes in the margin, followed by a part where the researcher him-/ or herself describes his or her personal meaning of the experience. The next step would be to make a list of the statements of meaning for the individual participants and to then group the statements into different meaning units. The findings should then be opened up for the reader by making a textual description of the findings, where the following aspects are included: what happened, how the phenomenon was experienced and an overall description of the experience to get the essence of the experience. It is also good to use tables and figures to present the essence. (Creswell, 2013.)

Creswell’s ’data analysis spiral’ describes a typical data analysis process in qualitative research. Instead of a linear process, the researcher move in analytic circles, entering with data of e.g. text, as in this research, then circles around, toching different facets of analysis and in the end enters with a report. (Creswell, 2013, p. 182.) The data analysis spiral has absolutely been present in the research of this thesis. Even if the narratives were in theory first analysed one by
one, combining the experiences of the different participants in the end by making main
categories and subcategories fitting for all the factors the participants had written about, I found
myself constantly realising new aspects analysing the different texts, which forced me to go
back to the narratives I had already been analysing.

Creswell’s analysis method seems to fit my data well, and it will probably be suitable to find
answers to my research questions. Amedeo Giorgi’s (1985) method of analysing data was
probably also supporting the analysis. Even if the starting point of Giorgi’s analysis method
seems to be in psychological research, I use some of his ideas. Giorgi’s steps are, to a certain
extent, quite similar with Creswell’s analysis method. Giorgi’s method consists of four essential
steps. The first step includes reading through the material, trying to get a general understanding
of it. In the next step the researcher reads the material again, trying to look for meaning units.
Even though the original meaning of this is to use the method within a psychological
perspective, it is also focusing on the phenomenon being researched. I will concentrate on the
latter. I will not concentrate on the psychological insights which Giorgi points out in the next
step either, but I will follow the second advice of this step, which is to consider the revelatory
of the phenomenon part of the meaning units. Finally, the researchers should make a logical
statement by synthesizing the transformed meaning units from the participant’s experience.
(Giorgi 1985, p. 10.)

I started the analysis by reading through the narratives when they were sent to me, without
making notes. I then read the narratives again, underlining statements of meaning that I found
relevant, and making notes in the margins. The narratives were then addressed and analysed
one at a time. I continued by collecting general information from the narrative, such as the
narrative writer’s languages, gender, age, age of their child of children etc., into a chart. The
statements of meaning were organised into four main meaning units.

The main meaning units which the statements of meaning from the narratives were divided into,
were based on my guideline paper, where I had suggested that the participants could write about
factors having to do with these: own childhood, adulthood, own children. In addition to these I
soon felt that I would also need a more general category of view on bilingualism and language
for those topics that cannot be placed into only one of the previous categories. In a way these
main categories were also natural to make based on the essays themselves, there were statements
of meaning from each of the narratives which belonged to all four main categories. Of course
the essays were written after the participants having read my guideline paper, which was
obviously at least partly the reason why all the essays included significant statements of meaning belonging to at least the categories “Childhood and youth”, “Adulthood” and “Own children and language”. Even though it could be argued, that the main categories were created using a deductive method, at the same time the fact that the participants did not have to write about all of these categories, and also that there was a lot of material from the narratives fitting into all the categories, shows, that the analysing method is inductive, after all.

The inductive method was also used when creating the subcategories, which were created based on what rose from the text. These were of course also partly affected by the topics suggested by the guideline paper. However, I want to trust that the participants have chosen to write about those topics most important for them. This could be proved by the fact that there are almost no subcategories which were mentioned by all the different participants, which I choose to interpret in the way, that the different participants found different factors important.

I ended up having one table per participant, each of them including four main categories and different amounts of subcategories with different titles. The next step was to create one table including all the different participants’ quotations or statements of meaning. The subcategories were reorganised, some of them combined, some of them divided into several subcategories, in order to fit all the different statements of meaning. Before adding all data from the different participants into the one, big table, each of the participants were given a colour, and all the quotations got that colour in order to make it possible for me to reconize the different participants when opening the analysis up by making textual descriptions of the findings.

There were serveral decisions to make of how to organize analysis and what to focus on. One of the biggest decisions to make was if I should concentrate on each of the narrative writers and their experiences of being bilingual and aspirations and plans for their own children individually, or whether to organize everyone’s experiences, aspirations and plans into one huge table with main categories and subcategories before analyzing all the data together, focusing on each category and subcategory as a whole instead of each of the individuals. Some of the strengts analyzing the data from each individual first, would be that there would maybe be possible to find a read thread, some connections between their own experiences and their aspirations and plans for their own children and it would give a clearer virw of each person’s ”bilingual story”. On the other hand, my goal is to find out what kind of own experiences, aspirations and plans for their children that the participants choose to write about, as I suppose these are the aspects they find as important and central.
5.6 The Participants

The criteria that was set for the participants were that they know two or more languages fluently and that they are early bilinguals, having acquired their languages in a natural way, meaning not only through formal learning e.g. in school, but primarily informal language acquisition. The other important criteria was that the participants were all parents, so having one or more children.

To define who is bilingual is not an easy task, as also becomes clear from my theoretical framework. I had to decide which criteria I should follow when deciding what kind of bilingual parents I would include in my research. The most important was, that the participant would call themselves bilinguals. Here the criteria of attitude, by which I mean the language or languages a person identifies with, (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981, p. 26), is used. Also, many of the participants give the impression of being fluent in both or all of their native languages. Chin & Wigglesworth argues, that it is, in fact, possible to come across bilinguals who are highly proficient in both of their language (2007, p. 6). According to Myers-Scotton, it is extremely rare that people learning the language after early childhood achieve native-like competence (2006, p. 324). This is what is called late second language acquisition, and has been defined in the theoretical background of this thesis. I did limit the participants of my thesis to early bilinguals, who had learned two or more languages in their childhood or early youth, which is where the line between early bilinguals and late bilinguals is drawn. According to Pavlenko, early bilinguals are speakers who acquired their languages in early or middle childhood, before the age of 12. (Pavlenko, 2014, p. 22).

10 people participated in the study by writing a narrative based on the guideline paper. All participants knew at least one Nordic language, by which I mean a language from one of the Nordic countries. Nine of ten participants had Finnish as one of the languages they knew in a native like level, whereas the other language or languages varied. The most common combination of native like language among the participants in my study was Finnish/Swedish (6/10), one was trilingual with the languages Finnish/Swedish/English, one had the combination Finnish/Russian, one Finnish/English and one Norwegian/English. Nine of ten had been bilingual with two languages from their childhood or early youth, whereas one had been trilingual from a very early age.

Of the ten participants there were nine females and one male. Even though both female and male bilingual parents were contacted and an “announcement”, which was possible to share
with others, was published on my Facebook wall, I did not manage to get narratives from more than one male. This should, however, not affect the research negatively. Most of the participants were young adults between the age of 20 and 35 with quite small children, but two participants were older with grown up children. To secure the anonymity of the participants, I have given all of them a pseudonym and also not reported their exact age, neither the exact age/ages of their child/children. The ages of the two older participants are reported even more vaguely than the age of the younger participants.

To give an overview of the participants, I made a table with general information about the participants. Even if I considered not having a table at all, I decided to have it after all, to have a better overview of my participants myself, but also for the reader. First I had the following categories: age, gender, childhood home country, current home country, child’s/children’s age(s), fluent languages, where/how the languages were learned, language skills in childhood, language skills when adult, the child’s/children’s other parent’s language skills. This, however, turned out to be quite challenging. Firstly, not all the participants had added their age and gender, which I, after all, was able to find out afterwards by looking at their name, or at the information about years and ages they had mentioned in their text. Even though I have written that I did only use the information given in the narratives by the participants, as some of the people were also people that I know/somehow know, it meant which meant that I knew their age already. If I have been 100% sure of this, I have given the information about the age in the table.

What was harder, though, was to fill in facts like home countries, how a language was learned and language skills. I should maybe have understood, as a bilingual myself, having lived in both of my home countries, that this is not something that is possible to write about very shortly and putting into a table. Many of the participants had lived in more than one country, some of them had moved during their childhood, and the language skills had been acquired in many different ways from different people and places. I therefore decided to just leave the categories: age, gender, childhood home country, current country of residence, nativelike languages, whether the participants have one or several children and the approximate age of the child or children. I also added the nativelike language or lanugages of the other parent, as I realised, reading the narratives, that this probably affected the language choices made in the family quite a lot. Important to note is that the information about the other parent’s language is based on the impression I get from the text of what language or languages are acquired in childhood or early youth. If there has been uncertainty about this, I have tried to make that clear in the table. If
the participant had lived in several countries during the childhood, I added those countries into the table.

The information in the table (e.g. ages and current home country) matches the information at the time when the essay/text was written. All the information is self-reported. Important to note is that also the language proficiency or language skills of the participants of the study are self-reports. In the theoretical background of the thesis I mentioned Myers-Scotton (2006, p.79) who argues that people seem to be bad at paying attention to their own language use, which is a challenge as many linguistic studies are relying on self-reports. However, Schrauf (2009, p.158 and 176) concludes that self-reporting of language, could be seen as valid and that self reporting of language proficiency and language use were quite accurate.

I discussed with myself whether to include the number of children and their ages at all and ended up including the information about whether there is one or more than one child. I chose not to include the exact number of children if there were more than one to secure the anonymity of the participants, but found out that it might be interesting if there participants’ children have siblings or not, as several of the participants at least have mentioned their own siblings when telling about language choice and use in their own childhood and youth. Likewise, I did not include the exact ages of the participants’ children, but an approximate age as this tells something about when the participants have been raising their children and at which time the language plans have been made and choices taken, which seems to have had an effect on the choice of several of the participants.
## GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE STUDY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pseudo name</th>
<th>LINDA</th>
<th>HANNA</th>
<th>ANNA</th>
<th>JOHANNES</th>
<th>JENNY</th>
<th>BEA</th>
<th>MARIA</th>
<th>FANNY</th>
<th>ELINA</th>
<th>CHARLOTTE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Late 20s</td>
<td>Late 20s</td>
<td>Early 30s</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
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<td>Late 20s</td>
<td>Early 20s</td>
<td>Late 20s</td>
<td>Early 30s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
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<td>Female</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Childhood home country/ countries of residence</td>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>Finland and Sweden</td>
<td>USA and Norway</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>Finland and Sweden</td>
<td>Finland (mainly) and Russia (short period)</td>
<td>Finland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current country of residence</td>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>Finland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The other parent’s nativelike language</td>
<td>Finnish</td>
<td>Swedish</td>
<td>Finnish and Swedish</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Norwegian</td>
<td>Probably Swedish and Finnish</td>
<td>Finnish</td>
<td>Swedish</td>
<td>Finnish</td>
<td>Other language* (and Finnish)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of children</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>&gt;1</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>&gt;1</td>
<td>&gt;1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&gt;1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child(ren)’s approximate age (in years)</td>
<td>0-1</td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>&lt;0-10</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Adult</td>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>0-5</td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>2-4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 1: General information about the participants

*not mentioned/mentioned inaccurately because the lack of information or in order to secure the participant’s anonymity*
6 Findings

6.1 Childhood and Youth

The bilingual parents taking part of this study have grown up in different homes. Most homes have been bilinugal in some way, by which I mean that more than one language has been used at home, whereas there are also examples of monolingual families or of families where (at least almost) only one language has been used and the other language has mainly been acquired from outside of home, in most cases from day care or school. Also the language strategies and how strict the language policy was, varied a lot.

6.1.1 Language Culture and Policy in Childhood Home

Four of the participants write that they grew up in a bilingual home. Linda and Bea explicitly use the term ‘bilingual’ when describing their home or family. Elina writes, that two languages were spoken in the childhood home. Also Charlotte describes a bilingual situation in her childhood home: “We spoke Swedish with our mom and English with our dad. When the guests were Finnish speaking we changed the general conversation language to Finnish, although even then when speaking directly to our parents, it was in their own mother tongue.” Charlotte is the only early, simultaneous trilingual participant of the study. “I have been trilingual from early childhood, Swedish my mother’s mother tongue, Swedish my father mother tongue and Finnish came from the surroundings (friends, neighbours, comprehensive school and running errands.)” She also writes about when she acquired her languages: “First my mother’s and father’s language, when play aged, so when about 1 year, the Finnish language. It could be said, that I was exposed to the languages in this order.” Charlotte is therefore infant bilingual with Swedish and English, according to Lanza’ definition (1997, p. 11), but all three languages are her first languages, and have been acquired simultaneously as she has learnt them before the age of three (se e.g. Håkansson, 2003, p. 165), which is also making all of them Charlotte’s first languages if using Håkansson’s definition (2003, p. 145).

In Linda’s Elina’s and Charlotte’s childhood homes there seem to have been a quite clear one parent-one language strategy, (first described by Ronjat, 2013), and all of them have learned their languages simultaneously. Charlotte tells that there were periods when they, [she and her sibling/siblings], spoke Finnish to their parents, but that the parents always spoke their own mother tongue when speaking to them. If Charlotte made mistakes, her mom corrected her.
Linda tells that English was one of her home languages and that her father spoke English and mother Finnish. The fact that the father understood Finnish resulted in the children answering him in Finnish. "My childhood home was bilingual, dad spoke Engish and mom Finnish. However, my dad understood Finnish, so we children learned to answer him in Finnish.”

Elina also mentions that both of her parents understood both languages, but apparently, in her case, this has not lead to the children speaking “the other language” with the parents, except sometimes in situations in public and they were embarrassed if the mother spoke Russian. "My mother always wanted to speak Russian to usm also elsewhere, even if we children were sometimes embarrassed.”

Five of the participants, Hanna, Anna, Maria, Fanny and Bea have had a situation where the minority language has been learnt first, at home, and the majority language of the country they have lived in has been learnt when starting kindergarten, preschool or school. If using Baker’s (2007, p. xvii-xix) list of main strategies used by parents who want their children to become bilingual, and which is described in the theory part of this thesis, the strategies used in these homes reminds of strategy 2, where one language spoken at home by parents and the other acquired outside hom, but also of strategy 4, which included parents speaking the minority language at home, delaying the introducing of the more high status language of the society. These participants’ two native like languages are the same: Finnish and Swedish, and all of them have grown up and lived in Sweden during the whole or main part of their childhood.

Hanna writes: "In my childhood home we spoke monstly Finnish. Always Finnish to mom and dad, but also a lot among the siblings. At about age 12 we started speaking more Swedish with the siblings, but still Finnish to mom and dad.” Later on Hanna writes: "I learned Finnish from the beginning and Swedish at about age 5 when having started kindergarten.” Anna writes about how and when she learned the languages she knows: "Finnish as a mother tongue and Swedish when growing […]. I don’t remember when I have learned Swedish. I don’t remember not having understood Swedish.” Maria writes: "I learned Finnish first as my mom stayed at home with us kids when we were small”. Bea grew up in Northern Sweden, in what she describes as a bilingual family as the oldest of several siblings and with "parents with Finnish parents, thus mother tongue Finnish”. She then adds: "I grew up in Northern Sweden […] in a bilingual family […]. Have spoken only Finnish until the age of 4-5. However, my parents have always spoken only Swedish to each other. As preschool started at the age of 5 I quickly learned
"Swedish and started to answer in Swedish even when addressed in Finnish. Eventually my parents started speaking only Swedish at home."

As it does not become clear which languages the parents of the participants just mentioned know and if they have used only Finnish at home with the children, it is not possible to define their home situation as belonging into one of the different strategies which e.g. Baker (see above), has described. Further, in reality there are probably very few situations fit perfectly into certain categories described in the theory. As all the participants have grown up in Sweden, it is not likely that they have not heard or learned any Swedish at all before starting kindergarten or school. If having to categorise, however Swedish should probably be described as their L2 rather than their L1, if using the age three as a line between first and second language learning.

Bea and Fanny grew up in Sweden, and have mostly spoken the minority language Finnish during their first years. However, it seems that Finnish has not been the only language that has been used. In Bea’s case it has been heard at home even if it has not been spokne to her, and in Fanny’s case also spoken. Fanny mentions, that she grew up speaking Finnish and Swedish as her mom is Finnish and dad Swedish, but writes, that during her first years she spoke almost only Finnish. "I grew up in Sweden speaking Finnish and Swedish as my mom is Finnish and dad Swedish. During my first years I spoke almost only Finnish [...]."

(Baker, 2007, p. 6-7 and 50) states that the siblings are part of the language picture at home and are that their influence is one of the factors affecting the possible success of raising a child bilingually. Some of narrative writers have mentioned which language they used together with siblings. Hanna writes that Finnish was the language that was spoken the most in her childhood home, and it was also used a lot among the siblings, but at the age of 12, they started using more Swedish with each other. Maria describes a similar situation. Even if the parents insisted on the use of the Finnish language, she and her many siblings started communicating with each other in Swedish early in their school age. Even if the language promoted at home was Finnish, when growing up, the language of the environment has been the language in which the siblings have preferred to communicate in. This matches with what Cunninham (2011, p. 32) writes about siblings, that at least those who are of school age, usually speak the majority language with each other in those cases where that is their dominant language.

The same language politics as in Maria’s childhood home seems to have been present in Anna’s childhood home. She tells that they had to speak Finnish at home with their siblings except when there were Swedish friends which meant speaking Swedish was allowed. Anna also shares
a memory of her father shouting “Switch language!” from downstairs. This memory indicates, that also Anna and her siblings, at least sometimes, spoke Swedish together, even if that was obviously against the language policy in their childhood home. Cunningham (2011, p. 32) states that “Sometimes parents may try to persuade their children to talk in the minority language together […]” and this despite of the fact that this, inaccordance to her, is not actually the parents’ business. On the other hand, it is easy to understand that the parents try to protect the minority language’s domain, as it’s ownly domain might be at home. Linda has probably also spoken both languages with her siblings, which the following memory indicates: “I have also heard that there has been spoken about me and my siblings in school, that we are showing off by that, if we sometimes spoke English”

Jenny who lived in the USA until she moved to Norway in her late childhood, after which she learned Norwegian, describes that English was the language normally spoken at home, but that she also heard her father speaking Norwegian. Also after moving to Norway, English was spoken at home until it became embarrassing at some point when she was a teenager. Even though Norwegian is clearly Jenny’s second language, she is, without doubt, an early bilingual according to Pavlenko’s (2014, p. 22) definition.

Johannes has a similar story to Jenny’s in the way that he also moved during his childhood, which lead to learning a new language, but except of this, Johannes’ case is quite different from all the others. As all the others have learned two languages at least more or less because of their parents’ backgrounds, Johannes learned a second language when he was a very young child when he was sent to Sweden as a war child during World War II. Johannes describes the time after being sent to Sweden: “There we stayed in [...] families and quickly forgot Finnish and learned Swedish” When he returned to Finland about ten years later, he did not speak Finnish at all. However, he learned Finnish again after moving back to Finland. Grosjean writes that

“[…] a person can go in and out of bilingualism, can shift totally from one language to the other (in the sense of acquiring one language and forgetting the other totally), but will never depart (except in transitional periods of language learning or restructuring) from a necessary level of communicative competence needed by the environment.” (2008, p. 16.)

Johannes totally forgot his first language, shifting to another language. He does not mention having used, or having had the need for using Finnish during his time in Sweden. However, when returning to Finland later on, which I will write more about later, he learned Finnish again.
In this way he developed the level of his Finnish to the "necessary level of communicative competence needed by the environment", as Grosjen stated that a person will do.

If drawing the line between a first and second language at age three, which means after the first language having been established (Håkansson, 2003, p. 145), also Johannes, who learned Swedish at a small child, has acquired this as his second language, as he was more than three years old. Johannes writes that when returning to Finland he knew no Finnish, but that he learned Finnish again. Whether the re-learning of a language should be spoken of as language acquisition or language learning and whether the language is and L1 or L2 is hard to say. Both Jenny and Johannes have, in fact, learned their languages successively. This might be the case for some of the other participants too, if thinking of those who learned one language at home and one when going to kindergarten or school, but it is a bit unclear how much majority language input they have got before starting kindergarten or school.

6.1.2 Language use Elsewhere than at Home

The language of the respective countries of residence seems to have been the main language of schooling for all the participants. For Jenny this means, of course, attending both English speaking and Norwegian speaking schools and Johannes mentions having attended 7 years of grammar school and confirmation school in Sweden and then folk high school, middle school and high school (and later on even university studies) in Finland.

Some of the participants write about which language was used in e.g. day care, school and with friends. Several of the participants seem to have learned the majority language of the country they grew up in when starting day care or school. Bea started speaking Swedish when she attended day care at age 5. Anna describes that she learned Swedish when growing up, speaking it with neighbours, friends and in kindergarten. Maria started school and got Swedish friends, Fanny started school and started learning more Swedish. It seems that Hanna, Anna and Maria have grown up in the same country as where they were born. Fanny mentions being born in Finland, but answered, when I asked for more information, that she moved to Sweden when she was very small, having lived there almost all her childhood and a huge part of her youth.

Several of the bilingual parents mention having had friends speaking the language which was a minority language in the country where they grew up or who were also bilingual. Anna writes that she played with Finnish friends. Fanny shares a memory from her childhood: "But what I
remember is that me and my bilingual friends loved being able to speak Finnish if we did not want those who only understand Swedish to understand us. And the other way around.” Many of Charlotte’s friends and her parents’ friends spoke English. In addition to having connections to Finnish at home, Maria played with her Finnish friends in her early childhood. Maria also went to “opisto” (folk high school) between 9th grade and high school, where she met a lot of Finnish friends. Bea tells that it has always been natural for Bea and others relatives with Finnish background, to speak Finish to small kids. “It is possible to see a pattern: when the child him- or herself starts answering in Swedish instead of Finnish, the adult speaker switches and speaks Finnish to the kid.”

6.1.3 View on and Development of Language Skills in Childhood

Several of the participants describe how the language proficiency or skills have changed during their childhood. In many of the exemplers given by the participants which are connected to the development of change of language skills, school plays an important role. Maria writes: ”[...] the Swedish language quickly got stronger than Finnish when I started school, got Swedish friends etc.” And Fanny writes: ”[...] but as soon as I started school I learned more and more Swedish and that was the language I learned best.” Jenny only knew some Norwegian words when moving to Norway in her late childhood. At school, all classes except Mathematics were spent learning Norwegian.

Before English education started in school, Linda’s language skills were actually passive. She understood everything but could produce almost nothing. Linda gives the following example of this:

”I remember one time, when in first grade there came some guests from Holland (or something) to our school and they visited our class. One of them asked if any one here can speak English. I raised my hand and said “Me”. A Dutch teacher asked where I live in English. I pointed towards our home and said “tuolla” (“there”). The English words just did not come to my mind, still less out of my mouth. Then I realized that yes, I understand English, but that it is hard to speak.”

Later on Linda adds: “Even though I have understood English from birth, I have had to learn speaking and the active use of English the hard way.” Also Bea’s language skills in Finnish,
which in her case was the minority language, was passive for a long time. After telling about not getting to study Finnish in primary school, she adds: “Did not speak Finnish until the age of 15 and confirmation camp in Finland.”

Anna remembers that her Finnish developed during the 9 years at school, where she attended mother tongue lessons. “The level of the Finnish lessons was quite high, and I experienced that I developed during 9 years.” In a way Anna’s experience of the minority language developing during her school years, is different of the descriptions of several of the other bilinguals, who have focused on the majority language becoming the dominant language after starting school.

As Maria got older, it got harder to continue speaking Finnish and she mixed the languages a lot. She shares a memory illustrating this: “I remember situations when I for example told my dad something in Swedish and he then asked me to tell everything again but in Finnish. I did not have energy to do this as it felt too overpowering.” Maria and Fanny both make it clear that they see Swedish as their strongest language. However, Maria calls Finnish her mother tongue. Linda draws attention to the fact that as Finnish was spoken in the surroundings, this was the stronger language. “[…] as the language of the environment Finnish has always been the stronger one.” To sum up, several of the participants in my research felt that their school language, which also was the language of their country of residence gradually got stronger than the other language(s).

Both Charlotte and Linda tell about that visiting the country where the minority language is spoken, has strengthened their language skills. Charlotte writes: “The language [Swedish] got stronger in the Christmas and in the summer when we visited friends at [Swedish speaking place] for long period of times.” Linda writes: “In my opinion my English got fluent not until I spent a summer in America when I was 18.” As already mentioned in the theory part, people who have grown up with passive skills in their minority language, might be pushed to be active speakers by visiting a country where the language is spoken (Cunningham, 2011, p. 135). This is exatly what seems to have happened to Linda.

6.1.4 Attitudes and Reactions from the Surroundings

Most of the participants have somehow, directly or indirectly, written about reactions or attitudes that they have noticed from people their surroundings during their childhood. Most of the attitudes and reactions seem to have been positive, according to Linda, Hanna, Anna, Maria
Maria writes: "I have always received good response in school and by the public with my bilinguality." Even if Linda has heard that someone at school as spoken about her and her siblings and that they brag and seek attention by sometimes speaking English, the feedback, as she calls it, has, however, been mostly positive.

On the other hand, there are examples in the narratives of that they have been seen as different. Hanna writes: "Others have reacted well to my multilingualism, even if most people call us Finns (and in Finland for Swedes.)" Fanny has experienced the same, finding this a little bit hard: "But to be bilingual was a bit hard too, when I was in Sweden, the Swedes saw me as Finnish. And when I was in Finland, the Finns saw me as Swedish." Anna remembers it in a way that as "Swedes" they were a bit exotic, probably meaning in Finns’ eyes. However, she did not experience that multilingualism was strange or something bad in others’ view. Charlotte does not explicitly say that it was because of the language, but as she writes it in a section where she tells about her language experiences in childhood and youth, that might, however, well be the case: "I was not a part of the popular kids in school, I was probably too different."

On the other hand, languages was one of her strengths: "Some of my strengths were languages and sports, in those I got to shine, which felt good." Elina experienced being praised for her knowing two languages by adults, e.g. in school and by relatives, who excitedly told her that this would be useful for her. Other children were sometimes curious about her bilingualism, but never really paid attention to it. Maria remembers, that in school it sometimes was annoying/tough being the 'Finn' as she did not feel as Swedish as the others. She also writes: "[...] I did not like it at all when someone commented that I sounded angry when I spoke Finnish or something like that."

Anna’s all relatives lived in Finland, and she experienced that for them it was important that they (by which she probably means herself and her siblings) knew Finnish. Baker (2007, p. 2) mentions being able to communicating with relatives as an advantage knowing both languages. Jenny clearly expresses negative experiences from how she was met by her Norwegian family (probably meaning extended family). They thought that she should speak Norwegian, and did not like that she spoke English. On the other hand, it was seen as rude to speak Norwegian in the company of her English grandma and grandpa. She also felt that she was met in a very negative way in school.

Jenny feels that all that was American was disliked and unpopular as a result of the Vietnam War. Her narrative gives the impression that this was one of the reasons why Jenny felt that it
was embarrassing speaking English in public. Another bilingual parent who thinks that the history has had an impact on the negative attitudes and reactions of people towards her minority language, Finnish, is Bea.

"If I think back on growing up in Northern Sweden, Finnish was seen as something ugly and shameful. I did not want to show that I knew Finnish as that would have resulted in comments from other children." She continues: "This, I think, is a mark that is left of the post war view on Finnish as a minority language (Swedish was the only language which was allowed to speak in Norrbotten/Sweden, in spite of thousands of Finnish speaking children in schools. Finnish was banned.)"

6.1.5 School

Those narratives including memories from having had the possibility of attending mother tongue classes in their minority language, are written by bilinguals living in Sweden with Finnish as their minority lanugage. Hanna, Anna and Maria tell that they were offered mother tongue classes/home language lessons at school. Anna uses the term ‘home language’ in her narrative. The explanation is probably, that the term used for the education offered in school changed from ‘home language’ to ‘mother tongue’ in 1997. However, the term ‘home language’ could still be heard in people’s speech. (Musk & Wedin, 2010, p 16.) The only complaint Anna, has of the education was that it was boring going to the finnish lesson e.g. on Fridays for one hour, after the school had ended. Hanna writes that there were classes of 40 minutes 1-2 times a week.

Bea, who also lived in Sweden with Finnish as one of her languages, did not get to study Finnish in school. "I did not get to study Finnish in school as my mom and dad did not speak Finnish with us (primary school). This was not seen as my mother tongue, even if I knew quite a lot and despite this had been the only language during my first years of life." Musk & Wedin (2010, p. 16) refer to Skolverket (2002, p. 29), writing that the amount of pupils participating in the home language education decreased during the 1990s, partly because the requirements of that the home language should really be a daily used language in communication, was made stricter, partly because the municipalitie’s did not have to offer home language education unless there were five pupils with the same mother tongue in the municipality. If Bea had attended school today, she would actually be entitled to mother tongue classes as Finnish has got status as a national minority language in Sweden, which means that the requirement of that the language
should be the daily communication language at home, neither the requirement of at least five pupils with the same home language in the same municipality is not valid (Rätt till modersmålsundervisning, 2018).

Maria feels that school has responded well to her bilingualism. She was offered mother tongue lessons once a week. Anna tells that if there were some theme days about different countries, she often chose Finland. Otherwise she did not feel that she did not stand out particularly. Elina and Charlotte, however, both mention how the teachers reacted to their bilingualism, which they probably meant to be positive. Elina writes: “The teacher sometimes brought it up in the classroom full of Finnish children and I felt different and was ashamed of it. Charlotte writes about the teachers having given her lots of praise, which felt pleasant as she felt quite average otherwise. Languages was one of her strength and English was fun both because it was easy and more fun than other classes.

Jenny experienced that her multilingualism was not taken into consideration. She felt that what was required of her was to assimilate to the system. E.g. she had to write British and not American at school. There was also required more from Jenny in English than from the other students as that was her mother tongue. She also remembers, that all lessons except mathematics were used to learning Norwegian by following ordinary education.

6.1.6 Own Thoughts, Views and Attitudes Concerning Language and Identity

Some of the participants wrote about their thoughts about, views on and attitudes towards own language and identity as children and youth. Of course it has to be taken into consideration, that the narratives including this has been written several years later. These are therefore the adult participants’ view on how they viewed their languages and identity as children and youth. As mentioned earlier, many of the essay writers expressed, maybe between the lines, bad experiences having to do with other people and the school reacted to their bilingualism and negative attitudes existing in the society. In this part I will mention what the essay writers have explicitly written about their own thoughts, views and attitudes concerning their language and identity as children and youth.

Hanna, Fanny and Charlotte both express the normality of being bilingual, by describing that it was nothing very special for them knowing more than one language. Hanna writes: ”Sometimes I had to really think which language I was speaking as both languages felt so natural.” Fanny
writes: ”When I was little I did not think much about that I know two different language as I lived in a little town where very many people spoke Finnish and Swedish, so that was nothing special.” Charlotte writes: ”Before the English language (education) started in school I do not remember being conscious of my multilingualism.” Cunningham (2011, p. 22) writes the following: “For an outsider life in a bilingual family might look harder than it is. For those involved it is natural. This is clearly how Hanna and Fanny feels. Cunningham (2011, p. 13-14) also writes about expat communities, where the minority language spoken in the family is spoken by many other people in the same area, mentioning the Finnish communities in Sweden. It seems quite obvious that Fanny has lived in a community like this.

Hanna expresses having only good experiencies from knowing several languages from childhood and youth. Anna agrees, writing that she has had good experiences and not having had to suffer in any way from knowing Finnish and Swedish. She also adds that it is a richness having friends from both countries. Fanny mentions that it was also a little bit hard being bilingual:

”[...] when I was in Sweden, the Swedes saw me as Finnish. And when I was in Finland the Finns saw me as Swedish. I myself never really understood what I was, I did not want to be from two places, I wanted to have one place that is my home country.”

It is quite natural that Fanny mentions this unsecureness of where she belongs in a narrative about language. Myers-Scotton (2006, p. 111) states that “[...] language may be the most “visible” symbol of a group.

As I have already mentioned, e.g. in the part where the language politics of the childhood homes of the narrative writers, the feeling of embarrassment is shared by some of the bilingual parents. Elina was embarrassed of her mom wanting to speak Russian also outside of home: ”I tried to speak only Finnish in the public and asked my mom to do so too.” Charlotte also shares a memory of embarrassment, which is, however, quite different from Elina’s memory. As mentioned, if Charlotte made mistakes, her mom corrected her. Charlotte felt embarrassed for not knowing the Swedish language properly. Also Jenny expresses the feeling of embarrassment. This is mentioned when she tells that English was spoken at home until it became embarrassing at some point when she was a teenager.
Elina also mentions situations at when the teacher sometimes brought up the topic of her knowing two languages. She explains: “I was not yet able to be proud of my language skills.” The situation was similar if other adults praised her for her knowing two languages: “All adults (in school, relatives etc.) always praised her for knowing two languages, and excitedly told her that it would be useful for her. However, I myself did not feel that way and was even ashamed of it.

6.2 Adulthood

6.2.1 View on and Development of own Language skills during Adulthood

According to Grosjean, few bilinguals themselves feel that their competence in two languages is adequate (2013, p. 7-13). Many of the participants realise and admit, that one of their languages is weaker than the other or others. Hanna feels that Swedish is the strongest of the two languages, but that she is able to read and write understandable Finnish despite of grammatical errors. Despite of this, Hanna describes her languages skills in the following way: “My own view on my language skills is that I have two mother tongues, which I use in my everyday life.” Maria writes: “[...] I feel that Swedish is still the strongest (language). That is, I cannot write Finnish especially well, even though it is my mother tongue.” Anna feels that her language skills (supposedly meaning the minority language Finnish), are quite good and that she reads fluently and has quite good vocabulary, but feels that writing is a bit harder. It is clear, that even if both Hanna, Anna and Maria feels that the Finnish language has weaknesses, they still see it as their mother tongue (in Hanna’s and Maria’s cases) or that the language skills are quite good (in Anna’s case). Later on in her narrative Maria also writes: “[...] I speak Finnish fluently.” Also Fanny, who feels that Swedish is the language she learned the best, still feels that she speaks Finnish fluently. This shows, that even if the participants recognize that one of the languages is the dominant language, even though they are not using that term, that does not stop them from feeling that they are fluent language speakers and that also the subordinate or “weaker” language is their mother tongue. Jenny writes that she speaks good Norwegian.

Charlotte, who is the only simultaneously trilingual of the participants of the study, explicitely describes how her different languages have different strengths and weaknesses. Even if she describes having struggled with Finnish until this day, even if not all the time, Finnish is the language she knows “all round” and is important in formal communication lika taxes etc.,
English is almost as much an “all round” language, but she feels that on an emotional level she is able to express herself better in English than in Finnish, and also philosophical and theoretical concepts and speaking on that level is most fluent in English. Her Swedish is weaker, as the mother was the only one who spoke that continuously with her as a child, and there are concrete parts of e.g. grammar, that she feels that she still does not know. Even if she has used Swedish working as a teacher and interpreter, she is always a bit unsure and afraid because she knows that she makes mistakes, but that she is not able to correct them. She also feels that she is not able to explain things efficiently enough, but uses several words to say what she has to say. “It is a bit like a child’s speaking”, is how she describes it. As she is the only one continuously speaking Swedish to the children, she is worried about what she feels is her own bad Swedish skills.

There are many examples of the participants feeling that their language skills have changed. Some of the strongest examples of this are Jenny, who learned one of her languages quite late in her childhood, Johannes, who first learned one language, then forgot it when learning another language as a small child, and then learning his first language again in his teenage years. Also Bea, first speaking only Finnish, then not using Finnish for several years, and then starting to use it again and Linda, who first knew English passively, but then developed to become an active speaker of two languages after spending a summer in America in her late teenage years, after which she has spoken English fluently, have gone through huge changes when it comes to language use and skills. Cunningham states that people who have grown up knowing a minority language passively, could be pushed to become active speakers by visiting a country where the language is spoken (2011, p. 135). This was exactly what happened to Linda. Maria feels, that after moving to Finland, her Swedish has become weaker. “I feel that my Swedish has become worse during these five years, as I rarely use more advanced language than the language I speak with our children. However my Finnish language has developed a whole lot [...]” All these examples point at language skills as something dynamic.

Linda has experienced, that her English language competence is changing all the time: ”Sometimes it is in the background for a longer time and it has to be lured and looked for before it starts going smoothly again. Certain situations also complicate speaking, others make it easier”.

Jenny describes a recent experience of how the language was fluent right away.
"I have recently come back from a vacation in Canada where I visited the family. This time I have experienced how it is to switched between Norwegian and English much stronger. Earlier it has been okay to speak English, and then something got stuck. Not this time. It went more smoothly/fluently."

She describes how she has earlier felt that her tongue is not coping with speaking English for many days. She also describes that she has had to search for words in English when she has visited and when they have spoken about certain topics which she has not spoken about in English for a long time, but not this time. "Now I felt that the words just fell out of my mouth, and I was astonished by her active vocabulary."

Some of the bilingual parent describe how they have made something actively for developing or maintaining their own language. Charlotte, who lives in Finland writes: "I now listen to Swedish speaking radio and I read news and books in Swedish now and then." Hanna and Anna write that they try to maintain the Finnish language. Maria writes that she tries to protect both the Finnish and the Swedish language. The view on which language needs to be actively maintained or protected seems to be affected by where the language speaker lives. As Hanna and Anna still live in Sweden where they grew up, it seems that they primarily see the need for protecting the Finnish language, which is obviously a minority language. Maria, who grew up in Sweden, but have moved to Finland, sees the need for protecting both of her languages.

6.2.2 Language Choice, Use and Patterns of Use in different Situations

Based on the narratives, it becomes clear that all the bilingual parents participating in this study have used or/and use their languages in different domains. How much a certain language is used, in which situations and settings it is used in, with whom and for what purposes the languages is used, varies a lot. I will give examples of this from the different narratives.

What language each of the bilingual parents have chosen or plan to choose when speaking to their children, will be discussed later, but I will give some examples of what language the participants of the study speak with other people. Linda and Charlotte report speaking two different languages when speaking to their spouse; Linda seems to primarily speak Finnish, but sometimes English and: “Sometimes the languages get mixed if not paid attention to. Also, some Anglicisms have become stuck in our language”, whereas Charlotte writes that “We speak
both English and Finnish together.” Hanna writes that she uses mostly Swedish with her husband, whereas Maria speaks Finnish. Elina tells that she speaks Finnish with her husband.

Several of the participants write about what language they are using with relatives and friends. Anna writes that she uses mostly Swedish, but that Finnish is used at home, that she uses Finnish (and English) with relatives or friends and on social media. She also adds, that she still has strong connections to Finland, to friends and relatives. Also Linda mentions occasionally speaking English with Americans and other foreign friends. Maria on the other hand, mentions still using Swedish with some friends and with her siblings but also that she uses Finnish every day as they live in Finland. Jenny writes that she speaks English to friends from abroad and with relatives in USA/Canada and having spoken English to her mom, except a short period of time in her youth, when her mom wrote letters to her in Norwegian.

Elina, who was embarrassed when her mother always spoke Russian to her, also in public, as she was a child tells that “Nowadays it goes the other way around, that I speak Russian to my mom and she tries to practice Finnish speaking that to me. Or then we just speak a mishmash of two languages.”. Jenny has three friends with English as their mother tongue. They meet regularly and when they meet there is “a mix of the languages, depending on the topic and on if whether the Norwegian spouses are present.” Code switching also happens when being in touch with other people who speak English, but it depends on the surroundings and the topic of the discussion.

Johannes gives the impression, that nowadays his everyday life is actually quite monolingual as he writes: “Nowadays I use the Swedish language only when calling to Sweden or when I read magazines or books in Swedish. Jenny and Charlotte, having in common that English is one of their native languages, write about which language they use in which situations in a quite detailed way. Jenny writes, that in her everyday life she uses Norwegian, sometimes with hints of English except those situations when she is in touch with others who have English as their mother tongue. Sometimes Jenny uses English sayings, which often come spontaneously. Jenny reports preferring to write in Norwegian and that nowadays English is used orally, partly because the decreased prices on phone calls leading to less written contact. She tells reading in either of the two, and that there is no difference between reading British and American. It seems that in addition to switching language with her father, which she mentioned having done as it became embarrassing speaking English when she was a teenager, she has also switched to
speaking Norwegian with her sister; “I speak Norwegian with my sister and with my dad until he died [...].” Jenny thinks, that when

Hanna, Jenny and Charlotte have mentioned situations, where they have used the minority language at work. Hanna has used English in her work in addition to this. In addition Charlotte have mentioned language use connected to emotions and for dealing with formal duties. Charlotte sums up the use of her languages in the following way: “I use English especially when expressing emotions and in my scientific work. I use Finnish when expressing emotions, describing things and in wordplays (such as English also) and dealing with formal duties. To the last one my Swedish skills are not enough.”

6.2.3 Reactions from Others

In her narrative, Jenny tells about bad experiences from how she was met as a bilingual in school. She tells that she actually met her high school teacher again as an adult, who said sorry for what happened at school and that it had troubled her for many years. She told that she was a young teacher back then and did not know better. In Jenny’s opinion this was unnecessary, but still she has chosen to write about the case in her narrative. In Jenny’s opinion she speaks good Norwegian, but tells that she is ”caught” by some people for not being Norwegian as the ”englishness” often could be heard in the intonation. She also writes: ”I experience that through the years many people have used her language to put me in my place, instruct her or ”belittle” me. This has happened especially in the context of work, where I have experienced that a totally correctly and well written text is corrected.” She then adds; ”I do not care about this anymore – but I have experienced that this has hurt and been hard before. Now I feel that it tells more about the person than about anything else, and I absorbe everything she can to become better in my own language.”

6.2.4 Identity

Just as one bilingual is not the same as two monolinguals, Grosjean (2008) states that a bicultural person does not equal two monocultural persons, but that he or she combines aspects from both cultures making a unique cultural configuration. According to Baker (2007, p. 203), biculturalism means identifying with the culture of two different language groups and that being bilingual does not necessarily result in a person being bicultural. Fanny, who was born in Finland and currently lives in Finland, but who probably spent a significant part of her
childhood in Sweden, sees herself as Swedish: "But today I see myself as Swedish, even though I was born in Finland and currently live in Finland today. Sweden is my home country. It is of course impossible to say anything about e.g. if Fanny feels bicultural or not only based on this short citation, but this example from her text gives the feeling, that she might not necessarily feel very Finnish even though she has reported that her Finnish is fluent.

Maria, who has, just like Fanny, grown up in Sweden but now lives in Finland, still feels much more Swedish than Finnish even if she is proud of her roots and even if she likes it in Finland. "Everything that has to do with Sweden and the Swedish language is a part of me and my identity. I am sometimes afraid that it will be forgotten that I am still Swedish, as I live here, have a Finnish husband, a Finnish last name and speak Finnish fluently." György-Ullholm (2010, p. 51) strengthens Baker’s view by writing that ethnical background, meaning the parents’ origin, cannot predict which group the child will experience as his or her own.

6.3 Views, Attitudes, Beliefs and Experiences of Bilingualism and Language

6.3.1 Attitudes, Beliefs and Experience of Language and of Being Bilingual

Even if several of the participants have expressed challenges having to do with their bilingualism, these have mostly had to do with other peoples attitudes or reactions to their bilingualism. If looking at how the bilingual parents see their bilingualism itself, the feeling that I get as a researcher reading through the narratives, is a positive view and thankfulness for being bilingual. Several of the bilingual parents express positive feelings and thankfulness for their bilingualism, and mentions several possibilities they have got as a result of their bilingualism. An example is Linda, who feels that bilingualism is a "huge richness" and that she has benefited immersely from being bilingual. Hanna and Anna describe their relationship to their languages as good. Hanna writes "The relationship to my languages is good, and I like being able to speak several languages." Anna writes: "Good relationship and I see it as a richness being able to use three languages." Maria expresses thankfulness and proudness: "[...] I am proud of my roots [...]" [...] I am extremely thankful of that my parents gave me the Finnish language."

Jenny expresses a feeling of that she does not think in a particular language: "I often experience that I do not think in a language, the thoughts just are there – or they come in a mixture of language (Norwegian/English). It partly depends on what I am thinking of." She also describes
jumping easily between languages and can easily switch in the middle of a sentence when possible. Jenny sees that there is a connection between language and themes, persons and settings. This is a classical example of code-switching. Some feelings are connected to English, e.g. children and childhood.

Linda and Charlotte, those two of the ten bilingual parents who had English as one of their languages, describe their feelings towards the language(s) itself. Charlotte writes: "I feel that Finnish is bleak compared to English." Linda feels that certain things are easier to express in English, e.g. praising and receiving praise, compliments and small talk. Linda also thinks that when communicating in English, certain personality features are emphasized. Charlotte was sometimes afraid of making mistakes when speaking Swedish as she was corrected by her mom. She tells that she did not have any negative feelings connected to English.

When it comes to the view on language learning, Linda feels that in general when improving a language, the more it is used in real interactions, the better she has learned them.

Johannes expresses his view on what a bilingual family is in the end of his narrative, directing the speech directly to me as a researcher when expressing doubt of if he really fills the criteria for participating in this research; "You research bilingual families and our families is not one." Maybe he has this view as Swedish has not been used in his own, adulthood family, which I will write more about soon. If using the definition of Skutnabb-Kangas (1981, p. 81) a bilingual family is a family where the parents have different mother tongues. It all depends, of course, if Johannes feels that Swedish is still his mother tongue, and how strong his connection to Swedish was after moving from Sweden, and of course how strong the connection was at the time he wrote the narrative.

6.3.2 Advantages

Linda, Elina and Charlotte feel that being bilingual has helped them learn other languages as well. Elina writes: "My mother tongues are [...] Finnish and Russian. I think that this is the reason why I have learned also the other languages I know quite easily" Several of the writers also mention having learned/acquired other languages as well. Linda mentions six different languages that she has studied in addition to Finnish and English. Hanna writes: "I feel that I learn language quite easily". Some of the bilingual parents even feel fluent in one of those languages. Fanny expresses: "Today I speak Swedish, Finnish and English fluently." The same
view on own languages is shared by Elina, who writes: "Nowadays I feel that I am almost fully trilingual as my Russian, Finnish and English are really strong." In addition to this, she mentions having good skills in a couple of other languages.” Baker (2007, p. 53) confirms the view of bilingualism, in most cases, favouring the acquisition of what he calls “third language”, and that bilinguals usually are better than monolinguals at learning a new language and that they usually progress faster.

Also Hanna mentions has used Finnish a lot in her work. Charlotte tells that her language skills have given also her working possibilities, and that the language has been seen as a richness even when it has not been needed. She adds: "In the early teens and teenage years the richness was highlighted on different parts of life: friends, travelling, the possibility to study, getting to explore various mental/spiritual and philosophical literature.

As I have written about earlier in this chapter, Bea had bad experiences from her childhood of what attitudes other people in the area around her had and how they reacted to it, which even lead to her not wanting to show the other that she knew Finnish. Bea writes; "Today I can see it in a different way. My Finnish language skills have given me everything from working possibilities to getting new friends. It even feels nice to learn to know my roots and strengthens my identity." Also other participants of the research mention some of the same advantages; e.g. Anna feels that it is a richness to have friends from both countries and Maria writes that thanks to her bilingualism she was able to attend the folk high school she went to.

6.3.3 Disadvantages, Challenges and Negative Experiences

Linda mentions, that even though she sees bilingualism as a richness, bilingualism has also caused difficulties. As an example she mentions the writes; "The disappointment has been huge in different situations, when noticing that I am not able to express myself as easily in the other language." Charlotte’s memory of her mom correcting her Swedish if she said something wrong, having to do with (not knowing the ‘en- and ett-words’ properly), was undoubtedly a negative one. As a child she often said only ‘e’ as she was afraid of making mistakes and she even mentions still not knowing en/ett properly. This memory indicates, that Charlotte felt that her Swedish should not have mistakes. Linda’s memory also hints to an expectation of the “own languages”, the native languages, to be fluent and flawless.
6.4 Own Children and Language

6.4.1 Aspirations

All narratives except Johannes’ include aspirations they have or have had for their child’s or children’s language development if comparing them. The aspirations of the bilingual parents are quite different. It is important to remember that some of the bilingual parents have children that are very young and have not really started to speak yet, some have both small children, and children who have already talked for several years, and some even have grown up children, as in the cases of Johannes and Jenny.

Hanna, who grew up in Sweden and still lives in Sweden, hopes that her child will learn the Finnish language as well as possible. Maria, who also grew up in Sweden, but who moved to Finland as an adult expresses the aspiration of the children learning Swedish well. But then she also adds; “However I see it as similarly important that they learn both languages fluently.” It seems, though, that Hanna and Maria sees a greater need for maintaining and supporting the one of their two languages which is not the majority language of the country they are living in at the moment.

Linda hopes that her child will learn to understand English from her. Elina hopes that the child will learn to speak both Finnish and Russian well. Later on she adds, that he or she “[…] would at least understand Russian, so that I can speak it to him/her and he/she to her grandma.” In addition to this Elina hopes that English is learned from school of from spare time programmes/games, as that is a quite much used language in Finland as well nowadays. Fanny wants her child to be able to speak Swedish, Finnish and English fluently just like herself, but firstly Finnish and Swedish now, and then concentrating in English later on.

Charlotte writes; “I hope that the children know at least some language to that extent that they feel free to express themselves. This seems important to her as she also writes; ”I feel that the most important is, that they learn to use whichever of these languages [English, Swedish, Finnish or ”the other language”] in the way they want, freely and creatively.”

Anna wants her children to have the same possibilities as herself. Maria also expresses a aspiration for her children comparing to how she feels herself; “I could not forgive myself if the children did not get to become a part of what I am so proud of.” Maria shows clearly that her attitudes towards bilingualism affects her aspirations for the children as she describes wanting
her children to understand what richness it is to be bilingual. She also hopes that they will do their utmost to maintain keep both languages. Hanna hopes that her child is interested in the Finnish language and Finland as a country. Even if Jenny ”gave in” at some point, switching to Norwegian, she describes having had a strong wish to teach the children English.

Bea, who’s Finnish was not seen as her mother tongue when she went to school even though that was the only language she has spoken the first years of her life, hopes that Finnish will be seen as the children’s mother tongue in school. She also hopes that the children will feel safe and happy to have even one more language and origin than Swedish and Sweden. Charlotte also mentions the bond to the origin; ”The wish to maintain the bond to my mother’s relatives in [Swedish speaking place], also for the children.

6.4.2 Reasons for the Aspirations

Originally one of the main goals of this whole thesis is to find reasons for or important factors affecting the aspirations bilingual have for their children’s language development. I realized, however, that I cannot point at different factors, being sure which factors have affected what aspirations the bilingual parents have for their children. The findings from the data will mostly have to speak for itself, even though I will of course discuss the findings and try to make some connections in the discussion part. However, below I will only mention some reasons or factors the bilingual parents themselves explicitly give and express in their narratives.

Several of the bilingual parents mention the advantages and benefits they have experienced because of their bilingualism as a reason for the language choices they have for their children. Hanna writes; I myself have been so happy about knowing both languages and I want, that that he would get to experience that.” Anna points out the usefulness of bilingualism as a reason: ”As I myself has had so much use of and joy of bilingualism, I hope for the same possibilities for the children.” Maria mentions that it is important to learn Swedish as it might be possible that they move back to Sweden at some point. Cunninham (2011, p. 14-15) writes that immigrants might wish their children to live in the country they themselves left. They might also want to visit the country regularly to visit relatives and friends and they hope that the children will feel at home there. Being able to communicate with family members in the country that has been left, is often important. These could be reasons for wanting the children to learn the minority language. Even if Maria cannot maybe be called an immigrant, the thought of
maybe moving back seems to be something she has been thinking about. Knowing the language would of course be helpful.

Maria expresses the importance for the children learning both languages and that it is a richness to be bilingual and she is happy about her husband using a very rich language with the children, even if that is not the language that is closest to her heart. Maria sees teaching the children Swedish a gift as she writes ”[...] I am very determined giving the language as a gift to them.” Elina writes that she tries ”to give my child as good supplies for life as I can.” Elina feels that language skills are always more of an advantage than disadvantage.

Jenny thought that she wanted to give her children an advantage by speaking English to them. Even if Jenny did, in the end, which the language she spoke with the children to Norwegian, she expresses clear reasons for the strong aspirations she had for her children to learn English. She writes:

"This was because I wanted to maintain the American part of me – that the children should be able to communicate with my American family and because I wanted to share my American heritage with the children. It was also because I had references in English, but not in Norwegian when thinking of children’s literature, nursery rhymes, children’s books, songs etc. I simply felt safer as a mother with English than with Norwegian. I struggled a lot when I grew up as I did not know the references in the Norwegian children’s culture."

Above, Jenny mentions that she wanted to share her American heritage with the children. Similarly Charlotte mentions that she wants to strengthen the matrilineal chain. She also mentions her own experience of that she is sometimes not able to express herself in Swedish and Finnish as a reason.

6.4.3 The other Parent

Most of the participants reported what language the child’s or children’s other parent knows, which I have added to the table with general information about all the bilingual parents who have participated in this study. However, some of the essays included more information about the other parent’s language background. Especially Maria wrote about this.

"My children’s dad is completely Finnish. He lived in Finland for one year with me and learned to speak Swedish impressingly well. Before the year in Sweden,
he had studied some Swedish in school, but never been really interested. When we had been together in about a year, we started speaking some Swedish through skype and sometimes even when we met. But after the year when he worked in Sweden, he persistantly continued to maintain his Swedish e.g. with me and with our children. The situation is the same even today, except that he is no longer speaking Swedish with the children.”

In Maria’s case, the language that her children’s other parent has known since childhood/youth is Finnish, but as can be seen above, he has learned Swedish well and even used it with the children later on. Hanna’s son’s dad is also Swedish speaking, but also Hanna mentions, that he is trying to learn Finnish and sometimes uses it with the child. Cunningham (2011, p. 13) writes about a situation similar to Maria’s and Hanna’s:

"Some mixed families arrange for the minority language to be spoken by both parents to the child, at least at home. This solution means that one parent speaks a non-native language to the child, at least some of the time, and may feel awkward”

Cunningham then writes about that a non-native language could be like a barrier in the very special relationship between a parent and child, and that his is a shame. On the other hand this solution might support the minority language by giving it a so alled "head start” which could help the child’s competence in that language during the early years. (Ibid.)

Also the case of Charlotte’s children’s other parent is a bit ”complicated” in the way that it is not easy to define whether he is an early bilingual or not. Charlotte’s husband’s mother tongue is another than these language. One of his parents is from Finland, but that parent only spoke some Finnish to him when he was a child. They visited Finland each summer, and her husband also went to the military service in Finland, and then even moved to Finland several years ago to get to know his roots better. In any case, both Charlotte and her husband know and use several language, which makes them a truly multilingual family.

Not all of the participants of my study write clearly what the mother tongue of the other parent is. However, it becomes clear that some of the ‘other parents’ are monolingual. Jenny tells that her children’s dad is Norwegian and that they got divorced when the children were small. Elina’s husband is completely Finnish but speaks English well. Fanny writes that her son’s dad
is Swedish and they speak only Swedish. Johanne’s childrens mom is probably also Finnish, as only Finland is mentioned in connection to their marriage and growth of family.

Of those who have written about the child’s or children’s other parent’s view, aspirations and attitude, all but one tells that the other parent agrees or that they have at least almost the same aspirations and goals. In Hanna’s, Anna’s and Maria’s case, the childrens parents have the same views and feels the same way about their children and language. Hanna describes that the father wants the child to learn Finnish as well as possible so that he/she is able to get along in Finland as well. Maria writes that the children’s father cares for [”är mån om”] that the children shall learn his language fluently but that Swedish is similarly important in his view. She also tells; "I know that he supports me wholeheartedly in this, even though he himself does not longer speak Swedish with them.”

Charlotte writes that the children’s father hopes that the children will learn all the languages without any pressure and thinks that he is not worried about anything connected to this in any way. From her text, it feels that she is more worried about some aspects, e.g. if her Swedish language skills are enough for the children to learn good enough Swedish. Jenny is the only one having a totally opposite experience. She describes that the children’s father was not excited about her speaking English.

6.4.4 Attitudes, Beliefs and Thoughts

I already wrote about the aspirations related to language that the parents have for their child or children. This parts will include attitudes, beliefs and thoughts the parents have when it comes to factors affecting their child/children and language.

Linda thinks that the child will probably not learn active/native like English skills from her as he still hears mostly Finnish. She writes; "I know that I cannot teach my child perfect English language skills. However, I think that passive language skills helps a lot forward when he starts studying it actively. Maria finds it extremely important that the children learn Swedish well, but adds; "I am also conscious about that I cannot do miracles.”

When it comes to helping her child in acquiring English Linda also has positive attitudes and believes that she can affect the child in a positive way, at the same time believing in her own skills: "The world is full of different English dialects, and speakers of different levels are found also among native speakers. Thus I have got the courage to speak English to my son and I think
that my language skills are enough for that.” Linda thinks that early exposure to English language helps in fluent pronunciation.

The bilingual parents participating in my study seem to have an impact belief, believing that they are able to affect their children’s language development. Anna argues that the most important (for language development) is the work done at home. Bea that the fact that she and the children’s father sometimes speak Swedish with each other affects the children so that they speak Swedish to them (their parents) and to each other.

Maria and Charlotte expresses that they are worried about the children’s language skills in one of their languages. Maria writes; ”In the beginning I was actually worried about their Finnish, but now It is the other way around. Charlotte is worried about her own bad Swedish skills and because she is the only one who is continously speaking Swedish to the children. She is worried about that her skills are not enough for the kids to develop a diverse knowledge and control of their language. Charlotte is not worried about the children’s ”other language” (their father’s language). She believes that hey will get along fine in surroundings where this language is spoken. Anna describes her feelings about that it feels hard for her as a second generation Finn to maintain thier language skills. She points out that all the children’s Finnish speaking friends also speak Swedish and that as the children get older, the Swedish language gets stronger but Finnish does not.

Charlotte is aware of that the Finnish language will probably be stronger as it is for her as well, even if that depends on if they are going to keep living in Finland. She might therefore have the same trust as Elina in that the language of the society will quite surely be acquired. Elina writes: ”We believe that when living in Finland, our child’s Finnish skills will develop well.”

It seems that Johannes regrets not speaking Swedish to his children. He writes: ”I have not spoken Swedish with the kids at any point, and that irks me a lot. What an advantage [pääoma] it would have been for them. An a easened their studying in secondary school and high school. But it is too late to regret that now.”

6.4.5 Language Choice and Strategies

Eight/nine of ten participants have chosen to somehow trying to give their child or children the possibility to learn both or all the languages they themself have learned in their childhood or early youth. Johannes is the only of the participant not having spoken one of the two languages
he acquired in his childhood to his own children. In one case, in Charlotte’s family, the father even has one more language that he has grown up with in addition to Charlotte’s three languages. In the children’s everyday life, they hear all four languages; Swedish from their mother, ”the other language” from their father, Finnish from their surroundings and English at least from when the parent’s speak English to each other, which Charlotte tells they are doing part of the time.

None of the other essay writers but Linda wrote explicitly about if or how they have planned what language or language to speak with their child or children before the children were born. However, Linda tells: ”When we expected the child, we thought whether I would speak English or Finnish to him. I did not want to make any decision before his birth, but to then try what would feel natural.” She tells that when the child was two months old, the language question came to her mind again. I will come back to this soon.

Even if the others do not tell anything about possible planning before the birth of their first child, they tell about what plans they have now or that they had when their children were small, like in Jenny’s case. In the beginning Jenny spoke English and the father Norwegian to the, but after she got divorced from the father when the children were small. She got a new boy friend and Jenny capitulated and more and more Norwegian was used at home. At some point, however, Jenny does not specify when this happened, but with the information in the text it is possible to conclude that this has probably when the children late childhood or early teenage years, she started an so called English group. She writes: ”[...] together with some friends we started a so called English group and gathered once a month. Only English was spoken, and addressed different topics to learn about the English culture.” She mentions that they gathered English speaking movies which could tell about English culture and with references to what is English, e.g. nursery rhymes. She e.g. showed Disney movies in English without subtitles and gathered English children’s literature with help from the family in Canada.

Fanny and Maria both describe having lived in Sweden during their childhood, and both describe feeling more Swedish than Finnish. They both also live in Finland at the moment. Whereas Maria lives with her family, Fanny describes living together with her son, which indicates that she does not live with the child’s father. Fanny writes; ”I speak only Swedish with him and will have as a rule that at home we only speak Swedish”. Maria puts it this way when telling about her strategy for the children to learn Swedish: ”I am very stubborn about only speaking Swedish with all four kids all the time [...].” and after writing that the two oldest kids
still speak only Swedish to her: "I will do anything for it to continue the same way". Hanna, who lives in Sweden, describes the same but the other way around: "I am very strict about only speaking Finnish to [the son], regardless of where we are, what we do etc." Baker (2007, p. 15) argues that it is possible to raise a child bilingually also in what he calls a one-parent family. He states, that the child’s bilingualism could be acquired outside the parent-child relationship, in other words, outside home. This is a more likely way for the child to become bilingual than if the one parent uses two languages with the child. The way of learning one language from the parent, and one language outside home, is the strategy Fanny uses. She writes: "[...] in day care he learns Finnish [...]" Both Fanny and Maria’s children going to Finnish speaking day cares, makes them having even one more thing in common. The difference is that also the dad of Maria’s children speak Finnish to the children whereas that is not the case with Fanny’s child. Therefore it seems that the day care plays an important role in the child’s Finnish language learning.

Maria tells, that in the beginning her husband spoke Finnish with the children, but that he does not do that anymore. This means that she is speaking Swedish with the children and her husband Finnish. She also expresses that she will do everything for that the children will continue only speaking Swedish to her. Another family where one of the parents have switched to another language, is Linda’s family. Linda tells speaking only Finnish at first, but then, when the child was about two months old she decided to speak English for one week and if it would flow naturally, she would continue. "In the beginning it felt really hard and artificial, but soon it became more fluent. I decided to continue. I realized that when my husband came home from work and I spoke Finnish with him, the language switched to Finnish also with the child. As time went by I decided that I will maintain both languages with my child.” She describes aiming at speaking English always during day time when the husband is at work.

Another family who has a similar one parent-one language-approach, is Elina’s family, where Elina’s husband speaks Finnish to the child as she herself speaks Russian. In Hanna’s family, the child’s other parent even tries to learn Finnish himself, even if he is Swedish speaking, and speaks it as much as he can and at the level he is able to.

Even if Charlotte’s family have four languages if counting all Charlotte’s and her husband’s languages, according to what Charlotte writes in her text, it seems that whereas Charlotte’s husband speaks his "other language” to the children every day, Charlotte has chosen to speak
Swedish to the children as that is the only language the children would not get from the surroundings or family if she was not speaking it.

In some of the bilingual parents’ families, they speak, or at least aim to speak one language at home. Anna writes; "Together with my husband we try to speak as much Finnish as possible. Sometimes one notices switching the language to Swedish without recognizing it." Bea writes that she and the children’s dad try to speak only Finnish to the children.

Maria reads a lot for the kids and as she writes: "[…] I obviously only read in Swedish." Her children also often get to listen to Swedish songs, stories and to watch Swedish children’s programmes. Linda’s child is still small, but she hopes that when the child grows he will learn to also use English through playing songs and books. Also Anna mentions reading books, listening to fairytale stories and songs when writing about how to realize the plans she has for the children’s language development.

Maria describes that they visit Sweden about twice a year and tells that there the children’s language develop a lot during a short period of time. Linda is also planning on visiting the United States in the future. Hanna thinks that she can have an impact on her son’s language development by visiting Finland regularly and be in touch with Finns so that he could use the language as much as possible and also develop a positive attitude towards the language.

Charlotte hopes that she will be able to offer her children also other Swedish speaking surroundings so that their language skills will continue to improve. Maria’s children go to a Finnish speaking kindergarten as the Swedish speaking kindergarten is in the city center. Elina’s child has now started in an entirely Russian speaking kindergarten. "We feel, that when living in Finland our child’s Finnish language will develop well. As there are not very many Russian speaking persons in our child’s life, we decided that he/she needs more support in Russian language than in Finnish language."

Charlotte writes about developing her own Swedish language skills for the purpose of explaining life/the life for her kids; "I have to work for developing the Swedish language so that I am able to explain life for my kids." Charlotte writes that she thinks that she corrects her children’s language less than what her mother did to her, and if she does, she consciously does it really softly.
6.4.6 Support from School and Kindergarten

Maria hopes that later, in school, the children will get extra education in Swedish which they will fight for. She explains, that as the Swedish speaking kindergarten is in the city center they do not see it as a possibility for the kids to go there. Maria also tells about the experiences she already has from the children attending day care: "In kindergarten the staff only spoke Finnish with the children, but sometimes used some Swedish words if the children did not understand” However she adds: "The staff was not capable of supporting their Swedish as that was something they did not know at all. However, they were always encouraging towards me who spoke Swedish with the children”

Some of the participants already have experience of how their children have been met in kindergarten or/and in school, whereas others’ children are still so small that the do not have experience of this yet. Several of the participants have written about their hopes, expectations and/or experiences, even those who are not in the situation where the child/children have not been attending kindergarten or school yet. Linda, who’s narrative was written about a year before any of the other narratives, as a part of my pilot study for the Master’s thesis received a guideline paper from me, where the topic of hopes and expectations for the child’s or children’s kindergarten and school was not mentioned, and she has, probably because of this, not written about this topic.

In the kindergarten of Jenny’s children, only Norwegian was spoken. She further describes that the school did not support the children’s bilingualism and that they were treated as Norwegian. children were not offered mother tongue education even if Jenny asked for it. In secondary education the children got to choose whether to write British or American English.

Bea, who did not get the chance of participating in mother tongue lessons as a child as Finnish was not seen as her mother tongue expresses a hope of that Finnish will be seen as her children’s mother tongue, however this is not mentioned directly having to do with school. As mentioned earlier, when it comes to the national minority languages in Sweden, the requirements of attending Finnish mother tongue lessons in Sweden is not as strict anymore.

Hanna has not been thinking a lot about what expectations she has for kindergarten and school when it comes to attitudes and support as they are not in that phase yet. However she hopes that they will support language learning and bilingualism by offering mother tongue education. Fanny and Charlotte hopes for understanding from kindergarten as they expect that there might
be challenges in learning the Finnish languages. Fanny writes: "But in kindergarten he learns Finnish, and there I hope that they think about that he is bilingual when he learns new words, because he will not learn as many Finnish words as quickly as other Finnish children, because he (even?) learns Swedish at the same time." Charlotte writes: "I hope that multilingualism will be taken into consideration as a richness and that it is understood that there might be difficulties with the Finnish language." Charlotte already has some experience of the attitudes in the children’s kindergarten: "Now they are in a [pedagogy type] kindergarten, and I think that the attitude there is positive." She adds that they are positive towards differences because of the pedagogy.

Anna already has experience of her children attending Finnish language lessons. Even though she feels that the lessons strengthen their language very much, mentioning that there are so different levels among the attending pupils, the children have been to ‘home language classes’.

6.4.7 Attitudes from the Surroundings

Only a handful of the participants have written about what attitudes they have been met with from the surroundings when it comes to their language choices for their own children or about aspirations for what attitudes their children will be met with. Maria expresses a hope that her children will be met in a good way despite of their bilingualism. Anna, writes that multilingualism is so normal in Sweden that she does not feel that it is odd or exceptional. She adds, though, that many people get surprised when noticing that they use Finnish in their family.

Johannes and Jenny both describe how there was a understanding of bilingualism being negative for a child in the time when they were making the choice of which language to use with their children. Johannes writes:

"When our children were small, I had got the impression (probably I had read from somewhere) that children should first learn one language (mother tongue) properly before starting to learn a new language. Otherwise there is a risk that the development of the own mother tongue becomes disturbed. Later on this view has been disproved."

Jenny, who started raising her children more than 20 years ago, has similar experiences. She writes that "[...] many people had the opinion that my children would become more unsure,
speak later and become confused of becoming bilingual. A lot of research at that time [...] supported this, but there was also some opposite.”

It seems obvious that Jenny has got to know all her relatives and many other peoples attitudes and thoughts about the language she would use with her children and that she has been affected by their views. She expresses that the grandparents on the children’s other parent’s side thought that it was stupid that she spoke English with the children and commented this in a negative way. Also Jenny’s sister thought that she was strange and odd. However, Jenny’s own dad was positive and her American relatives were positive as her speaking English meant that they could speak with the children. The children’s father was not excited of her speaking English to them, and the new boyfriend Jenny got after the divorce from the children’s father thought that “[...] probably also thought it was stupid that I spoke English.” as Jenny puts it. The affect on her becomes clear as she adds: “slowly but surely I capitulated and more and more Norwegian was used at home.”
7 Discussion

This study about bilingual parents was carried out mainly to gain more understanding about the aspirations bilingual parents have for their children and also of their plans, strategies and choices to achieve their goals when it comes to their children’s linguistic development. Another goal was to find out about their own school experiences and of expectations for how school or kindergarten should support their own children’s language development.

The background for the study was the lack of research focusing on parents who are bilingual themselves and their experiences, hopes and plans for their own children, in the huge amount of already existing research on bilinugalism. An important aspect was also to include the bilingual parents’ experiences in the same study as their aspirations, plans, strategies and choices for their own children’s language development in order to being able to find some connectins. I will now discuss the main findings of this study.

Three different kinds of homes

The participants could be divided into three different groups based on how their two or more languages were learnt and on the language strategy of their childhood homes. Three of the homes clearly had a one parent-one language-strategy, whereas five participants told about a situation, where one language was (at least primarily) spoken, and thus learned, from the parents at home, and the other from outside home. All these five grew up in Sweden, learning the minority language Finnish from home. The last group consisted on the two participants who had moved to another country during their childhood, which had lead to the acquisition of a second language. It is important to mention that the one early trilingual participant, Charlotte, who is included in the three participants in the one parent-one language strategy group, learned her two minority languages at home, whereas the majority language Finnish was primarily learned in kindergarten and society. In a way she therefore has connections to both of the two first groups.

Factors affecting language development

In the situation of those participants who had primarily heard and spoken the minority language at home, the kindergarten, school and e.g. friends and neighbours played an important role in acquiring the majority language of the country of residence. This is the language that has generally become the participants’ dominant language. The minority language was, for all participants, primarily connected to home and e.g. friends. An exception was Linda. For her,
English education in school actually started activating her passive English skills. Also Anna tells that her Finnish developed through the high leveled mother tongue classes offered at school.

It is clear that the majority language of the country of recidence has a major importance for which language becomes dominant. This also affects the language development. Maria, who lived in Sweden during her childhood, having moved to Finland as an adult, states that her Finnish has developed and her Swedish weakened after this. Not only moving, but also travelling to the country where the bilinguals’ other language was spoken was mentioned by several participants as something that had strengthened their language skills. There were examples of this both from their childhood, but for some of the participant also during adulthood. Linda felt that her minority language, English, actually got active in her late teens when visiting America. Jenny describes a recent situation of visiting an English speaking country, where she felt exceptionally fluent in English right away. From the way she wrote about this experience it seemed to have strengthened her self confidence.

School

One of the bilingual parents, Charlotte, has experiences being too different to be popular in school, but that on the other hand she had good experiences from languages being a strength. Two participants also mention relatives, who’s opinion was that it was important to know the language of the relatives. In Jenny’s case the grandparents on both sides either thought it was rude speaking 'the other language’ in their company or did not like her speaking ’the other language’ in general. Jenny and Bea also met negative attitudes connected to their minority language from people in the society because of the Vietnam war and negative attitudes towards everything that was American (in Jenny’s case) and the negative post-war view of Finnish as a minority (in Bea’s case).

There is huge variation in if and how the school has supported the participants’ bilingualism. An interesting finding was that all of the participants who mentioned having been offered mother tongue classes were the Finnish-Swedish bilinguals living in Sweden. Two of the participants write about situations where the teachers have made them stand out as bilinguals with their class present, probably with good intentions. For Charlotte this felt good, whereas it made Elina embarrassed. Two of the participants, Bea and Jenny did not receive any support from school. Johannes does not write about this, but the impression his narrative gives, is that Finnish was not used at all during his time in Sweden.
Feelings

Of the many feelings the participants had about their bilingualism, one of the most interesting, however not too surprising if comparing to what is said in the literature, was how natural bilingualism feels for bilinguals. Another feeling mentioned by a couple of participants was embarrassment or feeling ashamed. These were, however connected to different situations; to being corrected for mistakes made in one of the languages and to receiving praise from adults for knowing two languages.

Several of the participants have met mostly good reactions and attitudes from others because of the fact that they are bilingual. However, some of them describe situations where they have been seen as always belonging to the ‘other country’. This has made it hard to feel completely at home anywhere. One participant expresses that this made her become unsure of what she really was and wishing to have one place to call her home country. This shows what a huge impact bilingualism and biculturalism can have on the identity of individuals.

An important finding was, that even though some participants described challenges, negative feelings and negative attitudes from others connected to their bilingualism, none of them seemed to regret the fact that they knew several languages or did somehow seem recentful for this fact. On several of them expressed thankfulness, some saw it as a richness, one participant wrote that they like being able to speak several languages and someone that they have a good relationship also with the minority language. Some of the advantages of bilingualism that were mentioned were, that this had made it easier to learn other languages and that it had given them working possibilities.

Language skills and use

The findings from the data show examples of that despite of one language being the dominant, the other weaker language, that might have flaws like grammatical errors might actually be seen as the mother tongue. One of the participants explicitly states that both languages are their mother tongue, whereas some of the participants who describe a situation like this actually only mentiones the term mother tongue connected to the weaker language. Maria is one of those describing Finnish as her mother tongue. At the same time she describes that she cannot write Finnish very well. Important to note is that Finnish is the language Maria learnt first, and it is also the home language. The majority of the narratives give an impression of that their language are used in different domains and that one of the languages is dominant. This does not
stop the participants from evaluating their language skills in even the weaker language as 'fluent'. Thus, if looking at the data in my thesis, early bilinguals do not think that the term ‘mother tongue’ could only be used of the dominant language, neither does it seem that the term ‘fluent’ does necessarily mean that the language has no flaws.

In general, the bilingual parents participating in this study, seem to be very conscious about their language skills and language use, mentioning strengths and weaknesses and in what domains which language is used. Especially trilingual Charlotte is very reflective and seems to have a strong language awareness.

*Language plans and choices for own children*

All but Johannes have written about their aspirations for the language development of their own children. Even if several participants express aspirations concerning their children’s development of both or all languages, it is interesting that several of the participants only focus on the language that is the minority language of the country where they live at the moment. On the other hand, this is quite natural, as both this thesis, and also a lot of the literature used, show that the majority language of the country tends to become the dominant one and that the minority language is the one needing extra support to be maintained. This is actually explicitly mentioned by e.g. Eina, who trusts that the child has enough support in Finnish. Her child goes to a Russian speaking day care in order to support the Russian language development.

It is clear that all of the parents seem to believe in that they have an impact on their children’s language development, meaning that they have a so called ‘impact belief’. Even though e.g. Linda and Maria have a realistic view of how much they alone can affect their children’s language development, at the same time Linda expresses confidence through writing that she believes that her English language skills are good enough for the child to get at least some English skills from her. Anna states that the most important for language development is done at home and Bea thinks that which language the parents speak with each other is affecting the children’s language development. This view is supported by Baker (2007, p. 9). Anna and Bea clearly feel, that the main responsibility of the children’s language development must be taken by the parents.

*Strategies*

The language interaction strategies chosen in the bilingual parent’s own, adulthood homes could roughly be divided into four groups. It is important to note, that this division is done
based on what seems to be the bilingual parents’ plan. As many of the bilingual parents have very young children, it is impossible to say what the reality will be in the future. That is, however, not the focus on this thesis.

Johannes who had a quite exceptional situation compared to the other bilingual parents of the study, as he went through a total language shift. This means that he actually did not use two languages at the same time during his childhood. He is also the only one who have not raised his children bilingually at any time, which is a choice he really regrets. He makes it clear that the reason for this was the view at the time when the children were small, he had got the impression that children should first learn one language properly before learning a new language. Otherwise there is a danger that the development of their own mother tongue becomes disturbed.

As probably became clear from the paragraph above Johannes, and gradually also Jenny, ended up not speaking one of their languages, that is to say the minority language of the country of residence, with their children, thus more or less a monolingual home. Charlotte, Hanna, Maria and Elina seem to have an ambition of following the one person-one language-approach. Bea, Anna and Fanny aim at using one language, the minority language, at home, and that the children will learn the other language from outside home. Linda is the only one describing that she has decided to use both of her native languages with her child. She has made ”rules” of that she tries to speak English with the child when the dad is at work, and then when they are all together, the language spoken in Finnish.

Some participants mention different concrete ways of supporting the children’s language development. These are e.g. songs, book, listening to fairytalesn visiting the country where one of the languages is spoken and kindergarten which is in the minority language. Also working on developing own language skills is mentioned.

*Connections: own childhood and aspiration for own children*

Bea and Charlotte have some bad experiences from their childhood connected to their bilingualism. They do clearly express that they do not want the same negative experiences for their own children. Charlotte described the feeling of embarrassment when being corrected as she made mistakes in one of her languages. When describing aspirations for her children’s language development she draws attention to that what is most important for her, is that the
children will feel free to express themselves in at least one of their languages. Thus, she does not concentrate on the criteria of competence when raising her children to becoming bilingual.

Bea expresses a hope that Finnish will be seen as the children’s mother tongue. This seems to be strongly connected to her own experience of not being offered mother tongue education as Finnish was not seen as her mother tongue. Bea and the children’s dad have chosen to speak Finnish with the children. This is probably the best they can do for that Finnish will be seen as the children’s mother tongue and that they will be able to receive support from school. Bea also hopes that they will feel safe and happy of having even one more origin and language in addition to Swedish. This hope for the children is in sharp contrast with what Bea herself experienced as a child, as she felt that Finnish was seen as something ugly and shameful.

Jenny’s story about her own positive view of bilingualism and her strong wish to raise her children bilingually is sad, but it also has a kind of a happy ending. It is clear that the reason why Jenny gave up speaking English to her children, and in that way securing their language acquisition, she gave up as a result of the negative attitudes from the her family and extended family, both towards herself during childhood and youth, but also negative attitudes pressure connected to her raising her children bilingually. Also the children’s other parent and later on Jenny’s new boyfriend, were negative towards her speaking English with the children. Cunningham states that people who have grown up being bilingual might want to pass on both languages onto their children. This might be hard e.g. if the other parent is not supportive. (2011, p. 34.) It is also possible that the lack of support from school in Jenny’s late childhood and youth and the general negative attitudes towards English in the society, affected her choice. She also mentions, that much research (at the time when she raised her children) supported the view of children becoming unsure, speaking later and becoming confused, even also research claiming the opposite existed. However, at some point Jenny took action, and with some friends they organised English activities for the children. This action taken by Jenny could, in my opinion, be seen as a victory for her, as she finally got the opportunity to at least do something to give the English language to her children.

Lida’s English was passive in her childhood, and she sees the same as a possibility for her child. In Lida’s view, passive bilingualism as an opportunity, helping the child forward when starting to study the language actively. It seem that raising her child to become a passive bilingual, understanding English, is a natural choice for her, as it is a familiar situation which she has experienced, and which has helped her becoming an active bilingual.
Support from kindergarten and school

Eight of ten of the participants have very small children, meaning that not all of them have yet thought about what kind of support or attitudes they want from kindergarten or school when it comes to their own children’s language development. However, many of them hope that the kindergarten’s and school’s attitude will be positive and that the children’s bilingualism will be taken into consideration e.g. when learning words in the majority language.

Anna and Jenny already have experience from their children being in school. Anna’s children clearly have what she calls 'home language classes’, but she seems a little bit frustrated with the different levels of the pupils attending the same lessons, which obviously affects the level of the education that is given. Jenny’s children did not get any kind of support from school, other than one of her children got the possibility to choose whether to write in British or American English.

Maria and Charlotte write about already having positive experiences from kindergarten. In the kindergarten of Marias’s children they are not able to support their Swedish as they do not have the skills needed, but they have a positive attitude, which is the same impression that Charlotte gives when writing about her children’s kindergarten.

As most of the participants had such young children, the school part of this thesis was not the focus of this study. Bilingual parents’ own experiences of support received from their school and the expectations they have for the schools of their own children, would be an interesting topic to do more research on.
8 Concluding remarks

Writing this Master’s thesis has been a journey both professionally and personally. I have learned much from the literature about bilingualism, but even more from all the fantastic participants who agreed to participate in my study and sharing their narratives, despite the fact that many of them live a stressful everyday life with small children. It was incredibly interesting to read about their experiences and thoughts about bilingualism, not only as they brought many interesting topics into my thesis, but also personally, hearing about other bilingual parents experiences and thoughts. What surprised me, was that the participants had, despite all of them bilingual, very different language backgrounds and experiences. At the same time there was a lot of similarities. The most important was probably, that all the participants seemed to have a positive view on bilingualism, being thankful for being bilinguals themselves and also wanting to give this same gift to their own children.
Lähteet / References


Schrauf, R. (2009). English use among older bilingual immigrants in linguistically concentrated neighborhoods: Social proficiency and internal speech as intracultural variation. In:


Appendix 1

GUIDELINE PAPER (FINNISH)


Alta löydät ensin muutamia asioita, jotka toivon sinun mainitsevan kirjoitelmassasi, ja sitten myös teemoja, joita voit halutessasi käsitellä. Voit myös vapaasti kirjoittaa muista kuin annetuista teemoista. Kirjoitelmassa esiintyvien asioiden järjestyksellä ei ole välillä niin kuin ei myöskään kirjoitelman pituudella.

Kirjoitelmassa voit käyttää oikeita nimiä, paikannimiä jne., koska tekstit tulevat ainoastaan minun ja mahdollisesti ohjaajani luettavaksi. Jos teen pro gradu -tutkielmasani viittauksia kirjoitelmaasi tai käytän siitä lainauksia, muutan nimet ja yleistän esim. paikkakunnan jne., jotta yksittäiset henkilöt eivät ole tunnistettavissa.

Pyytäisin sinua sisällyttämään ainakin seuraavat tiedot kirjoitelmanasi:

- Sukupuolesi ja ikäsi
- Nykyisen asuinmaan ja lapsuuden asuinmaan/asuinmaat
- Oma näkemys kielitaidostasi
- Miten ja milloin opit kielet, joita osaat
- Lapsesi/lastesi toisen vanhemman kielitausta
- Lapsesi ikä/iät

Liäksi voit halutessasi pohtia näitä asioita:

Lapsuuden ja nuoruuden kielikokemukset:
- Millainen kielikulttuuri ja/tai kielipolitiikka lapsuudenkodissasi vallitsi
- Millaisia kokemuksia sinulla on lapsuudesta ja nuoruudesta liittyen, että osasit useampia kieliä
- Miten muut (sukulaiset, ystävät, yhteiskunta) suhtautuivat monikielisyyteesi
- Miten monikielisyytesi huomioitiin koulussa?

Kaksikielisyys aikuisena:
- Mitä kieliä käytät aikuisena
- Millainen suhde sinulla on kielisi

Omat lapset ja kieli:
- Toiveet ja suunnitelmat omien lasten kielen/kielten suhteen, esim. kuinka paljon suunnitelet, kuinka tarkasti tahdot toteuttaa suunnitelmat ja millaista kielitaitoa toivot lapselta/lapsilta
- Ajatukset siitä, mikä vaikuttaa näihin toiveisiin
- Omia näkemyksiä siitä, mitä lapsesi/lastesi toinen vanhempi ajattelee siitä mitä kieltä/kieliä lapsi oppii
- Miten toivot, että lapsen kielen/kielten oppimiseen suhtaudutaan sekä miten sitä tueaan päivähoidossa/koulussa? (Tai millaisia kokemuksia tästä on, jos lapsi jo on/on ollut päivähoidossa/koulussa?)

Suurkiitos avustasi!

/Anne-Marit
GUIDELINE PAPER (NORWEGIAN)

Jeg skriver masteroppgave om to-/flerspråklige foreldre. Jeg ber deg om å skrive en tekst om dine egne erfaringer som to-/flerspråklig og om det, hvilket/hvilke språk du ønsker at ditt/dine barn skal lære- Fortell gjerne også om hvordan dere har tenkt å realisere planene i familien.

Under finner du først noen punkter, som jeg ønsker at du nevner i teksten din, og så noen temaer, som du kan skrive om hvis du ønsker det. Du kan også fritt skrive om andre temaer som ikke er nevnt under. Det har ikke noe å si i hvilken rekkefølge du skrivar om ulike temaer, heller ikke hvor lang teksten er.

Du kan bruke navn på personer og steder osv. i teksten din, fordi tekstene bare blir lest av meg og eventuelt min veileder. Om jeg nevner noe fra teksten din i masteroppgaven min eller siterer fra den, bruker jeg andre navn eller nevner et større område i stedet for et spesifikt sted, slik at enkeltindivider ikke skal være gjenkjennelige.

Jeg ber deg om å inkludere i alle fall følgende fakta om deg i teksten din:

- kjønn og alder
- ditt nåværende hjemland og barndommens hjemland
- ditt syn på egne språkkunnskaper
- hvordan og når du lærte språkene som du kan
- språkbakgrunnen til ditt/dine barns andre foreldre

I tillegg kan du, hvis du ønsker, diskutere følgende saker :

Barndommens og ungdommens språkerfaringer:

- Hva slags språkkultur og/eller språkpolitikk rådet i ditt barndomshjem
- Hva slags erfaringer du har fra barndommen og ungdommen i forbindelse med at du kunne flere språk
- Hvordan andre (slektninger, venner, samfunnet) forholdt seg til din flerspråklighet
- Hvordan flerspråkligheten ble tatt hensyn til på skolen

Flerspråklighet som voksen

- Hvilke språk du bruker som voksen
- Hva slags språkforhold du har til dine språk
- Egne barn og språk:
- Ønsker og planer når det gjelder ditt/dine barns språk,( for eksempel hvor mye planlegger du, hvor nøye vil du gjennomføre planene og hva slags språkkunnskaper ønsker du at ditt/dine barn skal ha
- Tanker om hva som påvirker disse ønskene
- Ditt syn på hva ditt/dine barns andre foreldre tenker om hvilket/hvilke språk ditt barn lærer
- Hvordan du ønsker at ditt/dine barns språklæring tas hensyn til og hvordan det støttes i barnehage/skole (eller hva slags erfaringer du har av dette hvis ditt/dine barn allerede har gått i barnehage/på skole)

Tusen takk for din hjelp!

/Anne-Marit
GUIDELINE PAPER (ENGLISH)

I am writing a Master’s thesis about parents who are bi-/multilingual themselves. I would ask you to write an informal essay about your own experiences of being bi-/multilingual and about what language/languages you would like your children to learn. In addition to this, it would be great if you could tell about what you think to carry out the plan in your family.

Below you will find some facts that I would like you to mention in your essay, and also some topics, that you can discuss if you wish. Also, feel free to address other topics that those mentioned. It does not matter in which order you write about different topics, nor does it matter how long your text is.

You may use real names when mentioning persons and places in your text, as the text is only read by me and possibly my supervisor. If I refer to your essay or use citations from your text in my thesis, I will change the names or generalize the names of the places, so that individuals are not recognizable.

I would like you to include the following information in your essay:

- your gender and age
- your current country of residence and your childhood country/countries of residence
- your own view on your language proficiency
- how and when you learned the languages that you know
- your child’s/children’s other parent’s language background
- your child’s/children’s ages

If you want, you could also discuss these topics:

Your childhood’s and youth’s language experiences:

- what language culture/- politics you had in your childhood home
- what kind of experiences you had from your childhood and youth when it comes to knowing several languages
- what kind of attitude others (relatives, friends, society) had when it came to your multilingualism
- how your multilingualism was taken into consideration in school

Multilingualism as an adult:

- what languages you use as an adult
- what kind of attitude you have towards your languages

Your own children and language:

- hopes and plans when it comes to your own children’s language/languages, e.g. how much you plan, how accurately you want to carry out that plan and what amount of language skills you wish your child/children to have
- thoughts about what affects these wishes
- your own view on what your child’s/children’s other parent thinks about which language the child/children learn
- how you wish that the day care/school takes the language learning of your child into consideration (or what experiences do you have about this if your child has been to day care or school already?)

Thank you so much for your help!

/Anne-Marit
Appendix 2

USED CITATIONS

(These are only in English in the “Findings” part)

6.1 CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

6.1.1 Language culture and policy in childhood home

Äitimme kanssa puhuimme ruotsia, isämme kanssa englantia. Kun vieraat olivat suomenkielisiä vaihdettiin yleinen keskustelukieli suomeksi, tosin silloinkin kun puhuimme suoraan vanehmiemme se oli heidän omalla äidinkielillään (Charlotte)

Olen varhaislapsuudesta asti kolmikielinen, ruotsi äitini äidinkieli, englanti isäni äidinkieli ja suomi tuli ymopäristöstä (ystävät, naapurit, peruskoulu, asiointi). (Charlotte)

Ensinnä äitini ja isäni kielet, leikki-iääsä eli n 1 v suomenkielen. Voisi myös sanoa että tässä järjestyksessä altistuin kiihille. (Charlotte)

Lapsuudenkotini oli kaksikielinen, isä puhui englantia ja äiti suomea. Isäni kuitenkin ymmärsi suomen kieltä, joten me lapset opinemme vastaamaan hänelle suomeksi. (Linda)

Äitini halusi aina puhua venäjää meille myös muualla, vaikka välillä meitä lapsia se hävetti. ”Yritinkin aina puhua vain suomea yleisillä paikoilla ja pyysin äitiäninkin tekemään niin. (Elina)

Lapsuudenkodissani puhuimme enimmäkseen suomea. Aina suomea äidille & isälle, mutta myös paljon sisaruuksien keskenään. Noin 12-ikäisenä aloitetettiin puhumaan enemmän ruotsia sisaruuksien keskenään, mutta vieläkin suomea äidille & isälle. (Hanna)

Suomen kielen opin heti aikaisemmin suomea. Suomea äidille & isälle ja Suomenkieliset ystävät ja naapurit eritellen. (Hanna)

Suomi äidinkielenä ja Ruotsin kasvaessani […] En muista milloin olen oppinut ruotsinkielien. En muista etten olisi osannut puhua tai ymmärtänyt ruotsia. (Anna)

Jag lärde mig finska språket först, då min mamma var hemma med oss barn när vi var små. (Maria)

[…] förälder med finska föräldrar, alltså modersmål finska (Bea)

Jag är uppvuxen i norra Sverige, […] i en tvåspråkig familj (föräldrar med finska föräldrar, alltså modersmål finska). Har talat endast finska till och med 4-5 års ålder. Mina föräldrar har däremot talat endast svenska till varandra. Vid förskolestart i 5 års ålder lärde jag mig snabbt svenska och började svara på svenska även vid finskt tilltal. Så småningom började föräldrar och prata endast svenska hemma. (Bea)

Jag växte upp i Sverige med att prata finska och svenska, då min mamma är finsk och pappa är svensk. Mina första år pratade jag nästan endast finska […]. (Fanny)

Vaihtakaa kielät! (Anna)

Olen myös kuullut, että minusta ja sisaruuksista on puhuttu koulussa, että leuhkimme ja haluamme huomiota sillä, että puhumme joskus englantia. (Linda)

Olimme siellä […] perheissä ja unohtimme nopeasti suomen ja opinemme ruotsin. (Johannes)

6.1.2 Language elsewhere than at home

Men det jag kommer ihåg var att jag och mina tvåspråkiga kompisarälskade att vi kunde prata finska om vi inte ville att dom som endast förstår svenska skulle förstå oss. Och diverse versa. (Fanny)
Man kan se ett mönster i att när barnet själv börjar svara på svenska istället för finska, så byter den vuxne till att tala svenska till barnet. (Bea)

6.1.3 View on and Development of Language Skills in Childhood

Dock blev svenska språket snabbt starkare än finskan, när jag började skolan och fick svenska vänner osv. (Maria)

[...], men så fört jag började skolan så lärde jag mer svenska och det vart språket jag lärde mig bäst. (Fanny)

Muistan erään kerran, kun ecaluokalla kouluumme tuli vieraita Hollannista (tms.), ja he käivivät luokassamme. Yksi heistä kysyi osaako tällä kukaan englantia. Viittasin ja vastasin, että ”minä”. Hollantilainen opettaja kysyi englanniksi, missä asun. Osoitin kotiamme pään ja sanoin, ”tuolla”. Englanninkieliset sanat eivät vain tulleet mieleenkään, vaan suurimmaksi osaksi kuitenkin jälleen suomen kielenä. (Linda)

Vaikka olenkin ymmärtänyt englantia syntymästäni asti, olen joutunut opettelemaan englannin puhumisen ja aktiivisen käytön ”kantapään kautta. (Linda)

Suomentunnilla oli aika kova taso ja koitiin niin että kehitysin 9 vuoden aikana. (Anna)

Jag minns situationen då jag till exempel berättat något till pappa på svenska och han sedan bett mig att berätta allting på nytt, men på finska. Det orkade jag inte eftersom det kändes för övermäktigt.” (Maria)

[...]lympäristön kielenä suomi on aina ollut vahvempi. (Linda)

Kieli vahvistui jouluisin ja kesäisin kun kävimme sukulaisten luona [ruotsinkielinen paikka] pitkiäkin aikoja. (Charlotte)

Sujuvaa englanti mielestäni oli vasta 18-vuotiaana, kun vietin kesän amerikassa (Linda)

6.1.4 Attitudes and Reactions from the surroundings

Jag har alltid blivit bra bemött i skolan och från allmänheten med min tvåspråkighet. (Maria)

Suurimmaksi osaksi ”palaute” on ollut kuitenkin positiivista. (Linda)

Muut ovat suhtautuneet hyvin monikielisyyteeni, vaikka usein ovat kutsuvat meitä ”suomalaisiksi” (ja Suomessa ruotsalaisiksi). (Hanna)

Men att vara tvåspråkig var lite svårt också, när jag var i Sverige så såg svenskarne mig som finsk. Och när jag var i Finland såg finnarna mig som svensk. (Fanny)

En ollut koulussa osa suosittuja lapsia, olin kai liian erilainen. (Charlotte)

Vahvuksiani olivat kiele ja urheilu, niissä sain loistaa ja se tuntui hyvältä. (Charlotte)

Däremot tyckte jag inte alls om då någon kommenterade att jag lät arg när jag pratade finska, eller något liknande. (Maria)

Om jag tänker tillbaka på min uppväxt i norra Sverige ansågs finska vara något ”fult” och skamligt. Jag ville inte gärna visa att jag kunde finska eftersom man fick kommentarer, från andra barn. Detta tror jag är ett spår av efterkrigstidens synsätt på finska som minorityspråk (svenska blev det enda språket som fick talas i Norrbotten/Sverige, trots tusental finskspråkiga barn i skolorna. Finska förbjöds) (Bea)
6.1.5 School
Jag fick inte läsa finska i skolan eftersom min mamma och pappa inte talade finska med oss (låg- och mellanstadiet). Detta betraktades alltså inte som modersmål, trots att jag kunde en hel del och trots att detta varit mitt enda språk mina första år i livet. (Bea)

Opettaja myös nosti asiaen esille supisuomalaisia lapsia täynnä olevassa luokassani ja koin olevani erilainen ja häpesin sitä. (Elina)

6.1.6 Own Thoughts, Views and Attitudes Concerning Language and Identity
Välillä piti oikein ajatella, kumpaa kieltä tuli puhutua, koska kummatkin kielet tuntuivat niin luonnolliselta. (Hanna)

När jag var liten så tänkte jag inte så mycket på att jag kan två olika språk, då jag bodde i en liten by där det var väldigt många som pratade både finska och svenska så det var inget märkvärdigt. (Fanny)

Ennen englanninkielien alkanista koulussa en muista olleeni tietoinen monikielisyydestäni. (Charlotte)

Men att vara tvåspråkig var lite svårt också, när jag var i Sverige så såg svenskarna mig som finsk. Och när jag var i Finland såg finnarna mig som svensk. Jag själv förstod aldrig riktigt vad jag egentligen var, jag ville inte vara från två ställen, jag ville ha ett ställe som är mitt hemland (Fanny)

Yritinkin aina puhua vain suomea yleisillä paikoilla ja pyysin äitiänikin tekemään niin. (Elina)

En vielä osannut olla ylpeä kielitaidostani. (Elina)

Kaikki aiuiset (koulussa, sukulaiset, yms) aina kehuivat sitä, että osasin kahta kieltä ja innoissaan kertoivat sen olevan minulle hyödyksi. Itse en kuitenkaan kokenut sitä ihan näin ja jopa häpesin asiaa. (Elina)

ADULTHOOD
6.2.1 View on and Development of own Language skills during Adulthood
Oma näkemys kielitaidostani on, että minulla on kaksi äidinkieltä, joita kumpaakin käytän arkielämässäni. (Hanna)

”Se on vähän kuin lapsen puhe” (Charlotte)

Jag upplever att min svenska har blivit sämre under dessa fem år, då jag sällan använder mer avancerat språk än det jag talar med våra barn. Dock har mitt finska språk utvecklats en hel del …. (Maria)

Englannin kielitaitoni tuntuu muuttuvan jatkuvasti. Joskus se on pidempään taka-alalla ja sitä joutuu hetken houkuttelemaan ja hakemaan, ennen kuin se taas luistaa. Tietty tilanteet myös hankaloittavat puhumista ja toiset tekevät siitä helpompaa. (Linda)

Jeg er akkurat kommet tilbake fra ferie i Canada hvor jeg har besøkt familien. Denne gangen har jeg opplevd mye sterkere hvordan det er å skifte mellom norsk og engelsk. Tidligere har det gått greit i noen dager å snakke engelsk og så gikk det noe i stå. Ikke denne gangen, Det gikk mye mer flytende. (Jenny)

Nå opplevde jeg at ordene bare falt ut av munnen og jeg var litt forundret over mitt aktive vokabular. (Jenny)

Nyt kuuntelen ruotsinkielistä radiota ja luen silloin tällöin ruotsiksi kirjoja tai uutisia. (Charlotte)

6.2.2 Language Choice, Use and Patterns of Use in different Situations
Joskus kielet sekoittuvat, jos ei niihin kiinnitä huomiota. Kotikieleemme on myös pesiänyt jonkin verran angliamia. (Linda)

Arjessa käytämme jonkun verran englantia keskenämme. (Linda)

Nykyään se menee niin pään, että minä puhun äidilleni venäjää ja hän yrittää harjoitella suomea puhumalla minulle sitä. Tai sitten puhumme vain kahden kielen sekalaskaa. (Elina)

[...] da blir det en blanding av språkene, avhengig av tema og om våre norske ektefeller er tilstede (Jenny)

Nykyään käytän ruotsin kieltä vain kun soitan Ruotsiin tai kun luen ruotsinkielisiä lehtiä tai kirjoja. (Johannes)

Jeg snakker norsk med min søster og med min far frem til han døde [...]. (Jenny)

Englannikieltä käytän erityisesti tunteitani ilmaistessa ja tieteellisessä työssäni. Suomea käytän tunteita ilmaistessa, asioiden kuvailussa, sanaleikeissä (kuten myös englantia), ja virallisessa asioinnissa. Tuohon viimeiseen eivät ruotsinskieleltaitoni riitä. (Charlotte)

6.2.3 Reactions from Others

Jeg opplever at mange har gjennom årene brukt språket mitt på å sette meg på plass, belære meg - eller "belittle" meg. Dette har skjedd særlig i jobbsammenheng hvor jeg får rette på et helt korrekt og godt skrevet tekst. (Jenny)

Jeg bryr meg ikke om dette lenger - men har opplevd dette som vondt og vanskelig før. Nå opplever jeg slik at det sier mer om personen enn noe annet og tar til meg det jeg kan for å bli flinkere i eget språk. (Jenny)

6.2.4 Identity

Men idag ser jeg mig som svensk, även fast jag föddes i Finland och bor idag i Finland. Sverige är mitt hemland. (Fanny)

Allt som har med Sverige och svenska språket att göra, är en del av mig och min identitet. Jag är ibland rädd för att det ska glömmas bort att jag fortfarande är svensk, eftersom jag bor här, har finsk man, finskt efternamn och jag talar finska flytande. (Maria)

6.3. VIEWS, BELIEFS AND EXPERIENCES OF BILINGUALISM AND LANGUAGE

6.3.1 Attitudes, Beliefs and Experiences of Language and of Being Bilingual

Suhde kieliini on hyvä ja tykkään siitä, että osaan puhua useampaa kieltä. (Hanna)

Hyvä suhde ja koen rikkaautena että osaan käyttää kolme kieltä. (Anna)

[...] jag är stolt över mina rötter (Maria)

[...] är jag oerhört tacksam över att mina föräldrar gav mig finska språket. (Maria)

Jeg opplever ofte at jeg ikke tenker på et språk, tankene er bare der - eller de kommer på en blanding av språk (norsk/engelsk). Det er til dels avhengig av hva jeg tenker på. (Jenny)

Suomenkielen koen kolkoki englanninkieleen verrattuna. (Charlotte)

Sinä tutkit kaksikielisiä perheitä ja meidän perheemme ei ole sellainen (Johannes)

6.3.2 Advantages
6.3.3 Disadvantages, Challenges and Negative Experiences

Pettymys on ollut suuri tilanteissa, joissa huomasi ettei pystynytkään toisella kielellä ilmaisemaan itseä yhtä helposti. (Linda)

6.4 OWN CHILDREN AND LANGUAGE

6.4.1 Aspirations

Jag anser att det ändå är lika viktigt att de lär sig båda språken flytande. (Maria)

Toivon kuitenkin, että hän edes ymmärtäisi venäjää, jotta voisin puhua sitä hänelle ja hän mummonsa kanssa. (Elina)

Tärkeimmäksi koen, että he oppivat käytännössä mitä tahansa näistä kielistä ilmaisemaan itseään tahtomalla tavalla, vapaasti ja luovasti. (Charlotte)

Jag skulle inte förlåta mig själv om inte barnen fick bli en del av det jag är så stolt över (Maria)

Toivon, että lapset osaavat edes jotain kieltä siinä määrien että he kokevat itsensä vapaaksi ilmaista itseään. (Maria)

Tahto säilyttää side äitini sukuun ja [ruotsinkielinen paikka], myös lapsille. (Charlotte)

6.4.2 Reasons for the Aspirations

Itse olen ollut niin iloinen siitä, että osaan molempia kielitä ja haluan, että hänkin sais siote kokea sen. (Hanna)

Koska isellä ollut niin paljon hyötyä ja ihoa kaksikielisyystä niin toivoo lapsille samat mahdollisuudet. (Anna)

[…] jag är fast besluten på att ge språket som gåva till dem. (Maria)

Dette var fordi jeg ønsket å ta vare på min amerikanske del - at barna skulle kunne kommunisere med min amerikanske familie og fordi jeg ville dele min amerikanske av med barna. Det var også fordi jeg hadde referanser på engelsk, men ikke på norsk med tanke på barnelitteratur, rim, regler, barnebøker, sanger etc. Jeg følte med rett og slett trygge som mor med engelsk enn med norsk. jeg slet mye under oppveksten med at jeg ikke kjente til referansene i den norske barnekulturen. (Jenny)

6.4.3 The other Parent
Han bodde ett år i Sverige med mig och lärde sig då tala svenska imponerande bra. Innan året i Sverige, hade han studerat svenska en del i skolan men aldrig varit riktigt intresserad. När vi hade varit tillsammans i ungefär ett år, började vi tala svenska en del via skype och ibland även när vi sågs. Men efter året han arbetade i Sverige, fortsatte han ihårigt att underhålla sin svenska med bland annat mig och våra barn. På det viset är det ännu idag, bortsett från att han inte talar svenska med barnen. (Maria)

Jag vet att han stöttar mig helhjärtat i det här, trots att han själv inte längre talar svenska med dem. (Maria)

6.4.4 Attitudes Beliefs and Thoughts

Tiedän, että en voi yksin opettaa lapselleni täydellistä englannin kielen taitoa. Kuitenkin uskon, että kielen passiivinen osaaminen auttaa hurjasti eteenpäin, kun hän sitä alkaa aktiivisesti opiskella. (Linda)

[...] men jag är också medveten om att jag inte kan göra under. (Maria)

Maailma on täynnä englannin eri murteita, ja eritasoisia puhujia löytyy myös natiivipuhujista. Siispä olen rohkaistunut jatkamaan englannin puhumista pojalleni ja uskon, että kieltäitoni riittää sihen. (Linda)

Till en början var jag faktiskt orolig över deras finska, men numera är det precis tvärtom. (Maria)

Koemme, että suomessa asussamme lapsemme suomen kieli tulee kehittymään hyvin (Elina)

Lasten kanssa en ole puhunut ruotsia missään vaiheessa, ja se minua kovasti harmittaa. (Johannes)

6.4.5 Language Choice and Strategies

Kun odotimme lasta, mittemme, puhuisinko hänelle englantia vai suomea. (Linda)

En halunut tehdä päätöstä ennen hänen syntymäänsä, vaan kokeilla ajallaan, mikä tuntuisi luontevimalta. (Linda)

Sammen med noen venner, startet vi en så kalt engelsk gruppe og kom sammen en gang i måneden. Det ble kun snakket engelsk og vi tok for oss ulike emner for å belyse det engelske kultur. (Jenny)

Jag pratar endast svenska med honom och kommer ha som en regel att hemma pratar vi svenska. (Fanny)

Jag är väldigt envis med att tala endast svenska med alla fyra barn hela tiden, eftersom jag är fast besluten på att ge språket som gåva till dem. (Maria)

[...] jag ska göra allt för att det ska fortsätta på samma vis. (Maria)

[...] på dagis lär han sig finska [...] (Fanny)
Aluksi se tuntui todella vaikealta ja teennäiseltä, mutta pian se muuttui sujuvammaksi. Päätin jatkaa. Huomasin, että iltaisin, kun mieheni tuli tōistä ja puhuin hänen kanssaan suomea, kieli muuttui suomeksi myös lapsen kanssa. Ajan kullessa päätin, että pidän yllä molempia kieliä lapseni kanssa. (Linda)

Yritetään mieheni kanssa puhua mahdollisemman paljon suomea. Joskus huomaa vaihtavansa kielen ruotsiksi huomaamatta. (Anna)

[…] jag läser självklart bara på svenska […] (Maria)

Koemme, että suomessa asuessaamme lapsemme suomen kieli tulee kehittyvään hyvin. Koska lapsemme elämässä ei ole kovin montaa venäjänkielistä henkilöä, joten päätimme, että hän tarvitsee tukea venäjän kielessä enemmän kuin suomen kielessä. (Elina)

Joudun tekemään töitä kehittääkseen ruotsinkieltä, jotta pystyn selittämään elämää lapsilleni. (Charlotte)

6.4.6 School and Kindergarten

"På förskolan talade personalen endast finska med barnen, men använde något svenskt ord ibland, om barnen inte förstod." (Maria)

"Personalen var inte kapabel till att stödja deras svenska, eftersom det var något de inte alls kunde.

Dock var de alltid uppmuntrande mot mig som talade svenska med barnen.” (Maria)

"Men på dagis lär han sig finska, och där hoppas jag att dom tänker på att han är tvåspråkig när han lär sig nya ord, för han kommer inte lära sig lika många finska ord lika snabbt som andra finska barn, på grund av att han även lär sig svenska samtidigt.” (Fanny)

"Toivon, että monikielisyys otetaan huomioon rikkautena ja ymmärretään, että suomenkielen kanssa voi olla vaikecksia.” (Charlotte)

"He ovat nyt [pedagoginen suuntaus] päiväkodissa ja luulen, että asenne siellä on positiivinen. Siellä ollaan pedagogiikan puolesta positiivisia erilaisuuuteen.” (Charlotte)

6.4.7 Attitudes from the Surroundings

"Kun meillä lapset olivat pieniä, minä olin saanut sellaisen käsityksen (todennäköisesti olin lukenut jostakin) että lasten täyttyisi ensin oppia yksi kieli (äidinkieli) kunnolla ennenkuin alkavat opetella uutta kieltä. Muuten on vaara, että oman äidinkielen kehitys häirintyy. Myöhemmin tämä käsitys on kumottu.” (Johannes)

"[…] mange mente at mine barn vil bli mer usikker, snakke senere og bli forvirret av å bli tospråklig. Mye forskning på den tiden (26 år siden støttet dette, men det hersket en del motsatt også) (Jenny)

"[…] som også syntes nok det var tålkelig at jeg snakket engelsk.” (Jenny)

"Sakte, men sikkert kaptulerte jeg og det ble til mer og mer norsk hjemme” (Jenny)
Appendix 3

SEARCHING FOR PARTICIPANTS FOR THE STUDY THROUGH FACEBOOK

Anne-Marit Karhu
August 6

TUNNETKO SINA KAKSI-/MONIKIELISEN VANHEMMAN? (joka sillä on itse monikielinen). Treen juuri nyt graduav monikielisten vanhempien toivelasta ja suunnitelmasta omien lasten kielien oppimiseen liittyen. Tarvitsisin graduni tutkimusta varten vielä muutaman osallistujan. Jos tunnet monikielisen vanhemman, ollisin todella kiitollinen, jos kertoisit hänelle gradustani, jonka tutkimukseen olisi nyt mahdollista osallistua. Klinoostunenent voivat laittaa minulle yksityislisäväestä Facebookissä tai sähköpostia osallitteeseen anne-marit.karhu@student.oulu.fi niin laitan lisäinfon hellele! Kiitos!

Anne-Marit Karhu
August 6

KJENNER DU EN TO-/FLERPRÅKelig FORELDER? (som altså selv er flerspråkig). Jeg skriver for øyeblikket masteroppave om flerspråklige foreldres ønsker og planer hva gjelder egne barns språklering. Jeg trenger noen få personer til som kan delta i innsamlingen av data til min masteroppave. Hvis du kjenner en flerspråkelig forelder, ville jeg være veldig takknemlig om du kunne fortelle ham/henne om masteroppgaven min, som det er mulig å delta i nå. Om man er interessert, kan jeg kontaktev eit privatmeddeland på Facebook, eller ved å sende e-post til adressen anne-marit.karhu@student.oulu.fi for å sende meg mer informasjon om datainsamlingen. Takk!

Anne-Marit Karhu
August 6

DO YOU KNOW A BI-/MULTILINGUAL PARENT? (that the parent him-/herself is multilingual). I am writing my Master’s thesis about multilingual parents’ wishes and plans concerning their own children’s language learning. I would need some few more people to participate in my Master’s thesis research. If you know a multilingual parent, I would be really grateful if you would tell him/her about my Master’s thesis, which research he or she could now participate in. If interested, send me a personal message on Facebook or an e-mail to anne-marit.karhu@student.oulu.fi and I will give more information about the data collection. THANK YOU!

Anne-Marit Karhu
September 4

YOU, who are:
- a parent
- bilingual yourself (from birth/youth)
and
- feel that you know two or more languages fluently/quite fluently. I STILL NEED SOME MORE PARTICIPANTS for my Master’s thesis, AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE! 😊 Send me a personal message, and I will tell you about the text (short or long – you decide) that I want from you. (And thank you to all who have already participated! I appreciate it.) 😊 Feel free to share and so on.