

Parental Attitudes and Practices in Heritage Language Socialisation:  
Maintaining Spanish and Portuguese in Canada

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## Abstract

The use of a heritage language (HL) at home has been seen as one of the most influential factors in determining its maintenance and is highly shaped by the attitudes parents have towards their language. These parental attitudes thus play a significant role in children's HL socialisation, particularly in environments in which the HL is in competition with multiple minority and/or majority languages, as is the case in many areas of Canada with the two Official Languages (OLs), French and English. In such environments, HL maintenance is not only influenced by the parental attitudes towards the HL itself, but also towards the OLs. Parental attitudes, the language(s) of schooling and overall exposure to each language all play a role in determining if the child will grow up to be monolingual, bilingual, or multilingual.

This exploratory study aimed to identify the attitudes of Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking parents towards maintaining these HLs in Canada and their children's language development in their HLs alongside French and English. It also aimed to explore how these attitudes influence their practices with respect to their children's language socialisation, specifically their family language practices and the language(s) of schooling in which they choose to enrol their children, adding to this area of study that currently lacks descriptive research.

Both the qualitative and quantitative results showed that the 315 parent participants generally had positive or very positive attitudes towards their HL and its maintenance in Canada, showing a high desire for their children to develop bilingually or multilingually in their HL and one or both of the OLs. These attitudes supported the family use patterns, with many parents reporting a high use of their HL at home, including those in linguistically intermarried families. Their positive attitudes towards both OLs and a generally high desire for bilingual or multilingual education were supported by the choices they made, when

possible, in the language(s) of education of their children. The lack of quality and/or accessible options was noted by many and shows a growing need for more educational offerings in these two HLs. The results may be used in determining best practices for the transmission and maintenance of Spanish and Portuguese in a linguistically-diverse Canada.

## Résumé

L'utilisation d'une langue d'héritage (LH) au domicile est l'un des facteurs les plus déterminants pour son maintien et est très influencée par l'attitude des parents envers leur langue. Ces attitudes parentales peuvent donc jouer un rôle significatif dans la socialisation des enfants dans la LH, particulièrement dans des environnements où la LH serait en compétition avec des langues minoritaires et/ou majoritaires, comme c'est le cas dans les régions du Canada où les deux langues officielles (LO), soient le français et l'anglais, s'utilisent. Dans de tels environnements, le maintien de la LH est non seulement influencé par l'attitude parentale envers la LH mais aussi par celle envers les LOs. Les attitudes parentales, la/les langue(s) d'instruction à l'école, et l'ensemble des expériences linguistiques contribuent à l'évolution linguistique de l'enfant, évolution qui peut aboutir au monolinguisme, au bilinguisme ou au multilinguisme.

Cette étude exploratoire aux méthodes mixtes vise l'identification des attitudes des parents de langue espagnole et portugaise envers le maintien de ces LHs au Canada, et le développement linguistique de leurs enfants dans les LHs en plus du français et de l'anglais. On explore également comment ces attitudes influencent la socialisation linguistique des enfants, spécifiquement l'utilisation des langues en milieu familial et les langues d'éducation choisies par les parents pour leurs enfants. Cette étude contribuera ainsi à ce domaine dans lequel on trouve peu de recherche descriptive.

Les résultats quantitatifs et qualitatifs démontrent tous les deux que les 315 parents ayant participé avaient, en général, une attitude positive ou très positive envers leur LH et envers son maintien au Canada, souhaitant vivement que leurs enfants développent un bilinguisme ou multilinguisme dans leur LH ainsi que dans une ou deux des LOs. Les participants ont décrit l'utilisation des langues au foyer comme découlant de ces attitudes, avec plusieurs parents qui ont rapporté une utilisation élevée de leur LH au domicile, incluant

dans des familles de langues mixtes. Leurs attitudes positives envers les deux LOs et leurs souhaits que leurs enfants aient une éducation bilingue ou multilingue se manifestent par les choix de la langue d'éducation de leurs enfants, quand c'était possible. Toutefois, la qualité et/ou l'accessibilité d'activités dans la LH laissent à désirer, selon plusieurs participants. On note, donc, un besoin croissant d'avoir plus d'options éducationnelles dans ces deux LHs. Les résultats peuvent contribuer à l'élaboration de meilleures pratiques pour l'acquisition et le maintien de l'espagnol et du portugais dans le cadre de la diversité linguistique au Canada.

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## List of Abbreviations

OL	Official Language
ML	Majority Language
MinL	Minority Language
HL	Heritage Language
HLL	Heritage Language Learner
SSP	Spanish-Speaking Parent
PSP	Portuguese-Speaking Parent

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

### 1.1 Overview

Alongside the two Official Languages (henceforth OLs), French and English, Canada has a complex linguistic landscape that also includes a variety of Indigenous and heritage languages<sup>1</sup> used by a significant portion of the population. The discrepancies in the number of people who report a non-OL as their mother tongue compared to those who report using it as the language spoken most often at home, however, is an indication that there are a variety of family language practices in play within these multilingual homes which may influence the transmission, maintenance, and/or loss of these languages.

Focusing on heritage language (henceforth HL) transmission, the ever-expanding body of literature includes “a constellation of interconnected issues” (Guardado, 2018, p. 22) when it comes to children’s HL development and maintenance. The use of a HL at home, however, has consistently been seen as one of the most crucial factors in determining its maintenance and this use is often influenced by the attitudes the parents have towards their HL (Bayley & Schecter, 2003; Cho, 2008; Chumak-Horbatsch, 1999; Döpke, 1992; Fishman, 1965; Fishman, Cooper, & Ma, 1971; Guardado, 2008a; Luo & Wiseman, 2000; Makarova, Terekhova, & Mousavi, 2019; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Tigchelaar, 2003; among others). As such, these parental attitudes are significant in a child’s language socialisation at the family level, including family language policies (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013, 2016; King et al., 2008; King & Fogle, 2013; Romaine, 1995; Schiffman, 1996), a key element to the successful transmission of a HL (Bayley & Schecter, 2003; Curdt-Christiansen, 2013, 2016; De Houwer, 2009; Guardado, 2008a, 2008b, 2018; He, 2008; Hollebeke, Struys, & Agirdag, 2020; Lanza, 1992, 2007; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984, 2011; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986; among others).

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<sup>1</sup> This study assumes the definition of a *heritage language* within the Canadian context to include any language other than the two Official Languages, French and English, as per the Canadian Heritage Languages Institute Act (Government of Canada, 1991), and does not refer to proficiency levels.

This role of parental attitudes towards a HL is of particular importance for its maintenance in environments in which it is in competition with multiple minority languages (henceforth MinL) and/or majority languages<sup>2</sup> (henceforth ML) (Bayley & Schecter, 2003; Dagenais & Berron, 2001; Dagenais & Day, 1999; Fogle & King, 2017; He, 2006; Lanza, 2007; Lanza & Lexander, 2019; among others), as is the case in many areas of Canada with the two OLs. In such environments, the maintenance of a HL is not only influenced by the parental attitudes towards the HL itself, but also their attitudes towards the OLs as well. These parental attitudes towards both their HL and the OLs play a role in their children's language exposure, but also largely influence the language(s) in which their children are educated, an equally-important factor in their overall HL development and maintenance which can lead to monolingualism, bilingualism, or multilingualism (Dagenais, 2003; Dagenais & Berron, 2001; Kheirkhah & Cekaite, 2015; Mady, 2010, 2013; Markopoulos, 2009; Pacini-Ketchabaw et al., 2001; Slavkov, 2017, among others).

## **1.2 The Current Study: Rationale, Objectives, and Research Questions**

Within the complex linguistic landscape of Canada, Spanish and Portuguese are among the top ten non-official and non-Indigenous languages with the highest number of speakers, ranked fifth and tenth, respectively, with the two populations steadily increasing over the last few decades (Statistics Canada, 2019). Despite these growing populations, there are still gaps in the research on how the Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking parents within them maintain their HLs alongside English and French.

Although there have been studies done on Spanish as a HL in Canada within various areas of linguistics including theoretical, applied, and sociolinguistics, they have mainly focused on areas of Canada considered to be English-dominant, such as British Columbia and

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<sup>2</sup> This study assumes the definition of a *minority language* to be the language spoken by the minority of the population in a given area, and the definition of a *majority language* to be the language spoken by the majority of the population in a given area. This study uses these terms to refer to French and/or English within the Canadian context in which it was conducted.



Alberta (Abdi, 2011; Becker, 2013, 2014; Campanaro, 2013; Guardado, 2002, 2006, 2008a, 2009, 2011b; Guardado & Becker, 2013; among others) and Ontario (Barski, 2013; Cuza & Frank, 2015; Hoffman, 2004; Montero, 2004; Pacini-Ketchabaw et al., 2001; Pérez-Leroux et al., 2011; Valenzuela et al., 2015; Valenzuela, Borg, et al., 2021; .among others), or limited to the bilingual city of Montreal, Quebec (Cruz Enríquez, 2015; DeMelo, 2014; Godenzzi, 2006; López, 2013; Pato, 2017, 2020; Pérez Arreaza, 2015, 2016; among others).

The research on Portuguese as a HL in Canada, compared to Spanish, has been rather limited, especially within the last decade (although see da Silva, 2011; Marujo, 2003a, 2003b; Marujo & Baptista, 2002; Mota, 1997). Despite some studies on, or including, teaching Portuguese as a HL in recent years (Danaia, 2021; Graça, 2021; Ribeiro, 2019; Sartor-Harada & Gomes 2021; Scetti, 2019a), the research on home language practices related to maintaining Portuguese as a HL have been limited and have mainly focused on populations from Portugal (although see da Silva, 2011, 2013; Scetti, 2015, 2019, 2021 for related topics), and very few studies on speakers from other Portuguese-speaking countries such as Brazil, apart from de Silva (2014). Given this lack of research, this study aimed to not only provide insight into this HL in the different linguistic environments of Canada, as seen with Spanish, but to also grow the area of Portuguese HL maintenance and provide findings that may be of use for future studies.

Finally, the multilingual makeup of Canada lends itself to bilingual and multilingual families, or “linguistically intermarried families” (Guardado, 2017, p. 505), providing an ideal environment for research on HL families in general. As noted by Guardado (2018), research on these types of families is something that is currently needed as:

“despite the increasing richness of knowledge in HL socialization, there is a relative lack of research with children who grow up in linguistically intermarried families with

parents who have been raised in different ethnic communities and thus do not share the same native languages” (p. 179).

Given the gaps in the literature of HL maintenance within these two growing populations and within multilingual families, the objectives of this study were: (i) to investigate what Spanish-speaking and Portuguese-speaking parents’ attitudes are regarding the maintenance of Spanish and Portuguese in Canada and their children’s language development in these HLs alongside French and English; and (ii) to gain an understanding of how these attitudes influence their practices with respect to their children’s HL socialisation, specifically their family language practices and the language of schooling in which they choose to enrol their children.

Based on these objectives, the research questions for this study were:

1. What are Spanish-speaking and Portuguese-speaking parents’ attitudes towards the maintenance of their languages in Canada?
2. What are their attitudes towards their children’s language development in these languages alongside French and English?
3. How do these attitudes influence their children’s language socialisation in regard to their general family language practices and the language(s) in which their children are educated?

### **1.3 Intended Contributions**

By studying the aforementioned elements of HL maintenance, this study aimed to add to the area of research focused on parental attitudes towards HL maintenance and their home language practices in multilingual contexts, an area currently lacking descriptive research. Furthermore, this study provides information that can be of use to describe potential best practices for the transmission and maintenance of Spanish and Portuguese in a linguistically diverse Canada. From a practical point of view, this study provides information applicable to

the creation or support of Spanish- and Portuguese-language programs for children both in and outside of formal education, including potential demographics for targeted marketing. Despite the findings of this study being exploratory as they are based on self-reported data and cannot be used to draw concrete conclusions, they are intended to serve as a starting point from which to base future studies on HL maintenance within Canada, particularly for Portuguese. Although focused on Spanish and Portuguese in a Canadian context, the results are applicable to any HL in competition with multiple MinLs and/or MLs.

#### **1.4 Outline**

Chapter 2 provides a brief overview of the literature on the various elements covered. First, a description of the linguistic landscape of Canada is given, including the relevant information on both the OLs, as well as the two HLs under investigation. An overview of HL maintenance is given and the notion of language socialisation — and HL socialisation in particular — at the family level is discussed, including family language policy and negotiation of context via parental discourse strategies. Finally, the various types of language education available in Canada are discussed, followed by the school language choices as pathways to monolingualism, bilingualism, and multilingualism.

Chapter 3 details the methodology used for this study, including the research questions guiding the study, the participant requirements and recruitment, the data collection process, and the qualitative and quantitative data analyses used. It provides a detailed description of the research tool used, followed by a description of the participants, including their reported language abilities and linguistic environments. Methodological limitations are also acknowledged.

Chapter 4 presents the findings of this study and is separated into four sections: (i) parental attitudes towards the HLs, (ii) parental attitudes towards the OLs, (iii) general family

language practices, and (iv) the language of the children's education, with each section including the relative, interwoven quantitative and qualitative results within.

Chapter 5 discusses the major findings and relates them to the previous literature as well as highlights and imparts the future academic and real-life implications these findings can have.

Chapter 6 concludes the study by providing its implications and limitations, as well as providing ideas for future research based on the results gathered.

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

### 2.1 Overview

As this study aimed to gain a better understanding of parents' attitudes and practices regarding HL maintenance in Canada, the following chapter touches on the various areas of study related to this, including language socialisation, specifically HL socialisation, MinL/HL maintenance, and family language policy. Additionally, it also looks at the language of schooling options in Canada and how this key factor in language development plays a role in the aforementioned areas of HL maintenance in areas with well-established MinLs and MLs.

Before covering these topics, it is important to first understand the context in which this HL maintenance takes place. As such, this chapter will begin with an overview of the linguistic landscape of Canada as it pertains to the two OLs, as well as the two HLs under investigation.

### 2.2 Linguistic Landscape of Canada

This section will outline the linguistic landscape of Canada, giving an overview of the two OLs<sup>3</sup> of Canada, French and English, as well as the two HLs under investigation in the study, Spanish and Portuguese. It will provide the relevant data related to the number of speakers of these languages as reported by Statistics Canada and will be shown based on the relevant categories used in The Census of Population<sup>4</sup>, including (i) *knowledge of Official Languages* and (ii) *first Official Language spoken*, followed by (iii) *mother tongue*, (iv) *language most often spoken at home*, and (v) *other language(s) spoken regularly at home*. It

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<sup>3</sup>Although this study focuses on French and English, it is important to recognize the numerous First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples' languages that also make up the linguistic landscape of Canada and that have been used in this country long before the presence of the two Official Languages. For information on the ongoing movement to see these languages recognised and given official status, among other important issues related to these communities, please see National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation (2022), a United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.

<sup>4</sup>The data used for this section was sourced from the most recent Canadian Census of Population, which was taken in 2016 and published in 2017. As this dissertation was submitted in early 2022, before the release of the 2021 Census data, it is important to note that these numbers have changed but that this change is unknown. The most up-to-date data from other sources was used whenever possible to attempt to make up for this limitation.

is important to note that these reports only include those individuals who completed the census at the time of collection and do not include those speakers of Spanish or Portuguese who are in Canada on a temporary basis.

### **2.2.1 Official Languages of Canada**

Since 1969, both French and English have been the OLs of Canada under the Official Languages Act, which recognizes the equal status, rights, and privileges of use of the two languages throughout the federal administration (Government of Canada, 2021c).

Furthermore, as both French and English “are a fundamental characteristic of the Canadian identity” (Office of The Commissioner of the Official Languages, 2021), their importance is recognized in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms which “confirms minority language educational rights for English-speaking children in the province of Quebec and French-speaking children in the rest of Canada” (Office of The Commissioner of the Official Languages, 2021).

Although they are both considered the OLs of the country and are represented as such at the federal level, the extent to which they are used by the general population varies when it comes to the linguistic makeup of communities across the country, including their use by the population at home, work, and school. Of specific concern for this study are the OLs as both the ML and MinLs that make up the community language(s) in which a HL is maintained. Additionally, their status, official or unofficial, as MLs and MinLs influences the access and availability to education in these languages.

For the purposes of this study, the information related to French and English will be presented below in the following order: (i) *knowledge of Official Languages*, (ii) *first Official Language spoken*, (iii) *mother tongue*, (iv) *language most often spoken at home*, and (v) *other language(s) spoken regularly at home*.

### 2.2.1.1 Knowledge of Official Languages and First Official Language Spoken

When looking at the general population of Canada, Table 1 (adapted from Statistics Canada, 2017c) shows the number of people who have knowledge of the OLs, as per Statistics Canada’s measurement of their ability to conduct a conversation in that language<sup>5</sup>. Table 1 also shows the number of people by their *first Official Language spoken*<sup>6</sup>. Although they may have knowledge of both of the OLs, this shows the number of people who reported an OL to be their “first language”, a number derived by Statistics Canada using a method that “takes the following into account: first, knowledge of official languages; second, mother tongue; and third, language spoken most often at home” (Statistics Canada, 2017b).

Furthermore, the *Official Language minority population*<sup>7</sup> listed includes all individuals with a first OL spoken that is not the ML of the area, and half of those who reported both English and French to be their first language. In the province of Quebec, an official French-speaking-majority province, this includes those who reported English as their first OL spoken, and for the population outside of Quebec, this includes those who reported French.

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<sup>5</sup>According to Statistics Canada, *Knowledge of Official Languages* is defined as “whether the person can conduct a conversation in English only, French only, in both languages or in neither language. For a child who has not yet learned to speak, this includes languages that the child is learning to speak at home.” (Statistics Canada, 2017b).

<sup>6</sup>According to Statistics Canada, *First Official Language spoken* is defined as “the first Official Language (i.e., English or French) spoken by the person” and is specified within the framework of the Official Languages Act, Part IV. Any cases in which Statistics Canada does not have sufficient information available to decide whether English or French is the first Official Language spoken are distributed equally between English and French.” (Statistics Canada, 2017b).

<sup>7</sup>According to Statistics Canada, “*The Official Language minority population* of Quebec includes all individuals with English as a first Official Language spoken and half of those with both English and French. *The Official Language minority population* of the country overall and of every province and territory other than Quebec includes individuals with French as a first Official Language spoken and half of those with both English and French.” (Statistics Canada, 2017b).

**Table 1***Population by Knowledge of Official Languages and First Official Language Spoken*

Language	Knowledge of Official Languages	First Official Language Spoken
English only	23,757,525 (68.3%)	26,007,500 (74.8%)
French only	4,144,685 (11.9%)	7,705,755 (22.2%)
English and French	6,216,065 (17.9%)	417,485 (1.2%)
Neither English nor French	648,980 (1.9%)	636,515 (1.8%)
Total	34,767,255	34,767,255
Official Language Minority		7,914,495 (22.8%)

As shown, 80.2% of the population only knows one of the OLs, 68.3% only know English and 11.9% only know French, while 17.9% reported knowing both, and 1.9% reported knowing neither. This 17.9% with knowledge of both languages is then shown to be divided between English, French, and both English and French when looking at the numbers of the *first Official Language spoken*, with 22.2% reporting French and 74.8% reporting English, and 1.2% reporting both. The number of *first Official Language spoken* is different from those with knowledge of them due to “rounding practices” (personal correspondence with Statistics Canada, 2021), although this difference is relatively small.

The number of people who are listed as an *OL minority* is important when it comes to the linguistic policies of the areas in which they live and impacts the federal services provided to them. For the purposes of this study, this is particularly important as it also impacts the languages in which education is available to them.



### 2.2.1.2 Population Based on Mother Tongue

Beyond reporting the *knowledge of Official Languages* and the *first Official Language spoken*, Statistics Canada also reports the population by *mother tongue*<sup>8</sup>. In the census, *mother tongue* “refers to the first language learned at home in childhood and still understood by the person at the time the data was collected” (Statistics Canada, 2017b).

Table 2 (adapted from Statistics Canada, 2017c) shows the population based on their reported mother tongue as it pertains to the OLs. Based on these numbers, 97.65% reported having a single mother tongue, of which 55.97% reported it to be English, 20.61% French, and 21.06% a non-OL.

**Table 2**

*Canadian Population by Mother Tongue*

Mother Tongue(s)	Population
English	19,460,855 (55.97%)
French	7,166,705 (20.61%)
Non-Official Language	7,321,060 (21.06%)
English and French	165,325 (0.48%)
English and Non-Official Language	533,260 (1.53%)
French and Non-Official Language	86,145 (0.25%)
English, French, and Non-Official Language	33,900 (0.09%)
Total	34,767,255

<sup>8</sup>According to Statistics Canada, *mother tongue* “refers to the first language learned at home in childhood and still understood by the person at the time the data was collected. If the person no longer understands the first language learned, the mother tongue is the second language learned. For a person who learned two languages at the same time in early childhood, the mother tongue is the language this person spoke most often at home before starting school. The person has two mother tongues only if the two languages were used equally often and are still understood by the person. For a child who has not yet learned to speak, the mother tongue is the language spoken most often to this child at home. The child has two mother tongues only if both languages are spoken equally often so that the child learns both languages at the same time” (Statistics Canada, 2017b).

When looking at the 2.26% who reported having two mother tongues, 0.48% reported learning both English and French at home, 1.53% reported English and non-OL, and 0.25% reported French and non-OL. Finally, only 0.09% reported having three mother tongues that included English, French, and a non-OL. Unfortunately, these numbers do not take into account those who learned multiple non-OLs as first languages at home (e.g., two non-OLs; French and two non-OLs; English, French, and two non-OLs; etc.).

### **2.2.1.3 Language Spoken Most Often at Home and Other Languages Spoken Often**

In addition to reporting the mother tongues of the Canadian population, Statistics Canada also gives information on the *language spoken most often at home*<sup>9</sup>, as well as the *other languages spoken regularly at home*<sup>10</sup>, if applicable. This data is of particular interest as the differences between the number of people who report a language as their mother tongue compared to those who report it to be the language spoken most often at home suggests that many of these multilingual individuals live in families in which their mother tongue may not be transmitted to their children, as is the focus of this study.

These are compared to the individual's mother tongue, as noted above, and then reported in two ways: first by separating the languages into the OLs and non-OLs, and then by further dividing these categories into individual languages.

For the data related to the *languages spoken most often at home*, Table 3 (adapted from Statistics Canada, 2017c) shows the population as it pertains to the OLs. As noted

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<sup>9</sup>According to Statistics Canada, *language spoken most often at home* refers to “the language the person speaks most often at home at the time of data collection. A person can report more than one language as “spoken most often at home” if the languages are spoken equally often. For a person who lives alone, the language spoken most often at home is the language in which they feel most comfortable. For a child who has not yet learned to speak, this is the language spoken most often to the child at home. Where two languages are spoken to the child, the language spoken most often at home is the language spoken most often. If both languages are used equally often, then both languages are included here” (Statistics Canada, 2017b).

<sup>10</sup>According to Statistics Canada, *other language(s) spoken regularly at home* refers to “the languages, if any, that the person speaks at home on a regular basis at the time of data collection, other than the language or languages he or she speaks most often at home” (Statistics Canada, 2017b).

before, these numbers unfortunately do not take into account those who speak multiple non-OLs most often at home.

**Table 3**

*Language Spoken Most Often at Home Shown by Mother Tongue*

Mother Tongue	Language Spoken Most Often at Home		
	English	French	Non-Official Language
English	18,992,685	71,400	114,795
French	447,675	6,497,370	20,455
Non-Official Language	2,301,490	212,705	3,741,345
English and French	77,515	33,505	2,010
English and Non-Official Language	196,715	865	58,650
French and Non-Official Language	7,090	24,665	9,185
English, French, and Non-Official Language	8,010	2,440	3,610
Total <sup>11</sup> (34,460,065)	22,031,185 (63.93%)	6,842,955 (19.86%)	3,950,055 (11.46%)

English was reported to be the language most used at home by 63.93% of the respondents, French by 19.86%, and a non-OL by 11.46%. Of those who reported using a non-OL the most, 94.72% listed a non-OL as their mother tongue.

The data on *other languages spoken regularly at home* shows the languages that one speaks at home on a regular basis other than the language(s) that they reported speaking most often. As shown in Table 4 below (adapted from Statistics Canada, 2017c), 85.18% of the population reported speaking no other language at home beyond the language(s) they reported speaking most often. It is important to note that this does not mean, however, that they are in monolingual homes, as the reporting of language spoken most often at home can

<sup>11</sup>The totals provided by Statistics Canada “vary slightly due to random rounding” (Statistics Canada, 2017c) and, as such, the total for this data is 34,460,065, a difference of 307,190 compared to the total for all other percentages reported in this section.

include one, two, or three languages, as shown throughout this section. Of the remaining 14.82% who reported speaking other languages regularly at home, 14.36% reported speaking one additional language, 0.46% reported speaking two additional languages, and 0.0006% reported speaking three additional languages.

**Table 4**

*Other Languages Spoken Regularly at Home*

Other Language(s)	Population
None	29,615,245 (85.18%)
English	2,109,340 (6.07%)
French	731,095 (2.10%)
Non-Official Language	2,151,690 (6.19%)
English and French	47,970 (0.14%)
English and Non-Official Language	61,075 (0.18%)
French and Non-Official Language	48,755 (0.14%)
English, French, and Non-Official Language	2,080 (0.0006%)
Total	34,767,255

Although no definitive description can be given about the total number of languages spoken at home, this data allows for a better idea of people who are multilingual and speak multiple languages at home. For example, although it is a relatively small percentage of the overall population (0.0006%), for those who reported speaking a non-OL most often at home as noted above, there are 2,080 who reported regularly using English, French, and a non-OL for this question. This shows that they use a fourth language most often, while also regularly using English, French, and another non-OL (perhaps more, however the data does not take this into account).

As noted in the sections above, the number of speakers of OLs and non-OLs in Canada is quite diverse when it comes not only to the number of speakers who have these

languages as their mother tongues but also the diverse reported uses of these languages at home.

Focusing now on the languages of the communities under investigation in this study, the following section provides information on the presence of the Spanish and Portuguese languages in the population of Canada. Although the Spanish-speaking and Portuguese-speaking communities and their histories in Canada are vastly different, they will be discussed together here in relation to their population numbers and language use.

### **2.2.2 Spanish and Portuguese in Canada**

When looking at the number of Spanish speakers and Portuguese speakers in Canada, there were a total of 495,095 people who listed Spanish as their mother tongue and 237,000 people who listed Portuguese, 1.42% and 0.68% of the total population of Canada, respectively. Based on these numbers, Table 5 and Table 6 show the provinces and cities with the highest Spanish-speaking and Portuguese-speaking populations in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2017b), respectively, in descending order.

**Table 5***Provinces and Cities with the Highest Spanish-Speaking Population in Canada*

Number of Speakers	Province / City	Percentage of Total Spanish-Speaking Population in Canada (495,095)
Provinces		
206,155	Ontario	41.64%
157,140	Quebec	31.74%
60,295	Alberta	12.18%
51,105	British Columbia	10.32%
Cities		
136,460	Toronto, Ontario	27.56%
129,865	Montreal, Quebec	26.23%
39,625	Vancouver, British Columbia	8.00%
30,615	Calgary, Alberta	6.18%

**Table 6***Provinces and Cities with the Highest Portuguese-Speaking Population in Canada*

Number of Speakers	Provinces / Cities	Percentage of Total Portuguese-Speaking Population in Canada (237,000)
Provinces		
160,630	Ontario	67.78%
39,230	Quebec	16.55%
18,515	British Columbia	7.81%
9,710	Alberta	4.10%
Cities		
111,445	Toronto, Ontario	47.02%
33,110	Montreal, Quebec	13.97%
12,620	Vancouver, British Columbia	5.32%
10,430	Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario	4.41%

As shown, the highest concentrations of these two populations are in the provinces of Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia, and Alberta. The majority of people who reported Spanish as their mother tongue reside in Ontario and Quebec, with the cities of Toronto, Ontario and Montreal, Quebec having similar percentages of the total population. Ontario is also the province in which the highest percentage of people who reported Portuguese as their mother tongue reside, with almost half of the total population living in Toronto.

Of those who listed Spanish as their mother tongue, 458,850 (92.68%) stated it was their only mother tongue, and 36,245 (7.32%) stated that they had multiple mother tongues<sup>12</sup> (i.e. they learned Spanish and another language or languages from birth). Of those who listed Portuguese as their mother tongue, 221,540 (93.48%) stated that it was their only mother tongue, and 15,465 (6.53%) stated that they had multiple mother tongues.

Furthermore, of those with Spanish or Portuguese as their mother tongues, 263,510 (53.22%) reported Spanish as the language spoken most often at home, and 98,710 (41.65%) reported using Portuguese the most.

Although the information above shows those who listed Spanish or Portuguese as their mother tongue(s), when looking at those who spoke Spanish or Portuguese most often at home, their mother tongues included either non-OLs, one or both of the OLs, or a mixture of the three, as shown in Table 7 (adapted from Statistics Canada, 2017c).

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<sup>12</sup> No information is provided as to what the other languages are.

**Table 7***Spanish and Portuguese Spoken Most Often at Home by Mother Tongue*

Mother Tongue	Language Spoken Most Often at Home	
	Spanish	Portuguese
English	6,890 (2.66%)	2,350 (2.37%)
French	3,405 (1.31%)	495 (0.50%)
Non-Official Language	244,285 (94.19%)	94,785 (95.79%)
English and French	185 (0.07%)	20 (0.02%)
English and Non-Official Language	2,890 (1.11%)	985 (0.99%)
French and Non-Official Language	1,315 (0.51%)	255 (0.26%)
English, French and Non-Official Language	375 (0.14%)	65 (0.07%)
Total	259,345	98,955

Of those who spoke Spanish most often at home, 94.19% reported having a non-OL as their mother tongue<sup>13</sup>, 1.76% reported having a non-OL and English and/or French as their mother tongue, and 3.98% reported English and/or French as their mother tongue. When looking at these numbers for Portuguese, 95.79% reported having a non-OL as their mother tongue, 1.23% reported having a non-OL and English and/or French as their mother tongue, and 2.88% reported English and/or French as their mother tongue.

Moreover, when looking at the retention rate<sup>14</sup> of these languages, there was a 66.60% full-retention rate and 22.50% partial-retention rate for Spanish speakers, and a 52.00% full-retention rate and 25.80% partial-retention rate for Portuguese speakers (Statistics Canada,

<sup>13</sup>Due to the nature of the data collection and analysis by Statistics Canada, there is no way to know if these non-official mother tongues are also Spanish and Portuguese, however it can be presumed that this is the case for most, if not all, of these.

<sup>14</sup>According to Statistics Canada, the retention rate is used to describe the rate that one speaks their mother tongue at home and is considered to be “full” when that language is spoken most often, and “partial” when it is spoken regularly, but it is not the main language spoken at home (Statistics Canada, 2017b).



2017b). This retention rate is of particular interest to this study as it is related to the general topic of HL use and maintenance.

### 2.2.1 Summary

This section has provided the general linguistic landscape of Canada as it pertains to the languages involved in this study.

Overall, 68.3% of the population had a conversation-level knowledge of English, 11.9% of French, and 17.9% of both. Further dividing this, 22.2% reported French as their *first Official Language spoken*, compared to 74.8% who reported it to be English and 1.2% who reported both. Furthermore, 22.8% of the population is considered to be an *Official Language minority population*, living in areas in which the first OL they speak is the MinL of the area.

When looking at the makeup of the population by mother tongue, 97.65% reported having a single mother tongue: 55.97% English, 20.61% French, and 21.06% a non-OL. Spanish was shown to be the mother tongue of 1.42% of the total Canadian population, with 92.68% stating it was their only mother tongue and 7.32% stating that they had multiple mother tongues. Similarly, Portuguese was shown as the mother tongue of 0.68% of the total population, with 93.48% reporting it as their only mother tongue, and 6.53% stating that they had multiple.

English was reported to be the language most used at home by the majority of the population (63.93%), followed by French (19.86%) and non-OLs (11.46%). Spanish was reported to be the language most used at home by 0.76% of the population and Portuguese by 0.28%, which represent 53.22% and 41.65%, respectively, of the populations who reported these languages as their mother tongues.

Of those who spoke Spanish most often at home, 94.19% had a non-OL as their mother tongue, 1.51% had a non-OL and English and/or French as their mother tongue, and

3.98% had English and/or French as their mother tongue. Similarly, of those who spoke Portuguese most often at home, 95.79% had a non-OL as their mother tongue, 1.23% had a non-OL and English and/or French as their mother tongue, and 2.88% had English and/or French as their mother tongue.

Given that the linguistic landscape of Canada is one that includes a large number of MinL speakers, whether OL or non-OLs, it is important to understand how these languages are developed and maintained. Given this, the following section provides an overview of MinL / HL maintenance, including the framework of language socialisation and the encompassed framework of family language policy.

### **2.3 Minority Language and Heritage Language Maintenance**

MinL maintenance and HL maintenance concern the maintenance of a language in environments in which it is not the ML of public communication of the general population (Cummins, 1980, 1991). Depending on the context, a MinL may be one that has an official status yet is spoken by a minority number of speakers, such as French within many areas of Canada, or it may be one that is spoken by a minority number of speakers and not have official status, such as Mandarin in Canada. In other cases, the MinL may have an official status and have a greater number of speakers than the ML yet the social and/or economic power of the ML may be considered to be more prestigious or more useful. For example, as noted in Brooksbank (2017), this imbalance can be seen in the province of Galicia in north-western Spain. Although almost 60% of the population speaks Galician as a first language and the language has official statutory provincial status (Xunta de Galicia, 2022), Spanish is widely seen as the language of communication, education, and business due to its majority use throughout the country (Observatorio Da Lingua Galega, 2022).

The need for MinL/HL maintenance is seen in many situations in which a MinL/HL is in competition with the ML (Cummins, 1980, 1991), or in which a HL is in competition with

a combination of multiple MLs, or MLs and MinLs. These situations can include a child who is born into an environment in which the language of the community is different than that spoken at home by one or both of their parents. They can also include a child who is born and partially raised in one linguistic environment and then moves to another in which their first language is no longer the ML of the community, significantly changing their linguistic input. It has consistently been found that children in these situations generally shift their language use to that of the community (Burling, 1959; Cummins, 1980, 1991; Fantini, 1985; Hansen, 1999; King et al., 2008).

Regardless of the situations that call for MinL/HL maintenance, the nuclear family is generally the main exposure a child has to a language and therefore the linguistic input within the home environment is largely considered the main factor in transmitting and maintaining a MinL/HL (Brown, 2011; Farruggio, 2010; Ferguson, 2013; Fishman, 1991, 1996, 2001; Guardado, 2002, 2008b, 2018; Hashimoto & Lee, 2011; Schecter & Bayley, 2002; Wong Fillmore, 1991; among others). Additionally, intergenerational transmission of a language through everyday informal, spoken interaction at home not only plays a large role in its maintenance (although to what extent can be debated, as noted in King et al., 2008), it is also a way in which parents can transmit their culture and cultural identity to their children (Bernhard, & Freire, 2001; Cho, 2000; Guardado, 2002; He, 2008; Kouritzin, 1999; Pacini-Ketchabaw, Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009), as well as maintain their personal emotional and familial bonds through their affective communication (He, 2008). The role of affective communication in HL maintenance is also extended to children's grandparents, as studies have also shown that communication with the extended family, especially grandparents, also plays an important role in the transmission and maintenance of their MinL/HL and culture (Braun, 2012; Houle, 2011; Ishizawa, 2004; Jones & Morris, 2007; Park, 2006; Potowski, 2008; Tan Jun Hao & Ng, 2010; among others).

In addition to everyday communication, parents can also foster home environments conducive to MinL/HL maintenance by exposing children to media in their language, including music, television and movies, and books (Cho & Krashen, 2000; Nomura & Caidi, 2013). Outside of the home, attending social events and groups within their linguistic and cultural communities have been shown to aid in maintaining a language, including playgroups or clubs (Guardado; 2009; Morgan & Chodkiewicz, 2011), religious ceremonies (Das, 2008; Meintel, 2018; Raux-Copin, 2019, 2021), and/or holiday or festival celebrations (Raux-Copin, 2021). Other informal social gatherings with friends of the parents and/or children who also speak the MinL/HL have also been shown to be beneficial (McAndrew et al., 1999), including with one's *diasporic family* (Guardado, 2008; Guardado & Becker, 2013), a surrogate family formed by individuals of the same country and/or culture of origin who speak the same MinL/HL. Visits to parents' countries of origin have also been shown to play a vital role in MinL/HL maintenance (Dahl, et al., 2010; Slavkov, 2014;), providing linguistic, social, and cultural immersion in which children are exposed to their MinL/HL with a variety of speakers and in a variety of contexts. The role in which the aforementioned elements of a child's language socialisation are involved in MinL/HL maintenance is further discussed in the upcoming sections.

Furthermore, formal education in a MinL/HL can also aid in its maintenance (Dagenais, 2003; Dagenais & Berron, 2001; Kheirkhah & Cekaite, 2015; Mady, 2010, 2013; Markopoulos, 2009; Pacini-Ketchabaw et al., 2001; Slavkov, 2017), not only providing linguistic input in a wide variety of topics that may not be discussed in the home, but also promoting bilingualism, biliteracy, and biculturalism (Baker, 2011, Baker & Wright, 2017, 2021). This element of MinL/HL maintenance is also further discussed the upcoming sections.

### 2.3.1 Heritage Language Maintenance in Canada

Within a Canadian context, as previously noted, MinL/HL maintenance can include the maintenance of one of the OLs, such as French in Western Canada or English in many areas of Quebec, or the maintenance of an Indigenous or HL throughout the country. As noted by Duff and Li (2009), speakers and learners “*within* and *across* each of these three categories — Indigenous, minority, and heritage language groups — are, of course, very diverse and have completely different social, cultural, educational, and linguistic histories” (p. 2). They also have different challenges when it comes to their maintenance, including their status within a given community and/or education, as well as the support they receive at home.

When looking at HL maintenance specifically, given the linguistic makeup of Canada, HLs not only have the possibility to be in competition with a single ML, or a ML and a MinL, but also or two MLs (Bayley & Schecter, 2003), such as in Montreal, Quebec (Ancil, 1984; Meintel, 1993), where the second highest populations of Spanish speakers and Portuguese speakers live (Statistics Canada, 2017a). These types of environments are therefore conducive to bilingualism or trilingualism/multilingualism as outlined in Hoffmann (2001)’s typology of trilingualism. This typology describes five general types of trilingualism (Hoffmann, 2001, p. 3):

1. children who are brought up with two home languages which are different from the one spoken in the wider community
2. children who grow up in a bilingual community and whose home language is different from the community languages
3. bilinguals who acquire a third language at school
4. bilinguals who have become trilingual through immigration
5. members of trilingual communities

The first four types are applicable in some Canadian contexts outlined earlier, and, as such, the various elements of MinL/HL maintenance in monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual linguistic environments must be taken into account when it comes to a child's language socialisation in Canada. The role that language socialisation — particularly HL socialisation — plays in MinL/HL maintenance is outlined in section 2.4, following a brief overview of the previous research on maintaining Spanish and Portuguese in Canada.

### **2.3.2 Previous Research on Spanish and Portuguese Heritage Language Maintenance in Canada**

Previous studies on maintaining Spanish and Portuguese as HLs have been conducted in various Canadian linguistic environments to varying extent, although there was a gap when it came to those that specifically looked at parental attitudes towards their maintenance alongside the two OLs. Related studies conducted within the fields of applied linguistics and sociolinguistics on Spanish as a HL in English-majority-language areas have included, but are not limited to, Guardado's extensive work on HL socialization, maintenance, and loss in Spanish-speaking families in Western Canada (2002, 2006a, 2006b, 2008a, 2008b, 2009, 2010, 2011b; 2014; 2017, among others), as well as Abdi (2009, 2011), Becker (2014), Campanaro (2013), and Guardado and Becker (2013) who looked at ethnolinguistic identities and ideologies, political ideologies, and HL classrooms as they related to Spanish HL maintenance. Those conducted in Toronto, Ontario have included Montero (2004), Pacini-Ketchabaw et al. (2001), and Pérez-Leroux et al. (2011), among others. These studies have covered topics including HL ideologies and socialisation; HL acquisition, maintenance, and loss; formal HL teaching; and overall English-Spanish bilingual development. Studies of similar topics in French-majority-language areas have been very limited and have generally been conducted in the bilingual city of Montreal, Quebec (Cruz Enríquez, 2015; DeMelo, 2015; Godenzzi, 2006; López, 2013; Pato, 2017; Pérez Arreaza, 2015, 2016; among others).

As noted in Chapter 1, the sociolinguistic research on Portuguese as a HL in Canada has been rather limited, particularly within the last decade. Marujo (2003a, 2003b), Marujo and Baptista (2002), and Mota (1997) did, however, conduct studies that included the home language maintenance of Portuguese in the English-majority-language areas of Winnipeg, Manitoba as well as Toronto, Ontario, an area that has consistently had the largest population of Portuguese speakers over the years (Statistics Canada, 2019). In Montreal, Quebec, the city with the second-largest population of Portuguese speakers in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2019), the research on maintaining Portuguese as a HL has also been limited, albeit more recent, and has mainly been conducted by Scetti (2015, 2019a, 2019b, 2020, 2021), who has focused on the Portuguese diaspora, and Almeida (2014, 2015) who looked at the presence of Brazilian communities within the province. These studies were done, however, from a more socioanthropological rather than sociolinguist point of view and did not directly focus on parental attitudes and input in maintaining the HL in Canada. The only available study that has done so is that of da Silva (2014) which looked at the maintenance of Brazilian Portuguese as a HL in Montreal. Focused on parents' attitudes, da Silva showed that parents found it very important for their children to maintain their family language and keep their culture alive in Canada and that they had been successful in doing so by using 'disciplinary strategies', including the exclusive use of Portuguese at home as well as including their extended family in its maintenance. In the area of applied linguistics, there have been studies that have focused on teaching Portuguese as a HL or have included it in their general studies on HL teaching in recent years (Danaia, 2021; Graça, 2021; Ribeiro, 2018, 2019; Sartor-Harada & Gomes, 2021; Scetti, 2019).

The limited number of studies in applied linguistic and sociolinguistic research on Portuguese as a HL may stem from the fact that, although Portuguese was once one of the most spoken non-OL in Canada (Teixeira & Da Rosa, 2009), much of the research on HL

maintenance started many years after the influx of immigration from Portugal in the mid 1900s (Statistics Canada, 2019; Teixeira & Da Rosa, 2009). As such, many Portuguese speakers are now second or third generation and are generally not the subjects of HL maintenance studies in these fields as these generations have been shown to not maintain the HL (Silva-Corvalán, 2014), although this is still an interesting area for future research. Given the growing number of immigrants and ever-growing temporary global workforce from Portugal and other Portuguese-speaking countries — specifically Brazil (Statistics Canada, 2019) — the study of the maintenance of Portuguese as an HL is a topic that now has a growing potential.

The next major section outlines the role that language socialisation — particularly HL socialisation — plays in MinL/HL maintenance.

## 2.4 Language Socialisation

Language socialisation<sup>15</sup> studies the interaction between linguistic and cultural development and how these processes vary across cultures (Howard, 2014). It involves both “socialisation through the use of language and socialisation to use language” (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986b, p. 163) and studies how children and other language learners come to master the languages of their speech community. Howard (2014) describes this further by stating that children and language beginners are “simultaneously socialised ‘into and through’ language and discourse; that is, how they are socialised ‘into’ specific uses of language or other semiotic devices, and ‘through’ language/discourse to become familiar with their community’s ways of thinking, feeling, and being in the world” (p. 3).

Building off of this definition, Guardado (2018) describes these two key elements as “*language learning and culture learning*” to create the “process by which people are

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<sup>15</sup>The field of language socialisation is quite large and tends to focus on second language socialisation, specifically for children and adults learning a second language successively. For the purposes of this study, this section is focused on language socialisation as it pertains to children learning and/or maintaining their heritage language, not second language learners.



socialised both to use the language of their community and to become members of that community” (p. 34). As such, language socialisation is an interactional process rather than a unidirectional one (Pontecorvo, Fasulo, & Sterponi, 2001), allowing all participants to be active agents in the formation of language competence. As discussed in Ochs & Schieffelin (2011), Rogoff (1990, 2003) noted that “learning is collaborative and development is a dynamic outcome of children’s active involvement in activities with others who guide their participation” (as quoted in Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011, p. 6). Furthermore, language socialisation “is a product of interaction” (Schieffelin, 1990, p. 7), and, according to the *language socialisation paradigm* (Duranti, Ochs, & Schieffelin, 2011), children acquire sociolinguistic competence through active participation in a wide range of language practices, thus gaining linguistic and social knowledge as they interact with those around them.

This interaction leads to the development of their knowledge of ‘appropriate’ language use, known as *communicative competence*. This ability, first described by Hymes (1966), is based on the idea that a child “... acquires knowledge of sentences not only as grammatical, but also as appropriate. He or she acquires competence as to when to speak, when not, and as to what to talk about with whom, when, where, in what manner” (Hymes, 1972, p. 277).

Communicative competence is crucial as the idea of what constitutes ‘appropriate’ language use depends not only on the context or situation an interlocutor is in, but also varies across cultures and speech communities, from the larger speech community one is a part of to their nuclear family. A bilingual/multilingual child, for example, will learn when and with whom it is acceptable to use multiple languages (including code-switching), and when they must adhere to the strict use of only one language based on the social situation or parties involved. This element of language socialisation is particularly important for families whose

language is different from that of the majority and therefore want to socialize their children in the MinL — or HL — in order to avoid language attrition.

#### **2.4.1 Heritage Language Socialisation**

Guided by the concept of language socialisation as discussed above, He (2008) was the first to discuss the idea of *heritage language socialisation* (although see Guardado, 2008, 2018, for more recent literature), an area of study that is unique to language socialisation as it involves stronger ties to one's immediate family and heritage culture. This takes into account that the “acquisition of linguistic forms requires a developmental process of delineating and organising contextual dimensions in culturally sensible ways” (He, 2008, p. 203).

HL learning and socialisation differ from general second language learning as it is often motivated by “neither strictly instrumental nor integrative goals; learner motivations are derived not merely from pragmatic or utilitarian concerns but also from the intrinsic cultural, affective, and aesthetic values of the language” (He, 2008, p. 203).

The element of cultural values and the construction of cultural identity via HL socialisation is something that has been shown to be highly interconnected (Bustamante-López, 2008; Giampapa, 2001; González Martínez, 2008; Guardado & Becker, 2013, 2014; Hidalgo, 2008; Moreno Fernández, 1998; Niño-Murcia & Rothman, 2008; Val & Vinogradova, 2010) as one's “heritage language ability and cultural identity are inextricably linked” (Kouritzin, 1999, p. 179). In addition to cultural identity, as noted in DeMelo (2014), HL socialisation can also play a role in the development of a child's personal identity (how they represent themselves), linguistic identity (the languages that they use to represent themselves), and social identity (their family origins, nationality, socioeconomic status, and social networks) (p. 27).

As HLs are generally not the ML of the larger linguistic environment, they are in constant competition with the ML(s), which leads HL learners, namely children, to show

“different displays of and reactions to certain acts and stances construct different identities and relationships” (He, 2008, p. 204). As such, HL socialisation goes beyond language learning and involves the heritage culture which leads to “the construction of multiple yet compatible/congruent identities, blended and blurred identities in multilingual, multicultural, immigrant contexts” (He, 2008, p. 204). Furthermore, HL socialisation takes place primarily, if not wholly, in informal settings such as at home and within the HL community, including within one’s diasporic family (Guardado, 2008; Guardado & Becker, 2013). Within these informal settings, both the content and the ways in which the language is used have a direct impact on how the learners perceive the language and its associated culture.

Moreover, HL socialisation can involve children who grew up in environments where the HL was the ML and then moved to environments in which their language is only used by their family or a smaller speech community. Additional focus is therefore put on not only learning the language, but maintaining it as well.

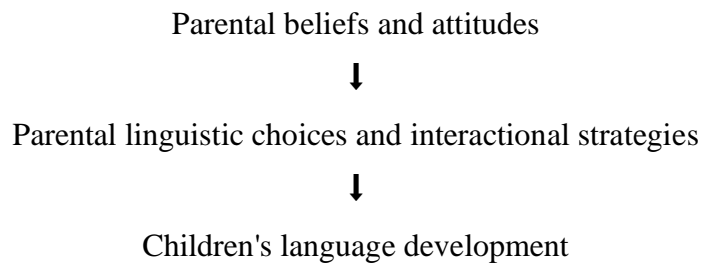
#### **2.4.2 Language Socialisation at the Family Level**

The nuclear family is of particular importance when it comes to a child’s HL socialisation as parental involvement and the linguistic home environment are the main factors in the development and maintenance of HLs in multilingual children (Guardado, 2002, 2018; King et al., 2008; Lanza, 1992, 1997; Slavkov, 2012, 2014; among others). From a young age, the family setting provides the required linguistic input children need to discern what ‘appropriate’ language use is within the home, which is generally based on the parents’ attitudes towards not only their heritage language, but the ML(s) as well.

#### **2.4.3. Parental Attitudes**

These beliefs and attitudes, also known as *language ideologies*, have a direct influence on the linguistic choices parents make and the interactional strategies they use when communicating with their children, as shown below in the relationship flow between

parental beliefs/attitudes and children's language development presented by King et al. (2008, p. 912):



As stated above, parental language ideologies, including their attitudes, beliefs, and opinions towards their HL, have a direct influence on their language use. At the community level, language ideologies “contain the beliefs and values of community members about the worth of their languages and also about how, when, with whom, and in what contexts or circumstances these linguistic resources should be used” (Fishman, 1965, as cited in Guardado, 2018, p. 48). When discussing the perceived worth of a language, it can include personal connections to culture and identity, or its symbolic value, including the perceived level of prestige and/or stigmatisation (Wölck, 2003) both within and outside a given community. It can also include how one sees a language as a commodity, either economically or symbolically, in a society (Bourdieu, 1977; Dagenais, 2003; Guardado, 2002; Norton, 2000; Norton & Toohey, 2001; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007; Piller & Takahashi, 2006).

At the family level, as mentioned, these attitudes and beliefs held by the parents are what influence their linguistic choices between them and their children, including their identity which is highly intertwined with their HL. These ideologies and identities not only influence their linguistic practices, but are also “discoverable in their linguistic practices” (Guardado, 2018, p. 56). In other words, one’s language use may be seen as a representation of their ideologies and identities (although this may not always be the case, as was found in the results of this current study).

These parental attitudes and their influence on HL transmission and maintenance have been a central area of focus within the field of HL maintenance since the early 1970s (Guardado, 2018), with many studies reporting that parental attitudes towards a HL are a significant factor in its successful transmission or lack thereof (Bayley & Schechter, 2003; Cho, 2008; Chumak-Horbatsch, 1999; Döpke, 1992; Fishman, 1965; Fishman, Cooper, & Ma, 1971; Guardado, 2008a, 2018; Li, 1999, Luo & Wiseman, 2000; Makarova, Terekhova, & Mousavi, 2019; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Tigchelaar, 2003; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009; among others). As noted in Hollebeke, Struys, and Agirdag (2020), many studies, including Makarova, Terekhova, and Mousavi, (2019), have shown that positive parental HL attitudes tend to lead to richer HL home environments and/or greater efforts in supporting HL development, which lead to higher child HL use and proficiency. Given that this high proficiency and use by children can show their own HL ideologies and identities, parental attitudes are not only influential in their own language practices, but are also strongly influential in their children's (Luo & Wiseman, 2000). The children's attitudes, in turn, influence their own HL use, or lack thereof, with their parents and in general (Li, 1999; Schwartz, 2008, 2012; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009).

A positive connection between parents' attitudes towards an HL and those of their children, however, is not guaranteed as it has been found that parents who had positive and optimistic attitudes about an HL results in both HL maintenance and HL loss in their children (Guardado, 2002, 2009, 2018; Schechter & Bayley, 2003). Guardado states that parental attitudes alone do not result in HL transmission and maintenance, but rather these attitudes in conjunction with "the nature and tone of discourse used by parents to encourage children to use it; cohesive family relations; and an active engagement in fostering ethnic identity" (2018, p. 23) is what strongly influences the successful transmission of an HL.

The notion of cohesive family relations is also an important factor when discussing parental attitudes towards a HL as conflicting attitudes (between parents and/or parents and children) can lead to tensions which, in turn, can influence the linguistic practices of the family. These tensions include “conflicting beliefs of different family members, contradictions between beliefs and practices, and contradictions between practices and expectations” (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016, p. 706). Thus, parental attitudes are strongly associated with their language use’s socio-emotional impact on the family (Hollebeke, Struys, & Agirdag, 2020) and can negatively influence family relations due to linguistic, social, and emotional frustrations and/or lack of motivation on the part of the parents and the children. These conflicts, in addition to external factors discussed below, can also be the cause of the contradiction that has been found in the literature when it comes to positive parental attitudes towards an HL and their family language practices (Brooksbank, 2017; Cho, 2008; Curdt-Christiansen, 2016, De Hower, 2018, 2020; Jaffe, 1999; Guardado 2008a, 2009, 2018; Hollebeke, Struys, & Agirdag, 2020; Howard, 2008; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008; Slavik, 2001), often not using the HL in favour of harmonious family communication.

It is important to note that, despite the negative findings as noted above, parents’ and children’s attitudes towards a HL can also lead to positive linguistic, social, and emotional outcomes, especially when discussing the relationships between children and their parents and/or grandparents who only speak the HL (Hua, 2008; Park, 2006; Xiang & Makarova, 2021). These parental linguistic choices are discussed within the theoretical framework of family language policy.

#### **2.4.4 Family Language Policy**

The area of study of the parental linguistic choices made within the family setting are referred to in the theoretical framework of family language policy, adapted from Spolsky’s (2004, 2012) language policy framework, and focus on the language practices that families

put into place within the home. These family language practices (FLPs) are part of the larger area of language socialisation that includes a triad of the aforementioned *language ideologies*, *language practices*, and *language management* at the family level (Döpke, 1992; Ennser-Kananen & King, 2018; King, 2016; King et al., 2008; Schwartz, 2010; Spolsky, 2004, 2012).

As such, FLPs have been defined as a family's "language practices... and any specific efforts to modify or influence that practice by any kind of language intervention, planning, or management." (Spolsky, 2004, p. 5). FLPs play a central role in the acquisition and use of languages by children, and are of particular importance for HL or MinL maintenance (Döpke, 1992; Curdt-Christiansen, 2013, 2016; Hollebeke, Struys, & Agirdag, 2020; King & Fogle, 2013; Schwartz, 2010; Spolsky, 2004) as the nuclear family is "the most common and inescapable basis of mother tongue transmission, bonding, use and stabilisation" (Fishman, 1991, p. 94). These practices can be implicit and occur naturally within the family dynamic, they can be "implicitly and covertly" adopted measures by the parents (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, p. 352), or they can be "explicit and overt planning in relation to language use within the home among family members" (King et al., 2008, p. 907) regarding the use and/or avoidance of a given language or languages (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013, 2016; King, 2008; Lanza, 1992, 2007; Romaine, 1995; Schiffman, 1996).

There are many types of FLPs or strategies, however those that aim to foster bilingual (or multilingual development) have been discussed as six main types as they relate to the language(s) known and used by the parents and the language(s) of the community<sup>16</sup> (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013; Romaine, 1995). They are typically presented within families with two parents or caregivers, yet do not include the language(s) used between them (discussed

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<sup>16</sup> The family language policies are often discussed in the literature in relation to *community/majority languages* and *minority languages*, but they also include *heritage languages*, and multiple *community/majority languages* and *minority languages*, depending on the context.

below). Table 8 shows adapted descriptions and scenarios of each type from Romaine (1995, p. 183) with examples.



**Table 8***Types of Family Language Practices*

Family Language Practices	Languages Known by the Parents	Languages of the Community	Scenario
One Parent, One Language	Different native languages with each having some level of competence in the other's language:  <i>Parent 1: English/Spanish</i> <i>Parent 2: Spanish/English</i>	The language of one parent is the dominant language of the community:  <i>English</i>	Parents speak their native language to the child:  <i>Parent 1: English</i> <i>Parent 2: Spanish</i>
Minority Home Language - or - One Language, One Environment	Different native languages:  <i>Parent 1: English/Spanish</i> <i>Parent 2: Spanish</i>	The language of one of the parents is the language of the community:  <i>English</i>	Both parents speak the MinL to the child, who is fully exposed to the ML outside of the home:  <i>Parent 1: Spanish</i> <i>Parent 2: Spanish</i>
Minority Home Language Without Community Support	Same native language:  <i>Parent 1: Spanish</i> <i>Parent 2: Spanish</i>	Community language is not that of the parents:  <i>English</i>	Parents speak their native language to the child:  <i>Parent 1: Spanish</i> <i>Parent 2: Spanish</i>
Double Minority Home Language Without Community Support	Different native languages:  <i>Parent 1: Spanish</i> <i>Parent 2: Italian</i>	Community language is different than both of the parents' languages:  <i>English</i>	Parents speak their own native languages to the child:  <i>Parent 1: Spanish</i> <i>Parent 2: Italian</i>
Non-native Parent	Same native language:  <i>Parent 1: English</i> <i>Parent 2: English/Spanish</i>	Community language is the same as that of the parents:  <i>English</i>	One parent speaks to the child in a language that is not their native language:  <i>Parent 1: English</i> <i>Parent 2: Spanish</i>

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Mixed Languages	Both parents are bilingual in the languages of the community:	The community, or part of it, is bilingual:	Parents use both languages with the child:
	<i>Parent 1: English/Spanish</i> <i>Parent 2: English/Spanish</i>	<i>English/Spanish</i>	<i>Parent 1: English/Spanish</i> <i>Parent 2: English/Spanish</i>

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As can be seen, although these FLPs are different, some do overlap in some areas. For example, in *One parent, one language* and *Minority home language* the parents have different native languages and the language of one is the ML of the community. In *One parent, one language*, however, the child is exposed to both languages at home, while exposure to the ML is generally later and outside of the home with *Minority home language* (Romaine, 1995). Similarly, the parents share the same language in *Minority home language without community support* and *Non-native parent*, however the language of the parents is not the community language in *Minority home language without community support*, and in *Non-native parent*, one of the parents addresses the child in a language that is not native to them.

When looking at the intended linguistic outcomes of these FLPs, Romaine (1995) notes that *One parent, one language*, *Minority home language*, *Minority home language without community support*, and *Non-native parent* all, in theory, would result in varying levels of bilingualism in the parent's native language and the community language. Similar bilingual outcomes result with the *Mixed languages* policy, although may include a great deal of code-mixing. Finally, with *Double minority home language without community support*, the intended outcome, in theory, is trilingualism given that the child would be exposed to the parents' two different native languages as well as the community language. As with the policies with intended bilingualism, the levels of trilingual competence would greatly depend on the language the parents use with each other as it may be one or both of their native

languages, or the language of the community. This intended outcome of trilingualism within various contexts is within Hoffmann's (2001) typology of trilingualism, as noted earlier.

King et al. (2008) discussed the various FLPs by grouping them into three general models or approaches: one parent, one language (OPOL) approach, non-OPOL approaches, and supplementary approaches. The OPOL approaches are those in which the parents only use one language with the child and include the above *One parent, one language*, *Double minority home language without community support*, and *Non-native parent policies*. Non-OPOL approaches are those in which the language use is not divided between the two parents and include *Minority home language*, *Minority home language without community support*, and *Mixed languages*. The third set of approaches are intended to supplement either OPOL or non-OPOL strategies by involving an additional caretaker who speaks the desired MinL (as seen in King & Logan-Terry, 2008; Taeschner, 1983), or by sending children to schools in which the language is spoken (as seen in Mattheoudakis, Chatzidaki, & Maligkoudi, 2017; Slavkov, 2017; Swain & Lapkin, 1991; among others).

More recently, additional approaches which elaborate on the policies detailed above have also been identified in the literature and include *Time and place* (the family chooses a specific time, place, or activity to use the MinL), and *Context* (similar to *Time and place*, but this is in a context which naturally lend itself, or even requires, the MinL use), both of which could be considered part of the *Mixed languages* policy. Furthermore, the *Minority language first* — or *Minority language frontloading* — has also been discussed, in which families focus solely on the MinL and intentionally delay the exposure to the ML during a child's early years. Roberts (2021), notes that there are also “additional approaches consisting of so-called translanguaging practices where languages are mixed to varying degrees at the utterance level” (p. 158) as was found by Soler and Zabrodska (2017).

Much of the research of FLP has been done on the *One parent, one language* approach (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004; De Houwer, 1990; Döpke, 1992; Harding & Riley, 1986; Juan-Garau & Perez-Vidal, 2001; Lanza, 1997; Leopold, 1939, 1949; Palviainen & Boyd, 2013; Ronjat, 1913; Slavkov, 2014; Søndergaard, 1981; Takeuchi, 2006; among others), which has been discussed as one of the more difficult approaches to adhere to (Lanza, 1997, 2007) and a strict adherence to this approach has been found to be uncommon in practice (Palviainen & Boyd, 2013). This difficulty has been attributed to the fact that the two parents will communicate with each other in one or both of the languages, displaying to the child that at least one of them has competencies in both languages. Although one of the more difficult to adhere to, a systematic review of 42 FLP studies by Hollebeke, Struys, and Agirdag (2020) supported Lanza's (1992) suggestion that this (and other explicit strategies) are more successful in resulting in childhood bilingualism than the others. Additionally, many have argued that maximizing MinL use by both parents, as with *Minority home language* or *Minority home language without community support*, may be the best strategies for children to develop bilingually (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004; De Houwer, 2009; Yamamoto, 2001; among others), although many studies underline the fact that the quality of the input is more important than amount (Döpke, 1992; Romaine, 1995; Saunders, 1982). Finally, the *Double minority home language without community support* approach has been relatively less researched (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013; Van Mol & De Valk, 2018), yet is something that is of growing interest in the study of multilingual families (Constable, 2005; Jackson, 2009; Lanza & Wei, 2016; Piller, 2001a; Piller & Takahashi, 2006; Yamamoto, 2001), or “linguistically intermarried families” (Guardado, 2017, p. 505).

A drawback in these FLPs is that they revolve around a parent's language use with their children and do not account for the language(s) of communication between the parents, when applicable, in dyadic (between themselves but in hearing distance of the child) and/or

triadic (together with the child) interactions (De Houwer, 2009; Juvonen et al., 2020; Slavkov, 2017, Yamamoto, 2001; among others). They also do not consider the language use between siblings, who often favour the community language (Duursma et al., 2007; Hollebeke, Struys, & Agirdag, 2020; Kheirkhah, & Cekaite, 2018;). Despite the above FLPs not directly taking these two factors into account, there have been studies (Canagarajah, 2008; Paugh, 2005, among others) that have shown how combining these into the larger study of FLP are important to develop a greater understanding of HL maintenance (Roberts, 2021).

#### **2.4.4.1 Implementation and Evolution of Family Language Policies**

There are many factors that influence and impact the implementation and evolution of FLPs beyond parental attitudes towards the language and its maintenance from a purely linguistic perspective (Schwartz & Verschik, 2013; Tannenbaum & Howie, 2002; Wong Fillmore, 2000), which means that FLPs “are not static, but instead evolve over spatiotemporal planes” (Roberts, 2021, p. 161). These can be caused by external factors (Caldas, 2012; Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, 2013, 2016; Curdt-Christiansen and Huang, 2020; Spolsky, 2004), including “sociopolitical, sociocultural, socioeconomic, sociolinguistic environments” (Roberts, 2021, p. 156), and can be particularly impacted by the language(s) in which children receive their education (Canagarajah, 2008; Fogle & King, 2013; Luykx, 2003; Slavkov, 2017) and peer groups (Yamamoto, 2001).

Within a given family, these factors can include the number of children in a family (Caldas, 2012; Tuominen, 1999) and the languages they use between each other (Barron-Hauwaert, 2011; Bridges & Hoff, 2014, Macleary Obied, 2010; Rindstedt & Aronsson, 2002; Schwartz, 2010), the ages and birth order of children (Caldas, 2012; Houle, 2011; Kouritzin, 1999; Niño-Murcia & Rothman, 2008, Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984; Sridhar, 1988; Wong Fillmore, 1991), individual parental influences, including their gender (maternal or paternal) and role (e.g. primary caregiver), as well as the amount and quality of language spoken (Al-

Sahafi, 2015; De Houwer, 2007; Guardado, 2002; Houle, 2011; Lanza, 1992, 2007; Okita, 2002; Potowski, 2008; Veltman, 1981), changes in family dynamics (Macleory Obied, 2010), changes in location (Caldas, 2006; Slavkov, 2012) as well as the “particular cognitive and emotional capacities” (Fogle, 2013, p. 1) of the children. They also include the emotionally complex process of fulfilling a desire to maintain cultural values and generational relationships and form strong family bonds or cohesion both within the nuclear family as well as the extended family, particularly grandparents. (Caldas & Carol-Caldas, 2002; Hua, 2008; Okita, 2002; Park, 2006; Wong Fillmore, 2000).

Furthermore, although the relationship flow between parental beliefs/attitudes, parental linguistic choices, and children's language development as presented by King et al. (2008) earlier may seem like a static, top-down process, it is rather a dynamic and dialectic interaction (Cekaite, 2012; Duranti, et al., 2012; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2012; Pontecorvo, Fasulo, & Sterponi, 2001). It is therefore important to note that children are active agents in their language socialisation and that they, themselves, contribute to the evolution of their families' distinct language policies (Brooksbank, 2017; Corsaro, 2004; Gafaranga, 2010; Guardado, 2008; Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004; Luykx, 2003; Okita, 2002; Paugh, 2005; Revis, 2019; Rindstedt & Aronsson, 2002; Said & Zhu, 2019; among others). As noted by Kheirkhah and Cekaite (2015), “their willing participation in adult-initiated practices cannot be assumed” (p. 2) and must be taken into consideration when discussing all elements of HL socialisation, including family language practices and their encompassed parental discourse strategies (discussed below). This was also documented by Fogle and King (2013) who found that children's agency and language use had a great influence on their families' language policy, focusing on their metalinguistic comments and use of resistance strategies, as well as parental responses to children's growing linguistic competence and language use outside of the home (see also Brooksbank, 2017; Caldas, 2006; Gafaranga, 2010; Kheirkhah, 2016;

Kopeliovich, 2010; Revis, 2019; Said & Zhu, 2019). This influence and interaction is known as *negotiation of context* and is seen in practice in the languages used in interactions within parent-child communication.

#### **2.4.5 Negotiation of Context**

*Negotiation of context* is used in interactions within the monolingual- to bilingual-conversion continuum as the amount of the languages used varies from the strict use of one (e.g., monolingual) to the fluid and mixed use of multiple (e.g., bilingual or multilingual) as determined by the speakers. In a monolingual context, ‘appropriate’ — or apt — language use (as noted earlier) would include only the language understood by the interlocutors as the use of additional language(s) may lead to either communication breakdowns, or a rupture in what is deemed socially ‘appropriate’ (i.e., if an additional interlocutor is present but does not understand the chosen language, it can be seen as discourteous to not communicate in a language that would be understood by all). On the other hand, a bilingual context allows for the use of either language, or a mixture of both in some cases, so long as all involved have at least an understanding of the two languages.

When children are in conversations in which they have the ability to communicate in one language or another, or mixture of both, their language choices are seen as a way for them to negotiate the linguistic context in which they find themselves. This negotiation of context is important because “by examining language at the discourse level in social interaction we may gain more insights into the child’s ongoing language choices with bilingual as well as monolingual interlocutors” (Lanza, 1997, p. 254).

Just as with any negotiation, this negotiation of context is an interaction between the parties involved. As such, it can begin with the initial language use by the child and can also include how the parents respond to this language use. For example, if a parent deems the use of a specific language as inapt in a given context, they can encourage the use of a different

language through direct requests, such as, “Speak in Italian”, or by showing that there is a clear breakdown in communication by saying, “I don’t understand Arabic. You need to speak to me in English if you want me to understand”.

This negation of context can be seen in Lanza (1992, 1997), in which a bilingual English-Norwegian mother “purposefully feigns the role of a monolingual” (Lanza, 1997, p. 264) in order to encourage her daughter to speak in English, the MinL, with her. By questioning and pretending to not understand her daughter’s Norwegian utterance, she shows that there is a breakdown in communication when the inapt language is used and, through the use of this discourse strategy, “thus negotiated a monolingual context” (1997, p. 255) in English. This negotiation is part of the daughter’s language socialisation as, by repairing the communication breakdown by responding to her mother in English, she shows that she has discerned the interactional linguistic requirements of her mother.

The discourse strategy used in the negotiation of context here is part of a larger set known as parental discourse strategies (Lanza, 1992, 1997), also known as interactional strategies, discussed below.

#### **2.4.6 Parental Discourse Strategies**

As seen in the aforementioned negotiation of context, interactional strategies or parental discourse strategies (henceforth PDS) are the strategies that a parent or caregiver uses when communicating with a bilingual or multilingual child in order to encourage the use of a given language. PDS were first discussed by Maurice Grammont (1902) and have been extensively researched (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004; Brooksbank, 2017; De Houwer, 2009, 2018, 2020; Döpke, 1992; Harding, & Riley, 1986; Juan-Gauru & Pérez-Vidal, 2001; Lanza, 1992, 1997; Min, 2011; Mishina-Mori, 2011; Nakamura, 2018; Romaine, 1995, 2004; Taeschner,



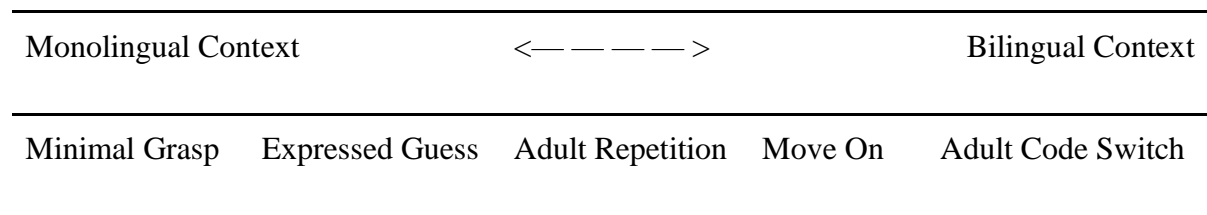
1983, among others). These strategies are used by parents in response to a child's use of a language that is not the desired language of the parent, including language mixing<sup>17</sup>.

As highlighted by the *parental discourse hypothesis* (Lanza 1992, 1997; noted in Nicoladis & Genesee, 1998), how a parent responds to a child's language use has a strong impact on their language choices in both the short and long term. This hypothesis was put forth by Lanza (1992) after finding that the bilingual English-Norwegian child noted earlier seldomly mixed languages with her mother, yet mixed considerably with her father. Lanza attributes this lack of mixing with her mother to her consistent use of PDS strategies demanding that she only speak to her in English, thus creating a monolingual context.

Lanza (1992, p. 649) outlined five main PDS based on those previously proposed by Döpke (1986, 1988), Ochs (1988), and Ochs and Schieffelin (1984). They are shown in Figure 1, and later explained in Table 9, and are ordered from the most 'monolingual' to the most 'bilingual' strategy, referring to the perceived language abilities of the parent and/or the expectations for a monolingual or bilingual context. On the monolingual end of the continuum, the parent speaks only their desired language with the child. They show — or feign — that they only have monolingual capabilities in this desired language and thus create a monolingual context in which only the desired language is used by the parent and the child. On the bilingual end of the continuum, the parent uses both their desired language and another language the child knows, showing that they have bilingual abilities — to whatever extent — in both and allowing for a bilingual context to be established. Although considered the 'bilingual' end of the continuum for the parent, these strategies can ultimately lead to the child becoming monolingual in the other language if it is the ML of their community as it will be the one they are exposed to the most.

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<sup>17</sup>Although language mixing may not be an issue, parents may wish to address a child's mixing if there is indication of language attrition or loss in the desired language.

**Figure 1***Parental Discourse Strategies on a Monolingual to Bilingual Context Continuum*

In addition to these five PDS outlined by Lanza, four additional strategies have also been seen in the literature and can be added to this list. Although they may not necessarily fall on the continuum in terms of monolingual or bilingual abilities of the parent, they can still help to create a more monolingual context and aid with the child's development in the desired language. The first two include *translation request* and *modelling*. Although these have been found in second language socialisation and used with second language learners, they have also been found in studies on language socialisation at the family level conducted after Lanza's original list of PDS (Brooksbank, 2017; De Houwer, 2009; Dopke, 1992; Slavkov, 2014). According to Lanza (as noted in De Houwer, 2009) *translation request* could be placed alongside minimal grasp as its function is to maintain the conversation in the desired language only. Similarly, *modelling* could also be added to the monolingual end of the continuum as it further encourages the child to speak in the desired language, although not necessarily in response to the child's use of another language.

The other two, *ignore* and *insist*, have been added as they have been found in previous studies on PDS (Brooksbank, 2017) and have also been personally witnessed in daily life. These two strategies force — arguably in a negative way — the child to use the desired languages, thus creating a monolingual context, yet, as mentioned, do not necessarily show that the parent is monolingual in this language.

The four additional strategies are shown in Table 9 with the original five, along with their uses, aims and impacts, and examples (adapted from Brooksbank, 2017, pp. 28–31). They are shown in descending order of the monolingual to bilingual context they aim to create (although *modelling* and *translation request* do not necessarily create a monolingual context, yet reinforce the extended use of the target language).

**Table 9***Parental Discourse Strategies, Their Uses, Aims and Impacts, and Examples*

Strategy	Use	Aim and Impact	Example
Ignore*	The parent ignores the child or a specific request unless they use the desired language.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Implicitly yet strongly indicates the parent's language preference.</li> <li>· Different from insist as it does not indicate the parent's comprehension abilities.</li> <li>· Creates a monolingual context in which the child must use the parent's desired language in order to be acknowledged and listened to.</li> </ul>	Child: <i>I want milk.</i> Parent: ... Child: <i>I want milk.</i> Parent: ... Child: <i>Quiero leche.</i> Parent: <i>Vale. Toma.</i> [Ok. Here you go.]
Minimal Grasp	The parent displays (or feigns) a limited understanding of the other language.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Shows the parent's lack of comprehension (feigned or not) of the other language.</li> <li>· Creates a monolingual context in which the child must use the parent's desired language in order to be understood.</li> <li>· Has been found to be the most effective strategy in influencing a child's language choice (Brooksbank, 2017; Hiroko, 1998; Juan-Garau &amp; Perez-Vidal, 2001).</li> </ul>	Child: <i>I want milk.</i> Parent: <i>¿Cómo? ¿Qué quieres?</i> [Sorry? What do you want?]
Insist*	The parent explicitly insists the child use the desired language.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Shows the parent's comprehension of the other language but explicitly indicates their language preference.</li> <li>· Creates a monolingual context in which the child must use the desired language to get what they want.</li> </ul>	Child: <i>I want milk.</i> Parent: <i>Si quieres leche, me lo tienes que pedir en español.</i> [If you want milk, you need to ask me in Spanish.]

Translation Request*	The parent explicitly requests for the child to translate their utterance in the preferred language.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Show the parent's explicit want for the child to use the desired language.</li> <li>· Different from insist as it aims to create a monolingual context in which the child is asked to use the desired language yet can be limited to the requested phrase.</li> <li>· Typical in conversations with children with more advanced competences in both languages as it is only useful if the child knows the equivalent translation (De Houwer, 2009).</li> </ul>	<p>Child: <i>I want milk.</i>  Parent: <i>¿Cómo se dice en español?</i>  [How do you say that in Spanish?]</p>
Expressed Guess	The parent 'guesses' what the child said and reformulates the utterance in a yes/no question in the desired language.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Shows the parent's low ability to comprehend the other language to some extent (feigned or not).</li> <li>· Creates a monolingual context which requires the child to respond in the desired language to confirm the parent's guess (although the child can merely confirm and not necessarily use the desired language).</li> </ul>	<p>Child: <i>I want milk.</i>  Parent: <i>¿Quieres leche?</i> [You want milk?]</p>
Repetition	The parent repeats what the child said in the desired language.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Shows the parent's ability to comprehend the other language but implicitly indicates their language preference.</li> <li>· Can be a direct translation or a confirmation.</li> <li>· Creates less of a monolingual context and more of a bilingual one as the parent does not require the child to further repeat the utterance in the desired languages.</li> </ul>	<p>Child: <i>I want milk.</i>  Parent: <i>Quiero leche.</i> [I want milk.]  (OR)  Parent: <i>Quieres leche.</i> [You want milk.]</p>

Modelling*	The parent models a new lexical item in the desired language.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Different from repetition as it draws direct attention to the new lexical item and is seen as an explicit attempt to grow the child's lexicon rather than an attempt to switch the language of choice.</li> <li>· It also does not indicate the parent's comprehension abilities of the other language.</li> </ul>	<p>Child: <i>Quiero leche con esto.</i> [I want milk with this.]</p> <p>Parent: <i>¿Cómo se llama eso?</i> [What is that called?]</p> <p>Child: <i>No sé.</i> [I don't know.]</p> <p>Parent: <i>Canela. Quieres leche con canela.</i> [Cinnamon. You want milk with cinnamon.]</p>
Move On	The parent responds in the desired language without correcting or repeating the child's utterance.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Shows the parent's ability to comprehend the other language.</li> <li>· Shows that it is ok to use the other language with the parent.</li> <li>· Usually results in a bilingual conversation with the parent using the desired language and the child using the other.</li> </ul>	<p>Child: <i>I want milk.</i></p> <p>Parent: <i>Vale. Toma.</i> [Ok. Here you go.]</p>
Adult Code-Switch	The parent switches to the other language for all or some of their utterance.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Shows the parent speaks the other language.</li> <li>· The child learns that code-switching (mixed or non-mixed utterances) is appropriate and may continue to do so, or may only use the other language.</li> <li>· The most bilingual strategy as it shows the parent can both comprehend and speak the other language.</li> </ul>	<p>Child: <i>I want milk.</i></p> <p>Parent: <i>Vale.</i> [Ok.] <i>Here you go.</i> (OR)</p> <p>Parent: <i>Ok. Here you go.</i></p>

These PDS have been seen in the literature mentioned above (among others) to be key elements of FLP as they express the desired language of the parent to the child as well as help shift the linguistic context along the monolingual to bilingual continuum. Mishina-Mori (2011) found that parental language choices alone did not result in children using the desired language, but that the parents' language use in conjunction with PDS did affect their children's language choices.

When looking at the successfulness of the PDS in the short-term, Brooksbank (2017) found that the most successful PDS in terms of direct child HL use were *modelling* and *translation request*, while the *move on* and *adult code-switch* strategies very rarely garnered a response in the desired language. When looking at their successfulness in long-term HL development, it has been shown that children whose parents often used insistence strategies, such as *translation request*, acquired an active command of the desired language (Döpke, 1992; Lanza 1992, 2004), while those who used more permissive strategies, such as *move on*, acquired a more passive command, resulting in it being their weaker language (Huss, 1991). This has been attributed to the motivation these passive strategies give a "child to participate in the interaction and did not generate negative feelings toward the minority language" (Kheirkhah, 2016, p. 19), as, although it has been found that children whose language choice was explicitly corrected with PDS tended to use the desired language more actively (Mishina-Mori, 2011), the use of PDS which focus on the language form interrupt the flow of the interaction and are "only rarely successful, recurrently resulting in the child's resistance and refusals to use the heritage languages" (Kheirkhah, 2016, p. 46).

As noted earlier, children have been shown to be active agents in their own language socialisation, including how they respond to the PDS used by their parents with their own counterstrategies which tend to go against the parents' linguistic desires. As such, many parents stop using PDS which garner such responses in favour of harmonious family

communication (Brooksbank, 2017; De Houwer, 2020; Wilson, 2020a). This harmonious family communication includes not only the practical implication of conversation flow, but also the communication tool by which parents can maintain their emotional bond with their children via open communication in the child's desired language. Additionally, the continued and consistent use of PDS, particularly those in which they must feign their lack of language abilities in the ML, can be mentally and emotionally draining on the parents and may cause them to abandon their use (Brooksbank, 2017; De Houwer, 2017, 2020; Mishina-Mori, 2011; Kheirkhah, 2016; Slavkov, 2017).

#### **2.4.7 Summary**

As discussed, the framework of language socialisation involves the interaction between linguistic and cultural development and the acquisition of linguistic and social knowledge. This includes the development of communicative competence, which varies across cultures, speech communities, and contexts. HL socialisation involves stronger ties to one's immediate family and heritage culture and oftentimes involves a stronger focus on language maintenance in addition to development.

Within the family, children's HL socialisation and development and/or maintenance are greatly influenced by their parents' attitudes towards their HL. These attitudes have a strong influence on the parents' language use and the development of FLPs which have been shown to strongly influence children's language development and use. Within the encompassed theoretical framework of FLP, the parent-child interactions involve the negotiation of context in which parents can use their language choices and PDS as a way for them to create or encourage either a monolingual context in the language they deem appropriate (as noted earlier), or a bilingual or multilingual one in which multiple languages can be used. As this negotiation of context is done by all parties involved, the implementation and evolution of FLPs is ultimately an interactional process with children playing an active



role in their own language socialisation, as shown by their adherence or resistance to the FLP and PDS.

As briefly noted, a key external influence on children's HL development and maintenance, including their families' FLPs, is the language(s) in which they receive their education. As such, an overview of the literature related to this topic, as well as the diverse linguistic education options available in Canada, are discussed in the next section.

## **2.5 Language of Education**

In addition to the parental attitudes towards the OLs and HLs, this current study also examined the parental attitudes and practices regarding their children's education in these languages, both in formal (elementary and secondary school) and informal settings (language and/or culture classes outside of formal education), and how this impacts their children's language socialisation and overall bilingual or multilingual development. As such, the following section covers the literature on the element of language socialisation related to the language(s) of education children receive. It gives an overview of the types of OL and HL education available in Canada, focusing on provinces and cities with the highest concentration of Spanish and/or Portuguese speakers, including the policies surrounding OL and additional language education in Canada. Select examples of Spanish and Portuguese education are also given.

### **2.5.1 The Role of The Language of Education Within a Child's Language Socialisation**

Language socialisation includes a child's language exposure both in the home and outside of the home with extended family, friends, peers, and the general community at large. As children spend a great deal of time in their school environment, it has a powerful influence on their HL development, maintenance, and loss, as well as their development in the language(s) of the community, their education, and of their peers (Guardado, 2018; Mattheoudakis, Chatzidaki, & Maligkoudi, 2017; Yamamoto, 2001). This impact on a child's

HL was recognized by Fishman (1996b) in the rhetorical question “‘What are you going to do with the mother tongue before school, in school, out of school, and after school?’ Because that determines its fate, whether it is going to become self-renewing” (p. 81).

Parental attitudes are thus impactful in a child’s language socialisation as they include their beliefs regarding the languages which they feel are best for their children to be educated in (when given the ability to choose). As noted earlier, these attitudes and beliefs can be influenced by the concept of language as capital (Bourdieu, 1977) and learning a language as an investment for future symbolic and/or economic capital (Norton, 2000). In other words, how important parents feel knowing certain languages will be for their children’s future success influences the choices they make regarding the language(s) they are educated in.

Additionally, the idea of — and desire for — in-group membership also impact parents’ choices as learning or being educated in a given language impacts one’s identity and establishes links to the language community (Norton & Toohy, 2001). The desire to establish such links through education was found by Dagenais (2003) who indicated that some immigrant parents enrolled their children in French immersion education in order for them to be part of OL communities.

As seen in numerous studies (Dagenais & Berron, 2001; Hoffmann, 2001; Mady, 2013; Slavkov, 2017; among many others), the language of the schooling parents choose for their children (when able) can have a monumental impact on their pathway to monolingualism, bilingualism, or multilingualism. Within the Canadian context, although many parents may not have a choice as to which language the majority of their children’s formal schooling is in due to provincial education policies, program availability, and/or

geographical or financial limitations, many still do have options for additional publicly-funded language classes<sup>18</sup>.

Below are the two main areas of study concerning this element of language socialisation: (i) types of bilingual/multilingual education and (ii) monolingual to multilingual pathways they can create when combined with a family language policy.

### **2.5.1.1 School Language Choice as Pathways to Monolingualism, Bilingualism, and Multilingualism**

With the purpose of offering a general framework and potential best practices for increasing bilingual and multilingual outcomes in Canada, Slavkov (2017) identified five general pathways of schooling in which children can reach these outcomes in combination with additional family language practices as discussed earlier. These general pathways as outlined by Slavkov (pp. 7–8) are listed below with a brief explanation of each using English as the ML and French as the MinL, and a HL, when applicable. These apply to the education system in Ontario specifically, but can be generalised across Canada with varying degrees of changes in the ML versus the MinL. With the exception of the fifth pathway, they take into consideration the use of a single HL in the home by at least one parent via a family language policy.

#### *(1) Monolingual Pathway 1O: Official (majority) language only*

- Results in ML monolingualism
- Possible scenarios:
  - ML families + ML schooling
  - MinL or HL families using ML at home + ML schooling

#### *(2) Bilingual Pathway 1O+1H: Official (majority) language plus a Heritage language*

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<sup>18</sup> Although it is important to note that access to such additional publicly-funded offerings can still be limited due to numerous factors, including scheduling, transportation, etc.

- Results in bilingual acquisition of ML + HL
- HL at home + ML schooling

*(3) Bilingual Pathway 2O: Two Official languages (majority and minority)*

- Results in bilingual acquisition of ML + MinL
- Possible scenarios:
  - ML families use ML at home + MinL immersion or full schooling
  - MinL families use MinL at home + ML schooling
  - MinL families use MinL at home + MinL schooling + ML via community exposure
  - HL families use ML at home + MinL schooling or vice versa
    - ~ Could result in ML + MinL bilingualism but HL loss

*(4) Multilingual Pathway 2O+1H: Two Official languages plus a Heritage language*

- Results in multilingual acquisition of ML + MinL + HL
- Applies only to HL families
- HL at home + MinL schooling + ML acquired through social exposure

*(5) Other Multilingual Pathways*

- Results in multilingual acquisition
- Umbrella for various other HLs, including two different HL used at home

As noted by Slavkov, Hoffmann's trilingual typology outlined earlier highlights that multilingual development often includes the input from school communities and, as such, these pathways are applicable to this study as they combine the family language policy and the monolingual, bilingual, or multilingual forms of education that Spanish-speaking or Portuguese-speaking parents can utilise when it comes to the linguistic development of their children in Canada. Understanding the attitudes towards this potential utilisation is one of the

main goals of this dissertation. As these pathways include various types of ML, MinL, and HL education, the following section provides an overview of the forms of multilingual education that have been described in the literature.

### **2.5.1.2 Forms of Multilingual Education**

There are various styles and methods of bilingual and multilingual education, and many can be described as “weak” or “strong” forms depending on the structure and desired outcome of the styles (Baker, 2011; Baker & Wright, 2017, 2021). Weak forms of bilingual education include programs in which students generally only reach a level of limited bilingualism, if any. Strong forms of bilingual education, however, have bilingualism, biliteracy, and biculturalism as intended outcomes and include dual language education, immersion education, HL education, and content and language integrated learning (Baker, 2011; Baker & Wright, 2017, 2021; Cziko, 1992; Lam, 1992). These various styles are outlined below as per Baker (2011) and Baker and Wright (2017, 2021).

*Dual language education* encompasses the goal of students achieving high levels of proficiency and academic achievement in two languages, along with exemplifying positive attitudes towards different cultural backgrounds and fostering a more peaceful co-existence within the communities. This type of education was first formally used in publicly-funded schools in North America in the 1960s in the state of Florida and uses the MinL, Spanish, for at least 50% of formal instruction with balanced numbers of students from both language backgrounds (Coady, 2020). The two languages are learned through context and are adjusted to the students’ level yet remaining challenging enough to empower the student and foster development. In addition to bilingual and bicultural development, dual language education also emphasises biliteracy as literacy is acquired sequentially, and occasionally simultaneously, in both languages (Baker & Wright, 2021; Coady, 2020).

*Immersion education* was started in Saint-Lambert, Quebec, Canada near Montreal,

Québec, in the 1960s by Anglophone parents with the hopes of students who speak English, the MinL, becoming competent in French while reaching academic achievement levels throughout the curriculum in this ML (Lapkin et al., 1983; Melikoff, 1972). An emphasis on the appreciation of the traditions and cultures of both French and English-speaking Canadians is also seen. According to Baker and Wright (2017), the most popular version of immersion education in Canada is *early immersion*, with children beginning immersion education in preschool or kindergarten. *Delayed immersion* and *late immersion* also exist, in which children start their education starting later in elementary or secondary school, respectively. *Total immersion* allows students to be 100% immersed in French during the early years of their education, and then slowly reduces to 50% of their subjects being taught in French by secondary school in order to also foster academic skills in English. In *partial immersion* programs, children receive 50% of their education in French throughout all levels.

These immersion programs, now common throughout Canada, are seen as successful in developing bilingualism as students are taught in the two OLs of the country and respecting the child's first OL language (Baker & Wright, 2021; Dicks & Genesee, 2016). By not being compulsory, this form of bilingual education strives on conviction, not conformity, and the classroom language use therefore aims to be authentic and relevant to the children's needs, allowing acquisition to be incidental and subconscious.

Furthermore, as most students start immersion without knowledge of the language of instruction and are expected to follow the same curriculum as non-immersion students, more emphasis is first placed on their ability to comprehend the language and academic content, with the development of speaking and writing skills fostered later with formal grammar instruction if necessary (Baker & Wright, 2021; Dicks & Genesee, 2016). Following the success of immersion education in Canada, many countries have also implemented very effective immersion programs, including Japan which has English programs throughout the

country (Bostwick, 2001). Other countries, such as Finland, have also modelled their own immersion programs after Canada's, evolving their own Swedish and immersion programs to also involve a third and fourth language (Baker & Wright, 2021).

*Heritage language education*, also known as *maintenance bilingual education*, involves maintaining and cultivating students' native or HL as well as developing their skills in the ML (Baker, 2014, 2017; Baker & Wright, 2021; Brinton, Kagan, & Bauckus, 2008; Cummins, 1995). These programs are found in schools aimed at established immigrant communities and can be found throughout all levels of education, from preschool through to university, such as those found in Wales. The HL is generally used for at least half of the curriculum time, sometimes up to full-time, with increasing attention given to the ML development at later stages to ensure that full bilingualism occurs (Baker & Wright, 2021). Although considered to be a strong form of bilingual education, they can also be considered to be weak forms depending on the amount of instruction received (Baker, 2011; Baker & Wright, 2017, 2021; Brinton, Kagan, & Bauckus, 2008). For example, in the province of Ontario, HL education can also include after-school language programs, or "Saturday schools", and International & Indigenous Languages Programs (Baker & Wright, 2021; Duff, 2008). They offer classes in many of the languages spoken by the immigrant and Indigenous populations in the province and are mandated under the Ministry of Education's Strategy for International Education (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2021). HL education is further detailed in upcoming sections.

Forms of *content bilingual and language integrated learning education* can be found in schools that educate in two or more MLs in which the population is already partly or completely bilingual, such as those in Singapore which teach equally in English and Mandarin, Malay, or Tamil. This form of bilingual and multilingual education is the foundation of the European Schools Movement (Office of the Secretary-General of the

European Schools, 2022) and differs from immersion education as the additional languages are taught as a subject (i.e., grammar classes) before being used as a medium of instruction. This type of education is common in European countries such as Germany, in which schools teach subjects in German as well as French, English, Spanish, and/or Dutch, resulting in multilingual students (Baker & Wright, 2021). The European Schools Movement also includes a strong emphasis on culture as it aims to develop functionally bilingual or multilingual students with a sense of European multiculturalism (Office of the Secretary-General of the European Schools, 2022).

All of the above listed forms of weak and strong bilingual education as outlined by Baker (2014, 2017) and Baker and Wright (2021) are of interest to this study as they can all be found across Canada to varying degrees. It is important to note, however, that although some of these programs are free, some do come at a cost. These costs can range from small program fees such as those for the government-subsidised International and Indigenous Language Program, to the high cost of full-time tuition for private schools. These programs are also subject to availability and the accessibility of these programs vary (i.e., there may only be one school offering Korean-language education in a given city and it may be located too far away from potential students.).

### **2.5.2 Language Education in Canada**

The following sections give an overview of the laws and policies regarding language education in Canada, starting with OL and official MinL education in general and in select provinces. It then gives an overview of the laws and policies regarding HL and International Language in these provinces, starting with general policies followed by specific programs related to Spanish and Portuguese.



### 2.5.2.1 Official Language Education in Canada

As noted earlier, since the establishment of the Official Languages Act in 1969, the importance of both French and English is recognized in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms which “confirms minority language educational rights for English-speaking children in the province of Quebec and French-speaking children in the rest of Canada” (Government of Canada, 2021a). According to Section 23 – *Minority Language Educational Rights* of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, all citizens of Canada have the right for their children to receive primary and secondary school instruction in the MinL (French or English) if their first language is that of the “linguistic minority population of the province in which they reside” or if they “received their primary school instruction in Canada in English or French and reside in a province where the language in which they received that instruction is the language of the English or French linguistic minority population of the province” (Government of Canada, 2021a). Furthermore, any citizen has the right for all of their children to receive their education in the same language.

The right to MinL education is to be upheld without cost to the parents as the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms states that this right “(a) applies wherever in the province the number of children of citizens who have such a right is sufficient to warrant the provision to them out of public funds of MinL instruction; and (b) includes, where the number of those children so warrants, the right to have them receive that instruction in MinL educational facilities provided out of public funds.” (1982, Section 23, section 3).

In order to ensure funding to meet these rights, the Protocol for Agreements for Minority-Language Education and Second-Language Instruction, was developed as a multilateral agreement between the Government of Canada and the various Ministries of Education in the country’s provinces and territories. This protocol was first implemented in 1983 and is renegotiated approximately every five years to reflect the ever-changing

circumstances across the country. As the Official Languages Act is a federal mandate, not provincial, this protocol “sets the key parameters for collaboration between the two orders of government on OLs in education, and provides a mechanism through which the federal government contributes to the costs incurred by the provinces and territories in the delivery of minority-language education and second-language instruction” (Council of Ministers of Education, 2021).

At the provincial level, each province and territory is responsible for their own MinL education (Government of Canada, 2021a). With English being the ML outside of Quebec, the only officially French province, and New Brunswick, the only officially bilingual province, there was a need to ensure French-language education was not only available, but also met the same academic standards of the majority-language education. As such, in addition to ensuring adequate funding, the Council of Ministers of Education also established The French as a First Language Consortium. This consortium was founded in “recognition of the distinct character of Francophone education in Canada... to promote, within Francophone schools in MinL settings, conditions for French-language learning that leads to enhanced student achievement” (Council of Ministers of Education, 2021) and includes all ministries of education across the country, save Quebec.

Given that all provinces and territories must provide MinL education with both the ML as the primary language of instruction and as the medium of second language instruction (Government of Canada, 2021a), the following subsections provide a brief overview of the main types of minority-second-language education in Canada, as well as their implementation in the four provinces where the majority of the population under investigation reside.

### **2.5.2.2 Official Minority-Language Education in Canada**

As noted, outside of the province of Quebec, the ML throughout many — albeit not all — areas in Canada is English. As such, there is an emphasis on the teaching of French as a

Second Language (FSL) in Anglophone schools to non-francophone students. As each province and territory is responsible for the development and implementation of their MinL education programs, these can vary across the country. The four main programs offered in publicly-funded Anglophone schools include (i) *Core French*, (ii) *Extended French*, (iii) *Intensive French*, and (iv) *French Immersion*.

*(i) Core French*

Core French is primarily focused on French-language classes and usually starts between kindergarten and grade 5. This program is intended to provide children with a basic level of proficiency in French and basic cultural knowledge. Depending on the provincial Core French curriculum, students spend approximately 20 to 40 minutes per day learning French (Lazaruk, 2007), totaling between 600 to 700 hours of French-language classes by the time of graduation. As noted earlier, Core French is considered a weak form of bilingual education and often results in lower comprehension and production levels. Although Core French is available across the country, it is not mandatory in British Columbia, Alberta, nor Saskatchewan. It is, however, mandatory in provinces such as Ontario for students who are not enrolled in other FSL programs (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2021).

*(ii) Extended French*

In Extended French, students take FSL courses and French serves as the language of instruction in at least one other core subject, making up at least 25% of all instruction at the elementary level. At the secondary level, French is used for seven courses, four FSL and three other subjects in which French is the language of instruction. In addition to the reduced amount of instruction compared to French Immersion, this program differs as it includes FSL courses throughout the program. This program is currently available in Ontario (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2021), as well as select other provinces.

*(iii) Intensive French*

Intensive French is a method of FSL education that originated in Newfoundland and Labrador and has since been implemented in other provinces and territories, including British Columbia and in the Northwest Territories. This program “augments the Core French program with an intensive period of French instruction covering one-half of a school year” (Lazaruk, 2007, p. 607), generally in grade six. During this year, students spend approximately 70% to 80% of the school day learning FSL and focus primarily on students’ language use (Netten & Germain, 2012). The other subjects that would normally be taught during this time are then taught in the remaining half of the year. The students continue FSL courses into the following year, resulting in approximately 600 hours of French instruction over the two years (Lazaruk, 2007).

*(iv) French Immersion*

Developed for non-Francophone students, French immersion allows them to learn French via immersion as it is the primary medium of instruction (Turnbull et al., 1999). As noted, it was originally developed in Quebec and is now available across the country in all provinces and territories. This program provides an immersive environment in French during the early years of their education to build a solid foundation in the language and then slowly reduces the amount of instruction in the second language to also allow for the fostering of academic skills in English. As noted earlier, there are various types of immersion, including *early immersion*, with children beginning in kindergarten or grade one, depending on the province, and *late immersion*, with children starting their immersion education in later elementary or secondary school. According to Baker and Wright (2021), the most popular version of immersion education in Canada is early immersion. As each province is responsible for their own MinL education, the percentages of instruction in French can vary, although most typically include 100% of instruction in French during the first year or two. For example, in British Columbia, 100% of instruction is in French in Kindergarten to grade

three, 80% in grades four to seven, and 50% to 75% in grades eight to ten (Government of British Columbia, 2021a). In grades 11 and 12, no less than 25% of instruction can be in French. By the end of Grade 8, students will have received approximately 6,000 hours of French in early immersion and between 1,200 and 2,000 in late immersion (Turnbull et al., 1999). By the end of grade 12, students “should be able to participate easily in French conversations, take post-secondary courses with French as the language of instruction, and accept employment with French as the language of work” (Government of British Columbia, 2021a).

#### **2.5.4.2.1 Official Minority-Language Education by Province**

Although there are native speakers of Spanish and Portuguese across Canada, the majority of these populations are located in the four provinces of British Columbia, Alberta, Ontario, and Quebec, as shown earlier. As education laws in Canada are determined at the provincial level, the ones pertaining to these provinces will be briefly discussed and include the main language of instruction and MinL Second Language programs such as Core and Immersion. It is important to note that these laws are shown as they apply to publicly-funded elementary and secondary schools and do not necessarily apply to private schools, although many do follow the same OL curriculum.

In British Columbia, “all students are expected to achieve proficiency in the English language. Francophone children whose parents qualify for MinL rights under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms are eligible to receive French as the language of instruction” (Government of British Columbia, 2004). FSL education is not compulsory. All school boards, however, must offer a second language to all students in grades five through eight and the individual school boards decide which languages are offered. If no other language is proposed, the provincial Core French program is offered (available from grades five to 12). Early French Immersion and Late French Immersion are also available, as well as Intensive

French, a program available in grades six and seven in which half the school year is taught in English and the other in French. All students are eligible for these four programs, including those whose parents don't speak French. According to the provincial government, 9.5% of the province's students are in French Immersion, and approximately 78% of grade five to eight students study Core French (Government of British Columbia, 2021b). There are currently 47 Francophone schools in the province with slightly over 1% of the province's student population (Conseil Scolaire Francophone De La Colombie-Britannique, 2021). In these schools, all subjects are taught in French, with the exception of English Language Arts, the equivalent to FSL courses.

In Alberta, every student is "entitled to receive instruction in English" (Government of Alberta, 2021), and, as in all other provinces and territories, French-language education is available and intended for those whose parents qualify. For those in English schools, the option for early French immersion and late French immersion is also available for all students regardless of their parents' French abilities (Government of Alberta, 2021b) in 232 schools across the province (Fédération des parents francophones de l'Alberta, 2021). FSL programs, including Core French, are not mandatory, but rather optional from grades four to 12, with students beginning in either grade four or ten. In the province's 42 Francophone schools, students begin English Language Arts instruction in grade 3 and continue throughout grade 12. Similar to British Columbia, approximately 1% of the province's students are in publicly-funded French schools (Government of Alberta, 2021a).

In Ontario, a province with a regionalized language policy, both Francophone and Anglophone schools can be found throughout the province. As with the rest of the country, the province provides the linguistic minority populations instruction in their own language. According to *Le Centre franco-ontarien de ressources pédagogiques* (2022), admission criteria for non-rights holders are focussed on assessing each family's capacity to support

their child's success in a French-language school environment and include the student's level of fluency in French and the parents' commitment to support their academic development in French.

Regarding second-language learning, all students in Ontario English schools, including English-language learners, are required to study Core French from grades four to eight, and earn at least one credit in FSL in secondary school (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2021). In addition to the Core French and French Immersion programs, the province also offers the Extended French program in publicly-funded English schools. In Extended French, students learn French as a subject (i.e., FSL courses) and French serves as the language of instruction in at least one other subject, making up at least 25% of all instruction at the elementary level. At the secondary level, French is used for seven courses, four FSL and three other subjects in which French is the language of instruction.

Similarly, in Ontario Francophone elementary and secondary schools, all students must take English language courses throughout their education, with the Ontario Ministry of Education stating that “all students from the French-language system graduate with high levels of competency in both French and English” (2017). These high levels in both of the OLs, however, can be attributed to not only the English classes, but also the English environment created by their peers as, although schools are French-dominant and provide a French cultural setting, “most students speak English before even enrolling in a French-language school” (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2017). Additionally, the Ontario Ministry of Education also states that many “speak a language other than French at home”, including HLs (2017).

Contrasting the rest of Canada, within the province of Quebec, the Ministère de l'Éducation et de l'Enseignement supérieur notes that “The Charter of the French language states that all children must be educated in French until the end of their secondary studies,

whether in a public school or a subsidised private school” (Ministère de l'Éducation, 2021). They do, however, also mention that there are certain cases in which children are permitted to attend English-language public schools or subsidised private schools, as per the Canadian Charter noted above. Any parent wishing to send their child to an English-language school must first apply for a certificate of eligibility for instruction in English. Over the past few years, obtaining such certificates has become increasingly difficult due to the evolving French language laws within the province, however the Quebec English School Board Association has “consistently advocated for the acknowledgement and protection of the education rights of the Official Language Minority in Québec... and most notably the Official Language Minority Community’s right to manage and control its school boards and schools” (2021). Furthermore, there are currently only nine Anglophone public school boards compared to the 64 public Francophone school boards, and are mostly located in the greater Montreal area, making English-language education even less accessible. These Anglophone public schools, however, were the origin of the French Immersion programs, as noted earlier, and continue to offer such programs.

Again, it is important to note that the above only apply to publicly-funded institutions and that there are no restrictions when it comes to private institutions. Additionally, there are situations in which special or temporary authorization is given for students with severe learning disabilities or whose parents (Canadian citizens or foreign nationals) hold a Quebec certificate of acceptance for temporary employment or studies, including representatives or officers of other countries, international organisations, or members of the Canadian Armed Forces (Quebec English School Board Association, 2021).

In addition to OL education, some elementary and secondary schools in these provinces also offer education in the two HLs under investigation, although these vary greatly, as will be discussed. The following section gives a brief overview of HL education,



the types of HL education offered in Canada, as well as notable examples of Spanish HL education and Portuguese HL education in the four provinces previously discussed.

### **2.5.3 Heritage Language Education**

The literature on HL education has been rapidly growing, adding to the varying requirements for HL instructors, as well as definitions or general ideas of who HL learners (HLLs) are and what their linguistic needs are within their HL education.

For example, Polinsky and Kagan (2007) define HLLs (i) broadly as individuals with a familial or cultural connection to the HL yet no actual linguistic abilities; and (ii) narrowly as those who did not completely learn the HL before switching to a majority/dominant language, whereas Van Deusen-Scholl (2003) defines them as individuals who “have been raised with a strong cultural connection to a particular language through family interaction” and a developed “heritage motivation” (p. 222). Taking into account both the linguistic abilities and the familial or cultural connections, Carreira (2004) defines HLLs according to (i) their place in the community linked to the HL, (ii) their personal connection to a HL through their family background, and (iii) their proficiency in the HL.

Regardless of the varying and ever-changing definitions, “identifying HL learners as a diverse group of language learners is essential” given their “distinct language acquisition and development characteristics” (Aravossitas & Oikonomakou, 2020, p. 236). Aravossitas and Oikonomakou also note that many studies (Fishman, 2006; Montrul, 2010; Polinsky, 2007; Valdés, 1997, 2001; among others) have identified these characteristics as ones that give HLLs “the potential to develop their HL skills almost at the level of native speakers given that certain cultural, social, political and educational conditions are met” (p. 236). As such, they state that it is therefore important to recognize them not as second- or foreign-language learners, but rather as “individuals with distinct educational needs, personal motives, and cultural characteristics” (p. 237).

These needs, motives, and characteristics therefore make the environments of second-language classes difficult to navigate for both teachers and students. When studying classes with HL students, Carreira and Kagan (2011) found that “classes with HL students are characterized by substantial student diversity” (p. 62), thus requiring HL instructors to understand and address the needs of each student, as well as the class as a whole, in order to be effective. Many HL education researchers argue that “the curriculum should be community-based and reflect the background knowledge, experiences, and expectations of the HL students” (Aravossitas, 2016, p. 28) in order to develop appropriate and effective HL teaching strategies (Carreira & Kagan, 2011). Aravossitas (2016) asserts that in order to do so, teachers “are expected to make connections with the heritage language community in order to better understand the learners, their needs and their challenges” (p. 28).

Such understanding of HLLs would potentially help to eliminate or reduce any barriers that prevent or hinder their successful HL development and maintenance. Beyond this, there is also the need to address the HL class environment in order to make it conducive to HLLs’ success, both linguistically and academically. As found by Abdi (2011), who studied Spanish HLLs in Canadian secondary school Spanish classes, a type of “language ideology that equates displayed Spanish speaking ability with language proficiency and heritage” exists, making some HLLs reluctant to speak the language in such environments. Abdi notes that a particular HLL in their study was “positioned and treated in class in ways that not only did not acknowledge her Hispanic heritage or encourage the development of her oral skills, but also did not recognize the usefulness of her literacy skills” (p. 161). As such, although enrolling children in classes that teach the HL can also positively affect their HL proficiency (Mattheoudakis, Chatzidaki, & Maligkoudi, 2017), it can also have negative effects if they are not designed for HLLs or do not take the aforementioned factors into consideration.

As will be shown in the next sections, with a few notable exceptions, many language programs available in Canada are offered to both HLL and second language learners, with the education Ministries referring to them as *International and Indigenous Language* classes, rather than HL classes. By doing so, although these programs attract a larger student body, they can be seen as compromising their quality and leading to low enrolment. Moreover, although these additional schools or programs may aid in the HL development and maintenance, Eisenclas, Schalley, and Guillemín (2015) found that many children find them to be a burden, academically and/or socially.

### **2.5.3.1 Heritage Language Education in Canada**

Based on studies showing the importance of developing and maintaining one's HL linguistic and literacy skills, many provinces across the country started to offer HL programs directed at HL students in the early 2000's (Duff, 2008). Many of the publicly-funded school boards, as well as private institutions, in areas with large HL-speaking populations offer programs ranging from weekend language classes, informally known as "Saturday School", to select schools offering full education in the HLs in line with the provincial curriculum<sup>19</sup>. It is important to recognize that although these programs can be directed at both HL speakers as well as non-HL speakers, with each school board or organisation having different aims as well as requirements of language proficiency at the time of enrolment. The terminology also varies from province to province, with Aravossitas, (2016) clarifying that "international language programs" tend to be within the public-school systems and "HL programs" are more community-based, albeit still part of the provincial programs, and offered after school and on weekends.

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<sup>19</sup>Many secondary schools also offer courses in additional languages; however, these will not be discussed as they are directed at the general student population and their availability and individual syllabi vary greatly based on the schools, teachers, aims, etc. They are also not provincially offered/mandated, nor do they receive community funding.

As noted earlier, all elementary students in British Columbia must be taught an additional language, while secondary students can learn an additional language as an elective, yet the offerings are limited and currently only include Arabic, Croatian, Italian, Korean, and Russian (Government of British Columbia, 2020). Outside of school hours, language programs include Cantonese, German, Italian, Japanese, Mandarin, Punjabi, Russian, and Spanish, however, as of 2001, “the provincial government funding ceased for after-school and weekend HL programs” (Aravossitas, 2016, p. 53), although some funding has been received from international bodies in more recent years to develop and offer credit courses at the secondary level in some HLs, including Italian, Korean, and Mandarin (Aravossitas, 2016).

In Alberta, the International Languages programs are programs of study under the provincial curriculum at the elementary and secondary levels in eight different languages, including Arabic, Chinese, German, Italian, Japanese, Punjabi, Spanish, and Ukrainian. In these bilingual programs, the HL is used for instruction in content courses up to a total of 50% of the school day. HL language arts and culture courses are also taught “where the language is used to develop communication and intercultural and strategic skills, and to build an appreciation for the culture.” (Government of Alberta, Education, 2021a). Although the program is available in eight languages, the individual schools determine which language programs to offer “based on their resources and community needs” (Government of Alberta, Education, 2021a). There are also HL classes in evenings and on weekends in various languages that do not fall under the provincial curriculum. According to Palladino and Guardado (2017), many of these HL community programs are affiliated with the umbrella organisation International and Heritage Languages Association, which was founded in 1978 and supports programs “through curriculum development, resource gathering, networking, and HL awareness initiatives” (p. 6).

In Ontario, such bilingual programs do not exist in the publicly-funded schools as the province's Education Act only permits English- or French-language instruction during the school day (Iyer, 2018). Despite this, the Ontario Ministry of Education implemented the Elementary International & Indigenous Languages program, offering weekend and evening classes in a number of languages in both English and French school boards across the province. They state that students in its International Languages and Indigenous program “will develop an awareness of the multicultural and plurilingual nature of the modern world ... and to participate fully as citizens in Canada and in the world” (2016, p. 6). Additionally, some school boards do offer extended-day international-language programs; however, they are mainly offered within larger ones, such as the Toronto District School Board and Toronto and York Region Catholic boards. Despite the provincial program boasting offerings of over 100 languages, many school boards, in reality, have limited offerings (Iyer, 2018). For example, the Italian language program was the only one offered by the York Region Catholic board in 2017 and it was also the language program taken by 54% of students in the Toronto Catholic board (Iyer, 2018).

Similar programs have been implemented in publicly-funded Quebec schools through *Le Programme d'enseignement des langues d'origine* (PELO), which offers 46 hours of instruction per school year and is aimed at HL speakers yet does allow non-HL speakers to enrol. According to the Ministère de l'Éducation et de l'Enseignement supérieur (2022), this program “*améliore les conditions d'apprentissage du français et la réussite éducative des élèves en utilisant les langues d'origine*” [improves the conditions for learning French and the educational success of students by using the languages of origin] and “*permet aux élèves de faire des transferts d'une langue à l'autre, d'une culture à l'autre*” [allows students to make transfers from one language to another, from one culture to another]. The province also

offers *PELO intégré*, a language support program in the HL designed for students learning French as a second language.

Noting the difficulty in teaching HLs in Ontario due to the province's Education Act, Aravossitas and Oikonomakou (2020), who focused on Greek as a HL, noted that HLs are taught “through a semi-official education system that involves both public school boards and immigrant communities.” (p. 253) When looking at the number of students enrolled in such HL programs, they found that there are considerably fewer students at the secondary level than elementary, yet their enrollment is more systematic. They attribute this imbalance to the fact that the International Languages programs at the secondary level are controlled through the Curriculum of the Ontario Ministry of Education, which sets the objectives and assessment parameters of the program. Aravossitas and Oikonomakou also note that these programs are subject to regular inspection to ensure they meet the official policies and standards of the provincial curriculum, which provides a “certain education quality guarantee” and “legitimizes” these HL programs compared to the elementary program. They note that these elementary programs tend to be less systematic as they fall under the category of supplementary education, resulting in a shortage of “appropriate teaching staff, curricula and infrastructures” (2020, p. 244). Additional challenges were also pointed out by Palladino and Guardado who noted that many HL programs face challenges maintaining their programs, including “attracting and retaining students, motivating them to attend weekend learning programs, and accessing affordable learning resources” (2017, p. 5).

As will be shown in the following two sections on Spanish and Portuguese language education, the options available for these two HLs vary greatly depending on the province.

#### **2.5.3.1.1 Spanish Language Education by Province**

Looking specifically at Spanish education offerings, the aforementioned provincially-funded programs currently offer Spanish classes in numerous cities in the four provinces

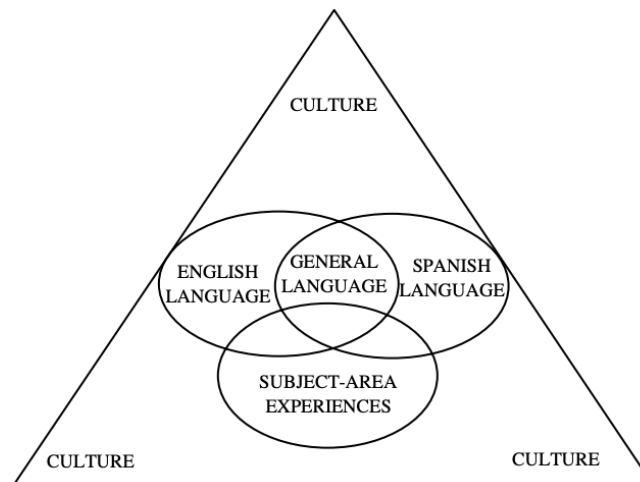
discussed, particularly in larger cities such as Vancouver, British Columbia; Calgary, Alberta; Toronto, Ontario; and Montreal, Quebec. In some areas, these classes are limited to evenings and weekends, while others also offer more intensive, 2-week programs in the summer. At the secondary level, some offer a credit towards the provincial secondary-school diploma for each completed course, such as those in the Ottawa-Carleton District School Board (2022).

In terms of more immersion-type programs in publicly-funded schools, they are mainly found in the western provinces of Alberta and British Columbia for reasons indicated earlier.

As mentioned, in Alberta, the provincial government offers various styles of Spanish education at public schools through their International Languages program. Their bilingual Spanish programs are offered at the elementary and secondary levels in various cities across the province, including Calgary, Edmonton, and Red Deer, among others. The Government of Alberta, Education states that these programs have an emphasis on language and culture and provides the conceptual map shown in Figure 2 to illustrate the relationship among these components of the program that also includes “various other subject-area experiences” (Government of Alberta, Education, 2021b).

## Figure 2

### *Relationship Among the Components of the Alberta English-Spanish Bilingual Program*



*Note.* Image from Government of Alberta, Education, (2021b)

More specifically, the Spanish Bilingual Program is offered in school boards in Calgary, Alberta, from kindergarten to grade 12 at nine elementary and two secondary schools and is part of the International Spanish Academy network sponsored by the Ministry of Education and Culture of Spain. In this program, there is a 50/50 split in instructional time between English and Spanish, with children being taught Spanish Language Arts and Maths in Spanish, English Language Arts in English, and other subjects “taught in English or Spanish or bilingually as determined by schools” (Calgary Board of Education, 2022). According to the board, this Spanish program has been growing substantially over the last two decades, going from 125 students enrolled in elementary and secondary schools in 2001-2002 to 3,665 in 2020-2021. (Calgary Board of Education, 2022a). Outside of the publicly funded-school system, there are private schools that also offer Spanish programs, such as the Spanish Montessori Learning Centre in Lethbridge.

Similar programs are offered in British Columbia, particularly in Vancouver. According to the Vancouver Public School board, their “Spanish/English Dual Language Program is an academically challenging and enriching program for developing linguistic proficiency in Spanish and English” (2022) in which students can begin in kindergarten and



continue through secondary school. They highlight that the program not only encourages language skills, but also literacy skills as the “Spanish language instruction focuses on literacy” in mid-level grades and that students take “rigorous classes offered through the Spanish language pathway” in higher grades and “achieve true bilingualism and biliteracy” (2022).

In Ontario, as indicated earlier, the publicly-funded schools in the province do not offer any such immersion or bilingual Spanish/English or Spanish/French programs due to the ACT. This difficulty can be seen in the founding of, and subsequent closing of, the Hispano-Canadian Intercultural School, the first elementary school in Toronto, Ontario to offer full bilingual and “bicultural” instruction in Spanish and English (Boyd, 2009). Although founded in 2008, the school is now closed as there was “no government program in place to support bilingual schools” and that the support for the school came “from the Hispanic community itself” (Boyd, 2009). As such, the only Spanish education is found at private schools in larger cities, such as Bayview Glen Independent School in Toronto.

In Quebec, the *Projet d’Enseignement des langues d’Origine*, noted earlier, offers after-school or weekend Spanish classes through the province’s Ministry of Education. These, again, are open to all Spanish learners, not just HL speakers. In order to fill this gap, two notable private institutions, *Instituto Español de Montreal* and *Legados*, were created privately and offer Spanish HL classes and courses taught in Spanish, albeit to different extents and with different focuses. Although the province offers a substantial Spanish as a Third Language program at the secondary level, the ministry explicitly states that it is meant for non-Spanish speaking students (Gouvernement du Québec, 2022).

*Instituto Español de Montreal* was created as “a school of supplementary education for the children of Spanish speakers in the elementary and secondary school system of Quebec, who are interested in maintaining and developing their cultural and linguistic links

with their native language” (Instituto Español de Montreal, 2018). It is subsidised in part by the Spanish Embassy in Canada and provides education in Spanish that is recognized by Quebec's Ministry of Education, accrediting students with eight credits towards their secondary school diploma upon completion of their studies. The schools “Native Language” program, offered from the preschool to Bachillerato level, is meant for children who live in Spanish-speaking environments with the main objective of helping students “reach an adequate level of linguistic competence in Spanish” (2018). Additionally, they offer a weekly *Agrupación de Lengua y Cultura Españolas* [Spanish language and culture group] program for children aged 7 to 17. This program is free of charge but is only offered to children — or children of parents — who have Spanish citizenship and are enrolled in the Quebec education system.

*Legados* is another private institution that offers programs outside of school hours for children up to age 16;00, although they are not connected to the Quebec Ministry of Education like *Instituto Español de Montreal*. On the contrary, *Legados* was established as the founder, Mariana Marín, felt that the HL Spanish classes offered by the province were not well-managed and were aimed at Spanish learners in general, not taking into account the specific linguistic needs of HL speakers (Martínez Méndez, 2021). According to Marín, another issue with the provincial programs are the materials used, “*ya que no corresponden a la lengua que los chicos hablan en sus hogares porque son niños de origen latinoamericano y se les enseña con manuales que vienen de España*” [as they do not correspond to the language that the children speak at home because they are children of Latin American origin and are taught with manuals that come from Spain] (Martínez Méndez, 2021). With this in mind, they designed a “Spanish as a Heritage Language program designed specifically for Spanish-speaking descendants” (Legados, 2020). Recognizing the importance of maintaining not only the HL, but the culture as well, the objective of the institute and its programs is to

“prioritize creativity and imagination, to strengthen Hispanism and affirm Latin-Canadian identities by learning Spanish through an innovative educational program that embraces Hispanic-American literature, arts and culture” (Legados, 2020).

As shown, the offerings of Spanish education in publicly-funded schools are quite available in western Canada yet are limited to supplementary support in Ontario and Quebec. The funding, curriculums, and materials used in most deal with varieties of European Spanish, with the exception of the private institution *Legados*, founded to counter this issue and encourage more HL learners from diverse backgrounds.

#### **2.5.3.1.2 Portuguese Language Education by Province**

In contrast to the Spanish education offerings, the vast majority of available programs in Portuguese are located in Quebec and Ontario rather than western Canada. This is mainly due to demand, as many Portuguese-speaking Canadians live in these provinces, particularly in Toronto, Ontario and Montreal, Quebec, as previously stated.

Regarding Portuguese classes offered by all four provinces, classes are much more limited than Spanish. For example, the Toronto District School Board — the largest school board in Ontario with 451 elementary schools — only offers Portuguese classes in four elementary schools compared to 41 that offer Spanish (Toronto District School Board, 2022). The second largest, Dufferin-Peel Catholic District School Board, only offers 3 at the elementary level and one at the secondary level (Dufferin-Peel Catholic District School Board, 2022), and the Ottawa-Carleton District School Board offers none at the elementary nor secondary levels (Ottawa-Carleton District School Board, 2022).

In Montreal, Quebec, Portuguese language courses are offered at two main schools: Missão Santa Cruz and Laval Portuguese School. These courses are offered on Saturday mornings throughout the school year at both the elementary and secondary level. As in Ontario, the courses at the secondary level are recognised as credits towards the provincial

secondary-school diploma (Ministry of Education of Québec, 2022). Although these Portuguese-language classes are available to all, there is an emphasis on teaching HL speakers, particularly within the tight-knit Portuguese community and part of the Catholic Igreja Santa Cruz. Given this community's heterogeneity, similar to the Spanish offerings in Quebec, these classes are taught using the European variety of the language by teachers who are all originally from Central Portugal (Scetti, 2019). This is also highlighted by the Consulate General of Portugal in Montreal (2022), as they “emphasize the relation between Camões – Institute for Cooperation and of the Portuguese Language and the community schools”.

Even though the Portuguese community is still relatively large in Montreal, Scetti (2019) states that the schools have been suffering from a decline in enrolment in the last decade, Missão Santa Cruz in particular. This may be due to the fact that the classes offer more “normative language support” as “it excludes vernaculars” as well as dialect variations “including the Azorean” (p. 103), which is spoken by a large portion of the community. Additionally, despite the more recent Brazilian immigration to Montreal, Almeida (2015) found that the two communities were not well interconnected and that the presence and participation of those from the Brazilian community were therefore rare (as noted by Scetti, 2020, 2021). Supporting this, Scetti (2021) found that the number of students of Brazilian origin enrolled in the HL classes was very low, noting that this may be related to the variety of Portuguese used as the language of instruction as well as the high number of students of Portuguese origin rather than Brazilian (2021). Regardless of its size and variety-specific teaching, it has been found that school is still valued within the community as it helps the family in the transmission of Portuguese to the new generations (Scetti, 2019b, 2020, 2021).

Overall, the offerings of Portuguese education in publicly-funded schools are very limited across the country. Similar to Spanish, the options for Portuguese education in private

institutions are also very limited and located mainly in Montreal. They also only offer language support in a specific variety of European Portuguese and therefore do not aid in the maintenance of others, particularly Brazilian Portuguese, spoken by the ever-growing Brazilian population in Montreal and throughout Canada.

## **2.6 Summary**

This chapter covered the various areas of literature related to this study, including how the two HLs under investigation and their speakers are situated in the multilingual linguistic landscape of Canada alongside the OLs. Specifically, it outlined the discrepancy in the number of individuals who listed these HLs as their mother tongue compared to how many reported it to be the language spoken most often at home.

Given this discrepancy, the literature on MinL maintenance was discussed as it pertains to these HLs and an overview of language socialisation was given, with a focus on HL socialisation. The framework of family language policy and the encompassed negotiation of context and parental discourse strategies were also outlined.

The role of education as it relates to language socialisation was discussed, including school language choices as pathways to monolingualism, bilingualism, and multilingualism. Descriptions of various forms of multilingual education were given, including specific Canadian examples, followed by OL education policies and options in Canada. The literature on HL education was briefly outlined, and HL education offerings in the four Canadian provinces where the largest number of Spanish and Portuguese speakers live were briefly detailed. Finally, an overview of the educational options in Spanish and Portuguese in these provinces was given, with select examples of specific programs and institutions.

The following chapter outlines the methodology used in this study.

## **Chapter 3: Methodology**

### **3.1 Overview**

This chapter outlines the methodology used for this exploratory study, starting with the research questions guiding the study, followed by a description of the tool used to collect the cross-sectional data. The procedures applied to the data are then detailed, and information on the participants is presented and discussed, including their language abilities and their linguistic environments. Finally, the methodological limitations are acknowledged.

This exploratory study used an online questionnaire with the aim of obtaining an overview of the participants, their language attitudes and reported uses, as well as their choices of their children's education in the HLs and OLs. As the questionnaire included questions that elicited both qualitative and quantitative data, this study used a mixed-methods approach to the data analysis and presented the findings from both the qualitative and quantitative analyses. It is considered to be mostly descriptive in nature, given that it aimed to understand and make links between the attitudes and the reported behaviour of the participants.

### **3.2 Research Questions**

The objectives of this study were to gain a better understanding of what Spanish-speaking and Portuguese-speaking parents' attitudes are regarding the maintenance of Spanish and Portuguese in Canada and their children's language development in these HLs alongside French and English. It also aimed to gain an understanding of how these attitudes influence their practices and efforts with respect to their children's HL language socialisation, specifically their family language practices and the language of schooling in which they choose to enrol their children.

Based on these objectives, the research questions for this study were:

1. What are Spanish-speaking and Portuguese-speaking parents' attitudes towards the maintenance of their languages in Canada?
2. What are their attitudes towards their children's language development in these languages alongside French and English?
3. How do these attitudes influence their children's language socialisation in regard to their general family language practices and the language(s) in which their children are educated?

In order to answer these questions, this study required Spanish-speaking and Portuguese-speaking parents who live in Canada to participate, as outlined in the following section.

### **3.3 Participant Requirements and Recruitment**

The requirements for participants to be involved in the study were that they (i) be native Spanish or Portuguese speakers, (ii) have children aged 2;00 to 16;00, and (iii) currently live in Canada. Participants could be from any family dynamic (single parent, couple, co-parenting, etc.). The rationale behind the age requirements was that, with the exception of those with language delays, most children start to produce two-word utterances by age 2;00 and many are enrolled in formal education, including daycare, shortly after. Similarly, 16;00 is the age of the final year of many secondary institutions, particularly in Quebec, where large Spanish and Portuguese communities live.

Even though in order to be truly representative of a population, a sociolinguistic study such as this should use a purely random sample of the group under investigation (Dörnyei & Taguchi, 2010; Lieberman, 1980), it would have been next to impossible to get the participation of informants chosen purely at random. As such, participant recruitment was done with non-probability sampling via convenience sampling and snowball sampling (Dörnyei, 2007; Dörnyei & Taguchi, 2010) using social media and word of mouth.

Calls for participants were posted on various social media platforms, including Facebook and Instagram, and included a short description of the study, the participant requirements, and the links to the questionnaires. They were shared in Spanish (Appendix B) and Portuguese (Appendix C) in various Facebook groups with Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking members, as well as posted on my personal profile in three separate posts, one in each language, that were made public and shareable. From there, they were graciously shared by various people from my friend list as well as people within the aforementioned groups of their own volition. A shortened version of the call for participants was also posted on my personal Instagram account in Spanish, Portuguese, and English and the corresponding link was shared with anyone who responded, either to complete the questionnaire themselves or to share it with someone else they thought may participate. Finally, the three calls for participants and links were also shared via email to friends and family with the polite request that they forward it to anyone they knew who might fit participant requirements and be willing to participate. No compensation was offered to complete the questionnaire.

As mentioned, the calls for participants were written and shared in Spanish, Portuguese, and English. Although the participants were required to complete the questionnaire in either Spanish or Portuguese, the third call for participants in English was made in order to share the information with my friends, family, and connections on social media, many of whom only speak English, with the hopes that they may share it as well. Given that I do not have any personal connections to anyone who understands French exclusively, the decision was made to limit the calls to only the previous three languages.

The following section outlines how the participants fitting these descriptions were studied.



### 3.4 Data Collection

Data collection was done completely online via an online questionnaire that was exploratory in nature. As noted in Guardado (2002) and DeMilo (2014), a mixed methodology including both qualitative and quantitative data is considered best practice for sociolinguistic studies related to linguistic attitudes, given the participant subjectivity that prevails in this area of research. As such, in order to provide general results of the population under investigation as well as to consider the subjective nature of their linguistic attitudes, this study aimed to elicit both qualitative and quantitative data through a research tool that may be seen as strictly quantitative. This was done by including open-ended questions with open-text responses that would typically be found in a follow-up interview throughout the questionnaire, generally following quantitative questions<sup>20</sup>.

The questionnaires were hosted online via TypeForm.com and were formatted to be completed on desktops, mobile, and/or tablets<sup>21</sup>. The use of an online questionnaire was seen as the most time- and cost-effective way to collect data from as many participants as possible across the country. The questionnaires were anonymous as no personal information was required to participate or asked for, save the final question which gave the option to leave their email if they wished to participate in future studies or wanted to obtain the results of the current study. If they provided their email, this information was removed before the data analysis to eliminate any potential influence on the analysis or bias. Finally, in order to maximise the number of participants, the questionnaire was designed to be completed by one parent who provided information about themselves, their child, and another parent, if applicable. If they had multiple children in the required age range, the participants were asked

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<sup>20</sup>Follow-up interviews were part of the original data collection, however they were, unfortunately, not possible to complete due to various issues related to the global COVID-19 pandemic. Although the open-ended questions included in the questionnaire do not replace such interviews, they were nevertheless the best alternative.

<sup>21</sup>Unfortunately, the questionnaire could not be considered completely accessible (i.e., for those who are visually impaired) as the questionnaire host had not completed their accessibility features at the time of data collection.

to complete the questionnaire with their oldest child in mind. Both of these are typical practices for sociolinguistic studies such as this one.

### **3.4.1 Questionnaire Design**

The following section describes the questionnaires used and outlines the methodological reasons and process behind the languages they are written in, an overview of the questions included in them, and the process of completing the questionnaires. It also includes the information related to the completion of the questionnaires.

#### **3.4.1.1 Language of the Questionnaire**

As this study investigated the language attitudes and practices of Spanish-speaking parents and Portuguese-speaking parents, the questionnaire was available in both of these languages. This was done in order to make sure that the parents fully understood the questions and gave as-accurate-as-possible answers, as evidence suggests that participants who are multilingual interpret questions and respond differently to them depending on the language of the questionnaire (Peytcheva, 2008) and that it is best practice to have all questions available in the native language of the respondent (Peytcheva, 2008; Rea & Parker, 2005). This was also done so as to not alienate those who may have lower levels of French or English as this may have impacted the number of respondents, as noted by Wong & Wang who found that “Population-based surveys in ethnic groups conducted in [the] English language only capture a fraction of the eligible individuals. Development of multilingual survey questionnaires is essential for improving participation rates among ethnic groups in English speaking countries.” (2008, p. 323). Furthermore, the decision to have the questionnaires in the HLs was made in order to make the parents feel comfortable enough to respond to the open-ended questions and perhaps encourage them to write more than they would have if the questions were written in French or English.

Since there were two versions of the same questionnaire that were analysed together, it was important to make sure that they were “free of translational problems and convey the same concepts and ideas” (Peytcheva, 2008, pg. 8). As noted by Peytcheva, questionnaire results are only “meaningful to the extent to which respondents understand the survey questions as they are originally intended. Question comprehension involves processing the syntactic structure and understanding the semantic (literal) and pragmatic (intended) meaning” (p. 10) and it is therefore important that they were not only translated to retain the original meaning in both, but that the meanings were understood by speakers of all dialects of these languages.

The questionnaire in Spanish was written using the most common writing conventions to account for any dialectal differences, and it was reviewed by a native speaker from Colombia as well as one from Spain. This was done for the questionnaire in Portuguese as well. Some questions, however, were written using writing conventions more commonly found in Brazilian Portuguese as these can be understood by speakers of all dialects. It was reviewed by two native speakers from Brazil. Both versions were then reviewed by a bilingual speaker who speaks a dialect of Spanish from Spain and Portuguese from Portugal.

The same procedure was done with the mandatory consent form that was presented to the participants before starting the questionnaire. The original consent form as required by the University of Ottawa for online data collection was translated by myself from English into Spanish and Portuguese and then verified by two native speakers of Spanish and two native speakers of Portuguese.

#### **3.4.1.2 Questionnaire Questions**

Questions were designed with simplicity and efficiency in mind, and, as such, answers with checkboxes and Likert scale were preferred to open-text answers for questions collecting quantitative data (i.e. participants were presented with a Likert scale rather than

having to manually input a rating of 1 to 5). Furthermore, all open-ended questions were not mandatory. Although this can lead to non-responses to the qualitative questions and reduce the possibility of triangulation during data analysis, it was done in an attempt to not reduce the overall completion rate (Biemer et al., 1991; Ruel, Wagner, & Gillespie, 2015).

Before making the questionnaire publicly available online, pilot versions in both languages were tested by six individuals (three Spanish speakers and three Portuguese speakers) in order to review the questions, to allow for a mock analysis of the responses, to make sure the design of the questionnaire flowed properly, and to get an idea of the time required to complete the questionnaire. Based on the feedback from this pilot, a number of questions were removed after careful consideration of their necessity or replaced by more relevant questions. Some questions were also removed or made 'not mandatory' to shorten the length of the questionnaire as all of the pilot participants commented negatively on its original length and it was seen as necessary to avoid respondent fatigue (as noted in Ruel, Wagner, & Gillespie, 2015).

After editing the pilot versions, the final versions of the questionnaires included a total of 46 questions and included a mixture of Likert scale, ranking, and open-ended questions. If the participant responded that their child did not have another parent, the total number of questions was reduced to 40. All questions and their possible responses can be found in Appendix F and Appendix G, which include the full questionnaires in Spanish and Portuguese, respectively. Questions related to the same topic or person were grouped together in six sections, as recommended by Rasinger (2013) (see Appendix H), and all questions required a response before the questionnaire automatically moved on to the next, save the five open-ended ones.

The first set of questions were demographic in nature and asked how long the participants have lived in Canada, the current ages of their children and their ages when they

arrived in Canada (unless born in the country), as well the linguistic environment in which they lived.

This was followed by questions about the linguistic abilities of the participants, their children, and the second parent, when applicable. This section also included questions asking which languages the parents used with the children and with each other and the frequencies in which they used these languages. It is important to note that questions related to the frequency language use were presented with a Likert scale based on De Houwer's (1999) five-point semantic differential language use scale, which indicates the frequency of use language using a scale of 'only', 'mainly', 'half of the time', 'sometimes', and 'never', as seen in Roberts (2021).

The third set of questions was related to the family language practices, such as language use norms and parental discourse strategies, and included multiple Likert-scale questions and two open-ended questions related to these topics with open-text answers in order for the participants to provide additional information if they wanted. These were followed by questions related to additional HL exposure through media and other HL speakers.

The following set of questions included Likert-scale questions aimed at understanding the perceived importance of the HLs and the OLs, as well as the importance of the HLs as they related to other language socialisation areas.

The fifth section included questions related to their children's formal and informal education in the HLs and the OLs, including current percentages of education in the three languages, the reasons behind them, as well as the parental desire for additional education in these languages. This section also included an open-ended question related to these topics.

The final section consisted of two final open-ended questions with open-text answers. These questions were general in nature, asking parents if there was anything else they would

like to say regarding HL maintenance in Canada, their experiences, or anything else related to this study. These two questions, as well as the four other open-ended questions noted above, gathered the qualitative data for this study and proved to be quite fruitful as not only did many participants respond to these questions, but they also went into great detail and provided invaluable insight into their quantitative responses and beyond.

#### **3.4.1.3 Questionnaire Process**

Upon clicking the link to the questionnaire provided in the participant recruitment announcement, the participants were presented with an introduction with a general overview of the questionnaire and approximately how long it would take them to complete it. This was then followed by a consent form (a translated version of the mandatory form as provided by the University of Ottawa, found in Spanish in Appendix D and in Portuguese in Appendix E). which was mandatory for all participants to accept in order to begin the questionnaire. They were then presented with the 46 questions individually, with only one question appearing on the screen at a time. Participants had the option to go back to a question if need be. A progress bar was also visible showing the percentage of the questionnaire completed, as well as the time elapsed.

Upon completing the last question, participants were presented with a prompt thanking them for their participation as well as asking them if they would like to provide their email to be contacted for future data collection related to this study or topic. Providing an email was not mandatory, and not providing one did not count the questionnaire as incomplete.

#### **3.4.1.4 Questionnaire Completion**

The questionnaire was available online for approximately 2 months and the link to the Spanish questionnaire was opened 394 times (there was no information as to if these were individual clicks or multiple clicks by the same individual) with a drop off rate of 34% as the

questionnaire was started 272 times. Of the questionnaires started, there was a completion rate of 56.3% with a total of 153 responses. The link to the Portuguese questionnaire was opened 364 times with a drop off rate of 34% as the questionnaire was started 250 times. There was a completion rate of 64.8% with a total of 162 responses. Both versions of the questionnaire took an average of 13 minutes to complete.

For both the Spanish and Portuguese versions, of those who started but did not complete the questionnaire, the vast majority dropped off when asked to read and consent to the consent form. This could have been due to the length of the required consent form as provided by the University of Ottawa (translated into the respective language) being intimidating and/or potential participants wanting to see how long the questionnaire would take before deciding to complete it or not as notification of the average completion time was automatically presented at that moment.

The following section looks at those who did fully complete the questionnaire, including the number of participants, the ages of their children, the linguistic environment in which they live, and their reported language abilities.

### **3.5 Participants**

There was a total of 315 participants (henceforth parents). Based on similar studies on HL maintenance with similar participant pools, the originally intended number was 40 to 60, which the final total number greatly surpassed. The total number included 153 Spanish-speaking parents (henceforth SSP) and 162 Portuguese-speaking parents (henceforth PSP). Of the 315 parents, 258 (81.90%) reported that their children also had another parent (henceforth Parent 2) that communicated regularly with them (either living with them or not), while 57 (18.10%) said they did not.

The parents were not asked to provide their country of origin as it did not play a factor in the study, and it was of no interest to attempt to compare Spanish or Portuguese speakers of different countries or heritages as this would have gone beyond the scope of this study.<sup>22</sup>

As shown in Table 10 below, 18 (5.71%) of the parents had been in Canada for less than two years, 80 (25.40%) between two and five years, 49 (15.56%) between five and seven years, 47 (14.92%) between seven and ten years, and 121 (38.41%) for more than ten years.

**Table 10**

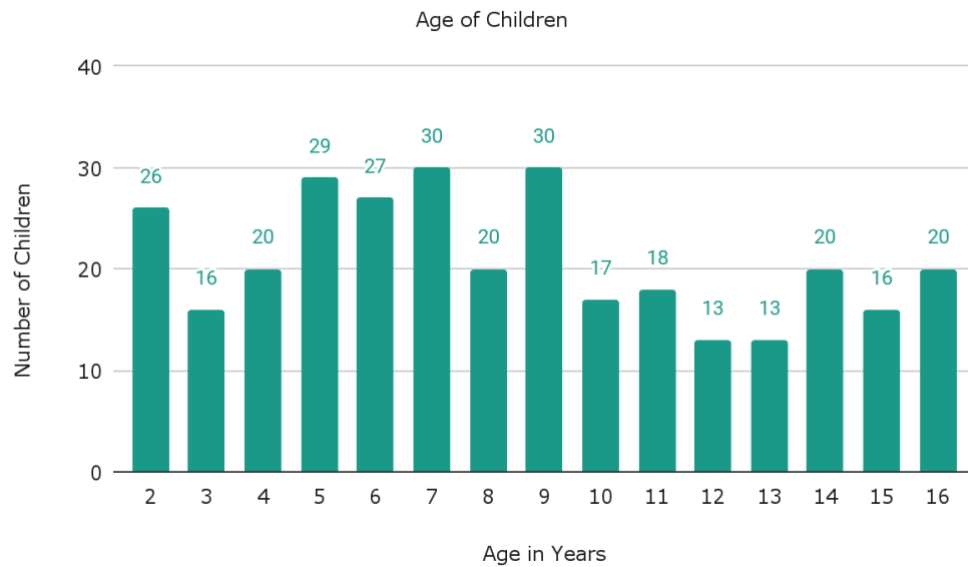
*Years in Canada*

Language	Years in Canada				
	Less Than Two	Two to Five	Five to Seven	Seven to Ten	More Than Ten
Spanish (153)	10 (6.54%)	42 (27.45%)	16 (10.46%)	18 (11.76%)	67 (43.79%)
Portuguese (162)	8 (4.948%)	38 (23.46%)	33 (20.37%)	29 (17.90%)	54 (33.33%)
Total (315)	18 (5.71%)	80 (25.40%)	49 (15.56%)	47 (14.92%)	121 (38.41%)

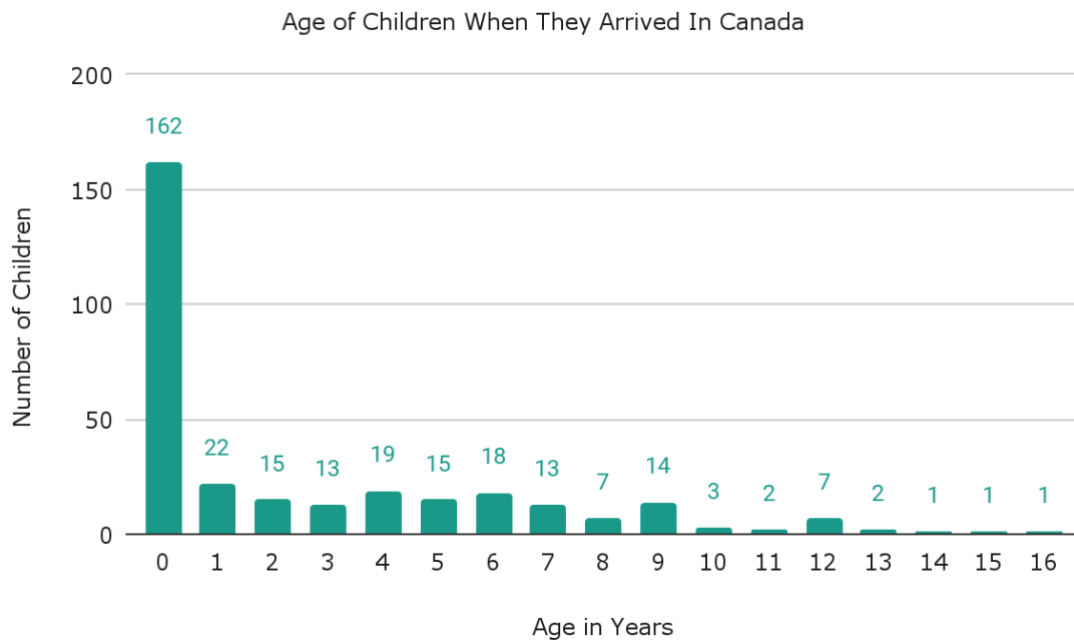
The ages of their children ranged from two to 16 years old, with between 13 and 30 children represented at each age, as shown in Figure 3.

<sup>22</sup> Although this would have gone beyond the scope of this study, it is important to recognize this as a limitation for potential future analysis of the data.



**Figure 3***Age of Children*

Parents were also asked how old their children were when they arrived in Canada or if they were born in the country. Just over half of the parents (162, 51.43%) said that their child was either less than one year when they arrived or that they were born in Canada, as shown in Figure 4.

**Figure 4***Age of Children When They Arrived in Canada*

The remaining children all arrived at various ages, including five (1.59%) who arrived in Canada as teenagers. The ages of the children when they arrived in Canada and at the time of data collection are further broken down by HL in Table 11 below, along with the percentages these figures represent of the total number of children.

**Table 11***Age of Children*

Language	Age in Years																
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Age at the Time of Data Collection																	
Spanish (153)	-	-	11 (7.19%)	4 (2.61%)	9 (5.88%)	15 (9.80%)	9 (5.88%)	15 (9.80%)	10 (6.54%)	14 (9.15%)	6 (3.92%)	12 (7.84%)	6 (3.92%)	7 (4.58%)	13 (8.50%)	8 (5.23%)	14 (9.15%)
Portuguese (162)	-	-	15 (9.26%)	12 (7.41%)	11 (6.79%)	14 (8.64%)	18 (11.11%)	15 (9.26%)	10 (6.17%)	16 (9.88%)	11 (6.79%)	6 (3.70%)	7 (4.32%)	6 (3.70%)	7 (4.32%)	8 (4.94%)	6 (3.70%)
Total (315)	-	-	26 (8.28%)	16 (5.09%)	20 (6.37%)	29 (9.24%)	27 (8.59%)	30 (9.55%)	20 (6.37%)	30 (9.55%)	17 (5.41%)	18 (5.74%)	13 (4.14%)	13 (4.14%)	20 (6.38%)	16 (5.10%)	20 (6.38%)
Age When Arrived in Canada																	
Spanish (153)	79 (51.63%)	7 (4.58%)	8 (5.23%)	4 (2.61%)	9 (5.88%)	6 (3.92%)	8 (5.23%)	9 (5.88%)	6 (3.92%)	8 (5.23%)	1 (0.65%)	2 (1.31%)	4 (2.61%)	1 (1.13%)	0 (0.00%)	1 (1.13%)	0 (0.00%)
Portuguese (162)	83 (51.23%)	15 (9.26%)	7 (4.32%)	9 (5.56%)	10 (6.17%)	9 (5.56%)	10 (6.17%)	4 (2.47%)	1 (0.62%)	6 (3.70%)	2 (1.23%)	0 (0.00%)	3 (1.85%)	1 (0.62%)	1 (0.62%)	0 (0.00%)	1 (0.62%)
Total (315)	162 (51.43%)	22 (7.00%)	15 (4.78%)	13 (4.14%)	19 (6.05%)	15 (4.77%)	18 (5.73%)	13 (4.15%)	7 (2.23%)	14 (4.46%)	3 (0.95%)	2 (0.64%)	7 (2.23%)	2 (0.64%)	1 (0.32%)	1 (0.32%)	1 (0.32%)

### 3.5.1 Reported Linguistic Environment

The parents reported living in various linguistic areas of Canada. Rather than asking for the geographical location of the parents (i.e., the city or province), they were instead asked to provide the principal language(s) of the area they lived in. This was done as it was felt that it would provide a better idea of the OLs they are exposed to, or feel exposed to, as some cities or areas have large areas in which the ML can be considered the MinL, such as Montreal, Quebec, or where the MinL is used more frequently, as can be seen in some areas of Ontario, for example. This was also done in order to group the parents more easily by their reported linguistic environment.

As shown in Table 12, 140 (44.64%) of the parents reported to be from French-dominant areas, with 85 (26.98%) reporting their areas are French and 55 (17.46%) reporting they are mostly French with some English.

**Table 12**

*Reported Linguistic Environments of the Parents*

Number of Parents (315)	Principal Language	Perceived Status of French	Perceived Status of English
85 (26.98%)	French	Majority	Minority
55 (17.46%)	Mostly French, some English	Majority	Minority
50 (15.87%)	French and English	Majority	Majority
59 (18.73%)	Mostly English, some French	Minority	Majority
66 (20.95%)	English	Minority	Majority

Another 125 (39.78%) are from English-dominant areas, with 66 (20.95%) reporting their areas are English and 59 (18.73%) reporting they are mostly French with some English. The remaining 50 (15.87%) report living in areas that are equally French and English.

When looking at these figures in terms of generally monolingual or bilingual environments and the perceived general status of the OLs being MLs or MinLs within them, 151 (47.93%) reported living in monolingual environments with one ML. Of the 114 (36.19%) that reported living in non-equal bilingual environments, 55 (17.46%) reported living in areas in which French is the ML and English is the MinL, and 59 (18.73%) in areas in which English is the ML and French is the MinL. The remaining 50 (15.87%) would be considered to be living in generally equal-bilingual environments with double-MLs. These findings are important as they not only provide a better understanding of the participant's OL exposure, but because they also form the independent variable for the results in Chapter 4, section 4.5.2.3. regarding the parent's choice of education in the OLs.

### **3.5.2 Reported Language Abilities**

In order to get an idea of the language abilities of the parents, their children, and the other parent, when applicable, they were asked to provide their speaking and comprehension abilities in their HL as well as the two OLs, using Likert scales ranging from "*I/they don't speak/understand anything*" to "*I/they speak/understand perfectly*". As noted, reported language abilities, as with reported language use, are not a completely accurate measurement; however, they are the most available measurement for this type of study. This is especially important to keep in mind when it comes to the reported language abilities of their children and of the other parent (Hultstijn, 2012; Roberts, 2021; Tomoschuk, Ferreira, & Gollan, 2018).

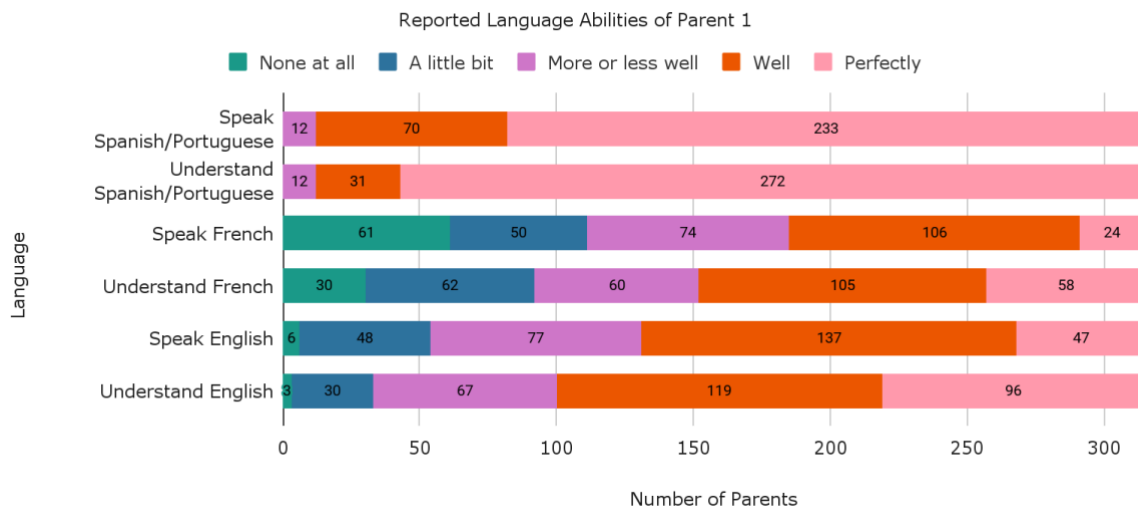
As will be shown in the following subsections, there is an overall trend for a larger number of parents to report that they, the other parent, and/or their children understand a language at a higher level than they reportedly speak it. These findings are first shown for Parent 1, followed by Parent 2 and then the children.

### 3.5.2.1 Reported Language Abilities of Parent 1<sup>23</sup>

When looking at the reported language abilities of the parents (Parent 1), 233 (73.97%) said that they speak the HL at a native or near-native level, as shown in Figure 5, followed by 70 (22.22%) who said they speak it well, and 12 (3.81%) who said they speak it more or less well. Regarding how well they understand the HL, 272 (86.35%) said they understand it perfectly, 31 (9.84%) said they understand it well, and 12 (3.81%) said they understand it more or less well.

**Figure 5**

*Reported Language Abilities of Parent 1*



The reported language abilities of Parent 1 are also shown in Table 13 and further broken down by each HL.

<sup>23</sup>As mentioned, it is important to note that these are reported language abilities as perceived by the parents for themselves, the second parent, and their children, and therefore cannot be used to draw any concrete conclusions.

**Table 13***Reported Language Abilities of Parent 1*

Language	Reported Language Abilities				
	None at all	A little bit	More or less well	Well	Perfectly
Speak Spanish (153)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	6 (3.92%)	47 (30.72%)	100 (65.36%)
Speak Portuguese (162)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	6 (3.70%)	23 (14.20%)	133 (82.10%)
Total (315)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	12 (3.81%)	70 (22.22%)	233 (73.97%)
Understand Spanish (153)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	6 (3.92%)	23 (15.03%)	124 (81.05%)
Understand Portuguese (162)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	6 (3.70%)	8 (4.94%)	148 (91.36%)
Total (315)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	12 (3.81%)	31 (9.84%)	272 (86.35%)
Speak French (315)	61 (19.37%)	50 (15.87%)	74 (23.49%)	106 (33.65%)	24 (7.62%)
Understand French (315)	30 (9.52%)	62 (19.68%)	60 (19.05%)	105 (33.33%)	58 (18.41%)
Speak English (315)	6 (1.90%)	48 (15.24%)	77 (24.44%)	137 (43.49%)	47 (14.92%)
Understand English (315)	3 (0.95%)	30 (9.52%)	67 (21.27%)	119 (37.78%)	96 (30.47%)

As for the OLs, 24 (7.62%) said they speak French at a native or near-native level and 58 (18.41%) said they understand it at this level, while 47 (14.92%) said they speak English at a native or near-native level and 96 (30.48%) said they understand it at this level as well.

Of the 315 parents, 55 (17.46%) reported that they speak more than one language at a native or near-native level: 12 (3.81%, two SSP and 10 PSP) reported they spoke the HL and

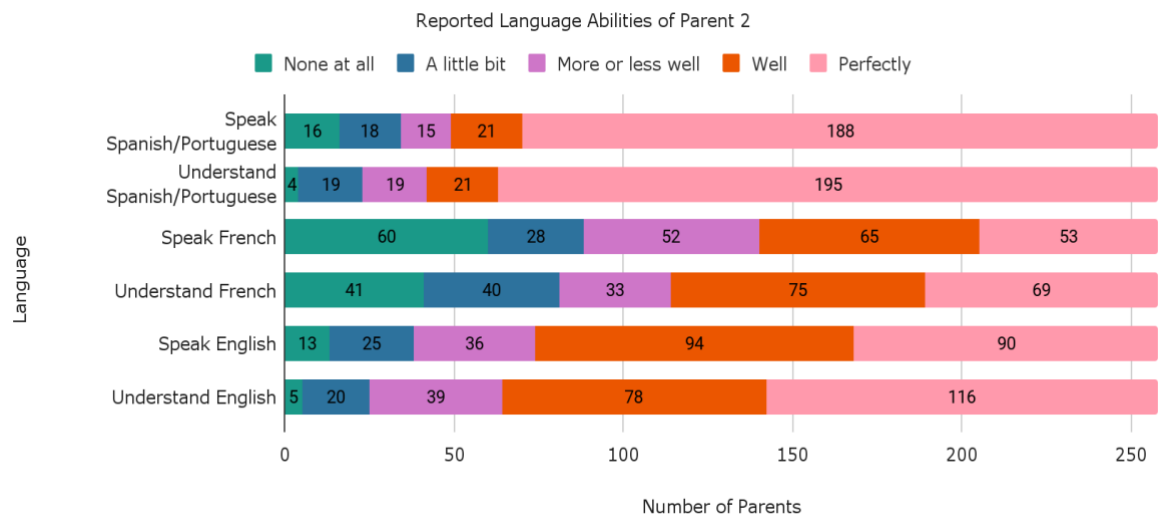
French; 34 (10.79%, 17 SSP and 17 PSP) reported they spoke the HL and English; and nine (2.86%, two SSP and seven PSP) reported they spoke the HL and both of the OLs.

As one of the participant requirements was that they were native speakers of the HL, none of the parents reported that they were native or near-native speakers of the OLs but not the HL, although, as shown above, many did report that they felt that they did not speak the HL at this level, but rather well or more or less well. This language attrition of the parents is discussed in Chapter 5.

### **3.5.2.2 Reported Language Abilities of Parent 2**

As mentioned, 258 parents said their children also had another parent who spoke regularly to them. Of these, 188 (72.87%) were reported to speak the HL at a native or near-native level, and 195 (75.58%) were reported to understand the HL at this level as well (70 by the SSP and 125 by the PSP), as shown in Figure 6 below and further broken down by HL in Table 14. These numbers show that both parents in 72.87% of these two-parent families are native or near-native speakers of the HLs (accounting for a total 59.68% of the 315 families under investigation). As an additional 21 (8.14%) were reported to speak and/or understand them well, the number of home environments in which the HL is used between the two parents on a highly-frequent basis has the potential to reach 209 (81.01%) of the 258 families. On the other hand, 16 (6.20%) reported that the other parent doesn't know any of the HL, and 18 (6.98%) reported that they only knew a little bit, indicating that these sets of parents would most likely not use the HL together. These figures are further outlined in Chapter 4 when looking at the HL use of the families.



**Figure 6***Reported Language Abilities of Parent 2*

**Table 14***Reported Language Abilities of Parent 2*

Language	Reported Language Abilities				
	None at all	A little bit	More or less well	Well	Perfectly
Speak Spanish (105)	6 (5.71%)	12 (11.43%)	10 (9.52%)	10 (9.52%)	67 (63.81%)
Speak Portuguese (153)	10 (6.54%)	6 (3.92%)	5 (4.76%)	11 (10.48%)	121 (79.08%)
Total (258)	16 (6.20%)	18 (6.98%)	15 (5.81%)	21 (8.14%)	188 (72.87%)
Understand Spanish (105)	1 (0.95%)	9 (8.57%)	14 (13.33%)	11 (10.48%)	70 (66.67%)
Understand Portuguese (153)	3 (1.96%)	10 (6.54%)	5 (3.27%)	10 (6.54%)	125 (81.70%)
Total (258)	4 (1.55%)	19 (7.36%)	19 (7.36%)	21 (8.14%)	195 (75.58%)
Speak French (258)	60 (23.26%)	28 (10.85%)	52 (20.16%)	65 (25.19%)	53 (20.54%)
Understand French (258)	41 (15.89%)	40 (15.50%)	33 (12.79%)	75 (29.07%)	69 (26.74%)
Speak English (258)	13 (5.04%)	25 (9.69%)	36 (13.95%)	94 (36.43%)	90 (34.88%)
Understand English (258)	5 (1.94%)	20 (7.75%)	39 (15.12%)	78 (30.23%)	116 (44.96%)

The second parent's reported abilities in the OLs included 53 (20.54%) who speak and 69 (26.74%) who understand French at a native level, and 90 (34.88%) who speak and 116 (44.96%) who understand English at a native level. Of the 258, 78 (30.23%) were reported to speak more than one language at a native level: eight (two SSP and six PSP; 3.10%) were reported to speak the HL and French; 31 (10 SSP and 21 PSP; 12.02%) were reported to speak the HL and English; and 24 (10 SSP and 14 PSP; 9.30%) were reported to

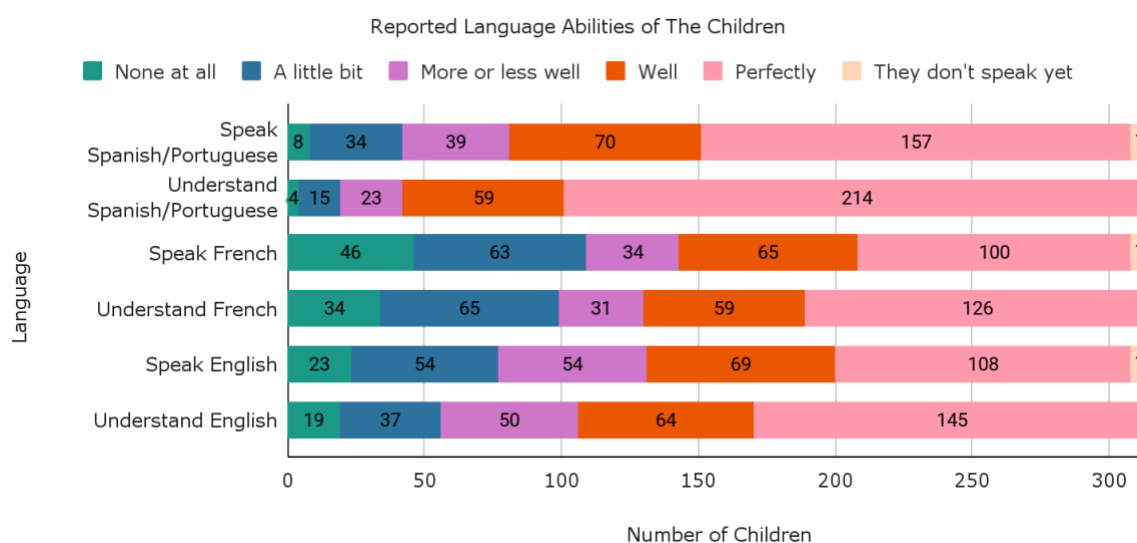
speak both French and English. The remaining 15 (two SSP and 13 PSP; 5.81%) were reported to speak the HL and both of the OLs.

### 3.5.2.3 Reported Language Abilities of the Children

The parents were also asked to report how well their children speak and understand for a child their age. When looking at the reported language abilities of the children in the HL, seven (2.22%) parents said that their children do not speak yet, but they do, however, understand the HL to varying extents. As shown in Figure 7, 157 parents (49.84%) said that their children spoke the HLs at a native or near-native level (for their age), while 214 (67.94%) were reported to understand the languages at a native or near-native level.

**Figure 7**

#### *Reported Language Abilities of the Children*



Of the 157 parents who said that their children spoke the HLs at a native or near-native level, 68 were SSP and 89 were PSP, as shown in Table 15. The percentages of the total children these numbers represent are also shown, as well as the percentages of the children for each HL.

**Table 15***Reported Language Abilities of the Children*

Language	Reported Language Abilities					
	They do not speak yet	None at all	A little bit	More or less well	Well	Perfectly
Speak Spanish (153)	2 (1.31%)	6 (3.92%)	16 (10.46%)	26 (16.99%)	35 (22.88%)	68 (44.44%)
Speak Portuguese (162)	5 (3.09%)	2 (1.23%)	18 (11.11%)	13 (8.02%)	35 (21.60%)	89 (54.94%)
Total (315)	7 (2.22%)	8 (2.54%)	34 (10.79%)	39 (12.38%)	70 (22.22%)	157 (49.84%)
Understand Spanish (153)	-	2 (1.31%)	9 (5.92%)	16 (10.53%)	29 (19.08%)	97 (63.82%)
Understand Portuguese (162)	-	2 (1.23%)	6 (3.70%)	7 (4.32%)	30 (18.52%)	117 (72.22%)
Total (315)	-	4 (1.27%)	15 (4.76%)	23 (7.30%)	59 (18.73%)	214 (67.94%)
Speak French (315)	7 (2.22%)	46 (14.60%)	63 (20.00%)	34 (10.79%)	65 (20.63%)	100 (31.45%)
Understand French (315)	-	34 (10.79%)	65 (20.63%)	31 (9.84%)	59 (18.73%)	126 (40.00%)
Speak English (315)	7 (2.22%)	23 (7.30%)	54 (17.14%)	54 (17.14%)	69 (21.90%)	108 (34.29%)
Understand English (315)	-	19 (6.03%)	37 (11.75%)	50 (15.87%)	64 (20.32%)	145 (46.03%)

On the other hand, eight (2.54%, six SSP and two PSP) parents reported that their children do not speak HL at all and four (1.27%, two SSP and two PSP) reported that they also do not understand the HL.

The children's reported abilities in the OLs included 100 (31.75%) who speak and 126 (40.00%) who understand French at a native level, and 108 (34.29%) who speak and 145 (46.03%) who understand English at a native level. Of the 315 children under investigation,

113 (35.87%) were reported to speak more than one language at a native level; 47 (14.92%, 20 SSP and 27 PSP) were reported to speak the HL and French; 31 (9.84%, 10 SSP and 21 PSP) were reported to speak the HL and English; and 11 (3.49%, eight SSP and three PSP) were reported to speak both French and English, but not in the HL. The remaining 24 (7.62%, 10 SSP and 14 PSP) were reported to speak the HL and both of the OLs at native or near-native levels.

### **3.6 Data Analysis**

At the end of the intended data collection period, the data from the completed questionnaires was downloaded and all qualitative (i.e., long, open-text) answers were removed in order for the quantitative data to be analysed using SPSS. Before analysing the data, the quantitative responses were first looked over manually in order to remove any that were incomplete. Owing to the formatting of the questionnaires and the fact that all answers were mandatory, there were no incomplete responses to be removed, however this was done nevertheless to avoid any potential data analysis issues.

A combination of descriptive and inferential statistics from the quantitative data were used to address the research questions, with qualitative responses used to support and discuss these findings. As the research questions are interrelated and lead into one another, the data was analysed in such a way that allowed for the answers of one to lead to the answers of the others. In order to investigate if parental attitudes influence their linguistic practices and decisions (question three), it was first necessary to address questions one and two to determine these attitudes.

In order to answer the first and second research questions, a descriptive analysis was done for the results of the quantitative questions dealing with parental attitudes towards the HLs and OLs (see Appendix H for the specific questionnaire questions related to each

research question/aim). Inferential statistics were then done using SPSS based on these results to determine and categorise the parental attitudes.

After a descriptive analysis was also done on the general family language practices, including the frequencies of HL use, family language norms, parental discourse strategies, and language of schooling, a statistical analysis was done using the parental attitudes determined earlier in order to answer the third research question, and correlation measurements were used to compare the results of the parental attitudes and the reported practices.

For the qualitative data, a thematic analysis was done taking a combination of deductive and inductive approaches based on prior knowledge and research on the topics and emerging trends in the collected data. This analysis was done completely manually.

First, all responses were numbered based on the order in which the questionnaires were submitted. For example, responses from the final participant to fill out the Spanish questionnaire were labelled as *153e* and the responses from the final participant to fill out the Portuguese questionnaire were labelled as *162p*. This was done so that the written answers could be cross-referenced to the quantitative responses for each submission and so that they could be labelled if quoted in the results and/or discussion chapters. The responses were then grouped by their corresponding questions.

Once the responses were labelled and grouped by question, they were carefully read through in order for me to familiarise myself with them. After an initial review, a second reading was done, during which I took notes and particular attention was paid to annotating any patterns that emerged, as per Levon (2014, p. 212). Key words such as *Spanish (español)*, *Portuguese (português)*, *French (francés, francês)*, *English (inglés, inglês)*, *language (lengua, língua)*, *culture (cultura)*, *only (solo, solamente, só, somente)*, *home (casa)*, *family*

(*familia, familia*), *grandparents (abuelos, avós)*, etc. were used to identify the most relevant responses.

Within each group of responses, general themes were then identified and colour-coded. For example, when analysing the responses to family language norms, recurring patterns included only using the HL at home, not using the HL around non-speakers out of courtesy, using the OLs only when helping with homework, the lack of need for rules as the children naturally speak the HL, et cetera. After this, the most relevant responses were then selected to be used when reporting the quantitative responses to their corresponding questions, as well as supporting other quantitative responses they were related to. Additionally, the frequency in which the particular themes were found was also noted and this data was aggregated.

### **3.7 Methodological Limitations**

The primary methodological limitations of this study related to two main areas: (i) survey errors, including *self-selection bias*, *under-coverage*, and *non-response*; and (ii) self-reported data as it applies to language use and competencies.

#### **3.7.1 Methodological Limitations: Survey Errors**

The methodological limitations of this study related to survey errors are based on Bethlehem's (2009, 2010) frequently-cited work on the research tool, as well as Andrade (2020) and Lee (2011). As noted by Bethlehem, "one of the main objectives of a sample survey is to compute estimates of population characteristics. Such estimates will never be exactly equal to the population characteristics. There will always be some error" (2010, p. 163). As such, the main methodological issues related to the use of online surveys as noted by Bethlehem (2010) that apply to this study are *self-selection bias*, *under-coverage*, and *non-response*.

The most obvious concern when using online surveys, as with most research tools, is that the participants cannot represent the entire population under investigation. This leads to *under-coverage* and *self-selection bias*, sampling errors that “occur[s] due to the fact that some parts of the population cannot be included in the sample” (Lee, 2011, p. 7), and that those individuals who choose to participate in a study are likely to have common characteristics and/or strong opinions when compared to those who choose not to participate. Although *self-selection bias* may not have an influence on the questions regarding French and English, this may have caused an over-representation of SSP and PSP with strong opinions about maintaining the languages in Canada.

As there was no control over the complete participation selection process for this study nor the makeup of the participants, it can be said to include a biased sample with nonprobability sampling (Hult, 2010). Although this is indeed true, it should be noted that the final number of participants is considered to be substantial, especially when compared to similar studies involving similar participant pools (Carlota, 2021; DeMelo, 2014; Guardado, 2002; Kheirkhah, 2016; Makarova, Terekhova & Mousavi, 2019, among others)

As noted by Bethlehem (2010), online surveys have a potential of high non-response rates for various reasons, including technical issues or frustrations related to the user’s device, software, or Internet connection that often results in respondents discontinuing the completion of the questionnaire. Although the questionnaires used for this study were designed with simplicity in mind (there were no images or videos used, save the introduction image, and the most basic text and designs were used) in an attempt to limit these issues, they could have still been a factor in the drop-off rates mentioned above. As noted in the literature on online surveys (Andrade, 2020; Bethlehem 2010; Lee, 2011), younger individuals and those with high levels of education have more access to the Internet than the elderly and those with low levels of education, potentially causing some groups to be under-represented, and



this could lead to further biases. Although 94% of the Canadian population have household Internet access and 80% have a mobile data plan for personal use (Statistics Canada, 2021), this under-coverage due to Internet access must still be taken into consideration for this study. Furthermore, although all quantitative questions were required, all qualitative questions (i.e., those with open-text answers) were not, which led to the issue of *non-response* in some cases. Although these questions were seen as valuable to provide additional information, they did not, however, have an effect on the quantitative data collected nor their results.

### **3.7.2 Methodological Limitations: Self-Reported Data**

In addition to the limitations related to the data collection tools, it is important to note the methodological limitations related to self-reported data, particularly language use and abilities. As noted in Juvonen et al. (2020, pg. 43) and De Houwer (2009), data collected on language use via self-reported methods cannot be considered objectively or to be completely reliable as it may differ from the actual reality of the participants. This may be due to consciously or subconsciously overestimating or underestimating language use and abilities, or, as discussed by Hult (2014), due to the participants' conscious or subconscious desires to be seen as insiders to particular linguistic groups. This is also known as *impression management* (Messerschmidt, 1981; Bromley, 1993), as “choosing to use one language over another is a way of deploying semiotic resources to mediate expectations about who one is” (Goffman, 1959, p. 24). Although the questionnaire used in this study was anonymous (unless the participants willingly provided an email address at the end), this anonymity does not remove the social habit of putting on “performance which regularly functions in a general or fixed fashion to define the situation for those who observe the performance” (Goffman, 1959, p. 22). Furthermore, in addition to language use and abilities, discrepancies between parent-described family language policies and their actual practices have been found in the

literature (Palviainen & Boyd, 2013; Schwartz, 2008, among others). This was taken into consideration when reporting and discussing the results.

Despite these limitations, this study nevertheless provides insights into how SSP and PSP in Canada view both the HLs and the OLs and can serve as a basis for future research on the topic.

### **3.8 Summary**

This chapter outlined the objectives of this study, as well as the methodology used and the data to which it was applied. An overview of this study was given, including the research questions, followed by the participant requirements. Information on the participants, their self-reported language abilities, and their linguistic environment was then provided. Following this, a description of the research tool used was given, including a comprehensive explanation of the design, creation, review, and procedure of the questionnaires. The procedure of the analysis of the data was outlined, including a description of the process of analysing both the quantitative and qualitative data collected. Finally, the methodological limitations of the study were acknowledged and discussed. The results found by applying the aforementioned methodology to the data discussed are presented in the following chapter.

## Chapter 4: Results

### 4.1 Overview

This chapter reports on the qualitative and quantitative<sup>24</sup> results from the questionnaire. It is organised by research question and the results pertaining to each<sup>25</sup>. First, the results related to parental attitudes towards the HLs and their maintenance will be presented. The results related to the parental attitudes towards the OLs<sup>26</sup>, French and English, will then be presented, including the relative overall findings as well as the findings by linguistic environment. Finally, the results discussed in the first two sections are then used to present and discuss the findings related to language socialisation in the subsequent two sections on general family language practices and the children's language of education.

As this study was not meant to compare the SSP and PSP, the overall results from both questionnaires will be presented together. Within these, however, some of the results for the individual HLs will also be presented separately simply out of interest. This was also done to recognize and respect the fact that, although they are often studied or discussed together, these HLs and the various communities and cultures they are connected to are different.

### 4.2 Parental Attitudes Towards the Heritage Language

The first research question focused on the parental attitudes towards the maintenance of Spanish and Portuguese as HLs in Canada. In order to determine these parental attitudes, various parts of the questionnaires were taken into account (see Appendix H for the full list of questions used). The general results of the relevant questions are presented first in this

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<sup>24</sup> In addition to noting the overall qualitative results (i.e., themes) related to the quantitative results, select quotes from the participants are also presented with their corresponding participant codes (e.g. 154p = participant 154 from the Portuguese questionnaire; 32e = participant 32 from the Spanish questionnaire).

<sup>25</sup> The amount of data collected was substantial and could have provided results to many more questions, however only the relevant results related to this study's specific research questions were analysed and presented.

<sup>26</sup> Although they are both considered MLs when compared to the HLs, French and English will be referred to as the Official Languages as their status as the majority or minority language changes depending on the area of the country.

section. These results are then used to determine and categorise the parental attitudes towards HL maintenance.

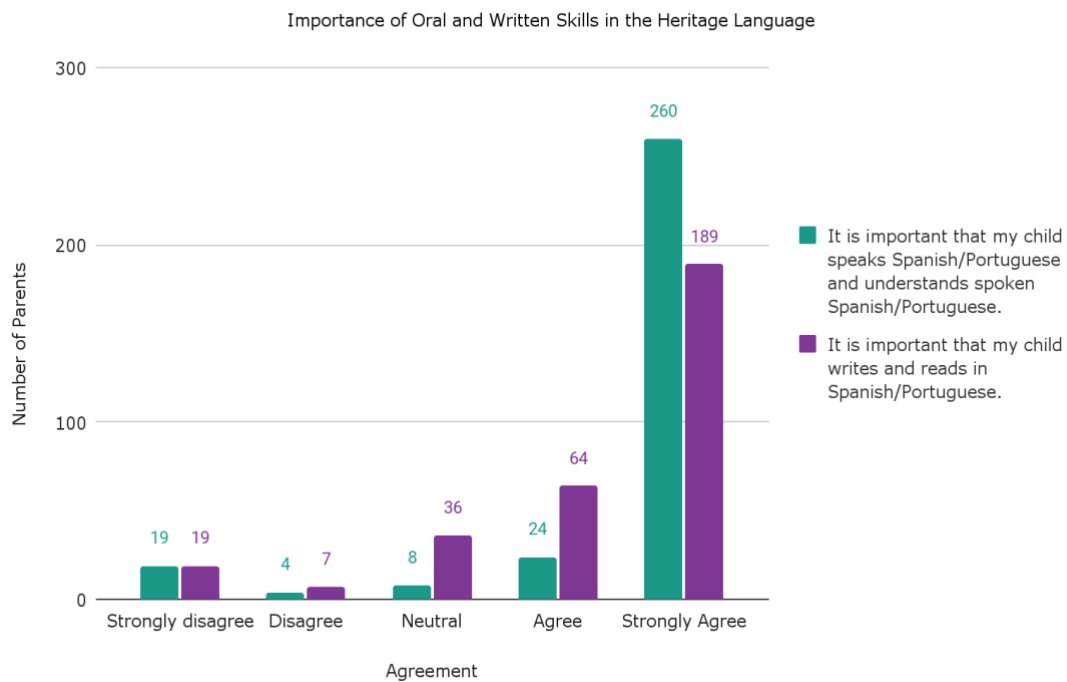
#### **4.2.1 General Results Related to Parental Attitudes Towards the Heritage Languages**

Before determining the parental attitudes, it is first necessary to show the results for the variables used to determine these attitudes. These include the findings related to the importance of their children having oral and written communication skills in their HL, the importance of maintaining the languages in Canada and how important they are for their children's future. They also include the importance of knowing the language to conserve their cultural identity and attending events in the HL. Finally, the findings related to parents' opinions on having their children take HL classes and courses taught in the HL will be presented.

##### **4.2.1.1 The Importance of Communication Skills in the Heritage Language**

After providing their children's language abilities, the parents were asked to rate their agreement on the importance of their children's oral (speaking and understanding) and written (reading and writing) communication skills in the HL.

Looking at both HLs together, the majority of parents said they strongly agreed that it was important for their child to have both oral (82.54%) and written (60.00%) communication skills in the HL, while 6.03% said they strongly disagreed with both, as shown in Figure 8.

**Figure 8***Importance of Oral and Written Communication Skills in the Heritage Language*

Overall, the parents stated that they agreed that it was important to have both sets of skills; however, there was a higher rating of agreement for oral skills compared to written skills. Only one parent commented on this difference stating, “*se depender de mim, falarão sempre português, não precisam ler, mas se aprenderem tb [sic] será ótimo*” [if it’s up to me, they’ll always speak Portuguese, they don’t need to read, but if they learn as well, it’ll be great] (54p).

These results are also shown below in Table 16 and Table 17, along with the separate findings from the SSP and PSP.

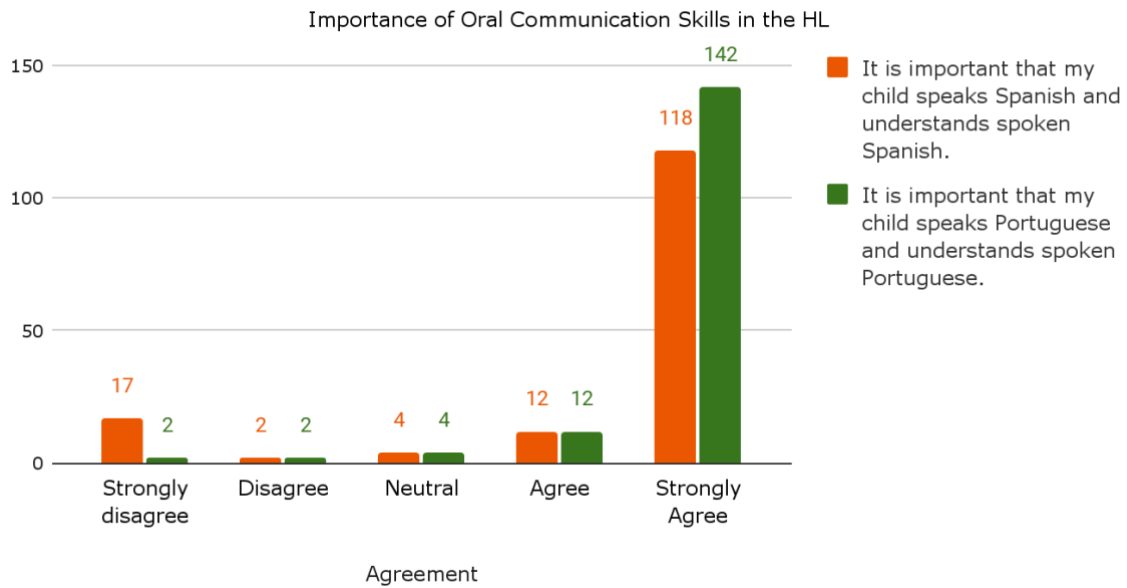
**Table 16***Importance of Oral Communication Skills in the Heritage Language*

Language	Agreement				
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
Spanish (153)	17 (11.11%)	2 (1.31%)	4 (2.61%)	12 (7.84%)	118 (77.12%)
Portuguese (162)	2 (1.23%)	2 (1.23%)	4 (2.47%)	12 (7.40%)	142 (87.65%)
Total (315)	19 (6.03%)	4 (1.27%)	8 (2.54%)	24 (7.62%)	260 (82.54%)

**Table 17***Importance of Written Communication Skills in the Heritage Language*

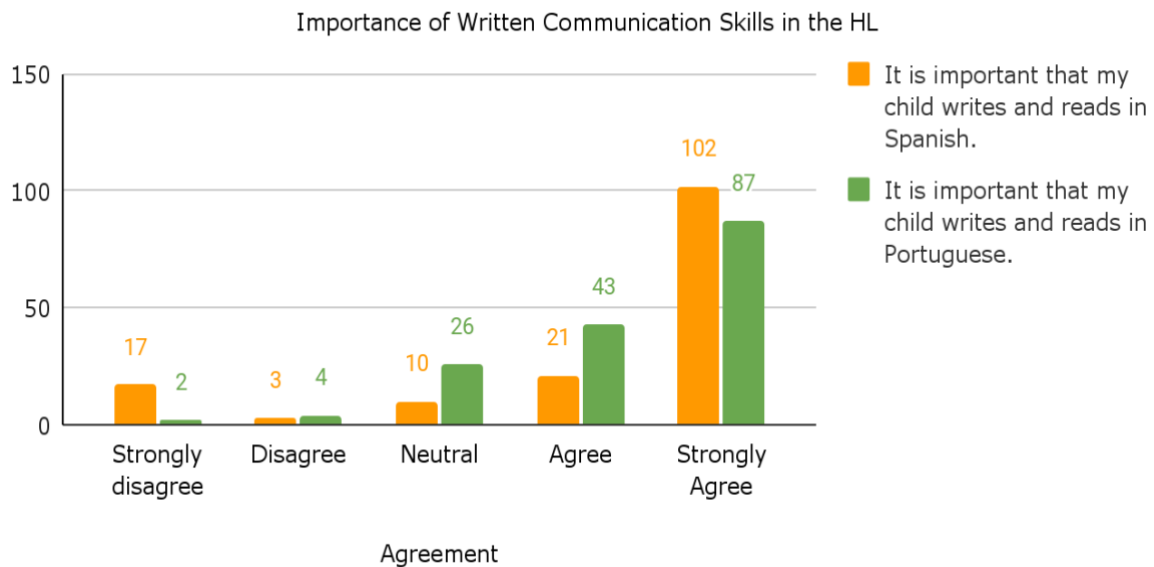
Language	Agreement				
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
Spanish (153)	17 (11.11%)	3 (1.96%)	10 (6.55%)	21 (13.73%)	102 (66.67%)
Portuguese (162)	2 (1.23%)	4 (2.47%)	26 (16.05%)	43 (26.54%)	87 (53.70%)
Total (315)	19 (6.03%)	7 (2.22%)	36 (11.43%)	64 (20.32%)	189 (60.00%)

Separating these sets of skills, when looking at the findings related to their children speaking and understanding the HL, there was a difference in the SPP and the PSP when it came to those who strongly agreed and those who strongly disagreed, shown in Figure 9.

**Figure 9***Importance of Oral Communication Skills by Language*

PSP showed a higher importance to their children having oral skills in the HL than SSP, with only 1.23% strongly disagreeing and 87.65% strongly agreeing and 11.11% of SSP strongly disagreeing and 77.12% strongly agreeing. The remaining ratings were the same.

Also looking at written communication skills separated by HL, as shown in Figure 10 below, the majority of SSP (80.40%) agreed (13.73%) and strongly agreed (66.67%), and, similarly, 80.24% of PSP agreed (26.54%) and strongly agreed (53.70%) that these skills are important.

**Figure 10***Importance of Written Communication Skills by Language*

As with oral communication skills, fewer PSP (1.23%) than SSP (11.11%) strongly disagreed that they were important. It is of interest to note that those parents in both HLs who strongly disagreed with the importance of oral communication skills were also those who strongly disagreed with the importance of written communication skills.

When discussing their children having or developing these skills, many parents noted their importance:

**(74p)** *Achamos importante que ela aprenda a falar bem e também a ler e escrever quando estiver mais velha.* [We think it is important for her to learn to speak well and also to read and write when she is older.]

**(90p)** *Temos muito orgulho da nossa filha saber ler e escrever em português e falar sem sotaque.* [We are very proud that our daughter can read and write in Portuguese and speak without an accent.]

Furthermore, many noted that they try to teach and encourage their children to read and write in their HL:



**(83e)** *Trato de enseñarle a leer en español.* [I try to teach them to read in Spanish.]

**(33p)** *...comecei a dar revistinhas em quadrinhos pra ele em portugues.* [...I started to give him comic books to read in Portuguese.]

**(34e)** *...enseñarle a leer y escribir un poco en español.* [...teach them to read and write a bit in Spanish]

**(65p)** *Encorajo eles a escreverem em português.* [I encourage them to write in Portuguese.]

When commenting on how they do this, a few parents mentioned that they write to each other stating "*le escribo y me escribe cartas en español*" [I write to him and he writes me letters in Spanish] (130e) and "*nos escribimos mensajes de texto y corrijo la ortografía*" [we text each other and I correct their spelling] (147e). Going beyond that, another parent noted that they use their child's homework in their second OL as an opportunity to help with their HL development:

**(19p)** *Quando fazem os deveres de casa de francês falo da diferença ou da semelhança com o português e ensino a maneira correta de escrever palavras ou conjugar verbo.* [When they do their French homework, I talk about the difference or similarity in Portuguese and teach them the correct way to write words or conjugate verbs.]

While many noted that they taught or are teaching their children to read and write or that they would like for their child to eventually attend "*ateliês de leitura em português*" [reading workshops in Portuguese] (69p), one parent did mention they did not teach these skills in their HL because they felt it was more important for their child to master these skills in their OL first:

**(36e)** *Nunca le enseñé formalmente a leer y escribir nuestra lengua porque debía concentrarse en dominar los primeros años la lectoescritura francesa.* [I

never formally taught him to read and write our language because he had to concentrate on mastering French literacy in the early years.]

Finally, going beyond teaching their children to read and write in general, a few parents also noted that they make a point of attempting to expand their vocabulary by teaching uncommon words as well as words, idioms, and slang that have multiple or non-literal meanings or meanings that vary by dialect:

**(149e)** *...explicar el significado de ciertas frases cuya significación literal no corresponde a lo mismo. [...explain the meaning of certain phrases whose literal meanings are not the same.]*

**(111e)** *Trato de usar palabras no tan comunes para que ella me pregunte su significado. [I try to use words that are not so common so she asks me what they mean.]*

**(36e)** *...cuando escucha o lee alguna palabra en español que es diferente por la región donde se utiliza o no conoce, le doy el significado y le doy ejemplos de cómo y cuándo utilizarlo. También le enseñamos los modismos de nuestra región, dichos y refranes para que entienda el argot popular. [...when he hears or reads a word in Spanish that is different from the region where it is used or that he doesn't know, I tell him the meaning and I give him examples of how and when to use it. We also teach him the idioms of our region, expressions and sayings so that he understands the slang.]*

These results show that although there was a small percentage of parents who don't think it is important for their children to have oral and written communication skills in their HL, the majority generally felt it was important for them to not only learn to speak and understand the HLs, but to read and write as well. Following the importance of having communication skills in the HL, parents were asked questions related to the importance of

maintaining the HLs in Canada overall, the results of which are presented in the following section.

#### 4.2.1.2 The Importance of Maintaining the Heritage Language in Canada

In addition to the importance of their children having oral and written communication skills in the HL, parents were also asked if they felt it is important to maintain the HL in Canada in general. Only one parent (0.32%) said that it was not important at all, compared to 76.19% who said it was very important, as shown in Table 18.

**Table 18**

*Importance of Maintaining the Heritage Language in Canada*

Language	Importance Rating				
	Not Important At All	Not Really Important	Neutral	Important	Very Important
Spanish (153)	0 (0.00%)	3 (1.96%)	12 (7.84%)	16 (10.46%)	122 (79.74%)
Portuguese (162)	1 (0.62%)	1 (0.62%)	11 (6.79%)	31 (19.14%)	118 (72.84%)
Total (315)	1 (0.32%)	4 (1.27%)	23 (7.30%)	47 (14.92%)	240 (76.19%)

From the thematic analysis, the parents' reasons for saying it was important for them to maintain their HL in Canada were generally related to three themes: (i) their personal relationship with their children; (ii) for their children to be able to communicate with their family members; and (iii) passing on their culture (further discussed in section 4.2.1.4).

The first theme of the importance of maintaining their language with their children because it is part of their personal and emotional relationship with them was noted by many parents as it is "*a língua que transmite o afeto*" [the language that conveys affection] (133p) and "*a língua que me expresso totalmente*" [the language in which I express myself completely] (54p).

While one parent noted that “*mi mejor llegado a mis hijos es mi lengua maternal*” [the best way to connect with my children is through my mother tongue] (23e), another also noted that this is bidirectional, stating that for their son, their HL “*é a língua do coração, das emoções dele*” [is the language of the heart, of his emotions] (87p). Emphasising this personal relationship even more, one parent shared that the HL “*é nosso ‘código secreto’, nosso poder e nossa identidade enquanto família brasileira*” [is our ‘secret code’, our power and our identity as a Brazilian family] (81p). Furthermore, another parent noted that “*es muy importante mantener el español independiente si es solo un padre el que habla este idioma* [it is very important to maintain Spanish even if it is only one parent who speaks this language] as both parents “*son parte de la vida del hijo*” [are part of their child’s life] (84e), further highlighting the emotional connection between each parent’s language and their relationship with their children.

The second theme involved maintaining their language in order for their children to be able to communicate with their family members, particularly grandparents, in their home countries:

**(118p)** *Acho muito importante manter o português na nossa família porque será a principal língua usada com família e amigos no Brasil.* [I think it is very important to keep Portuguese in our family because it will be the main language used with family and friends in Brazil.]

**(104p)** *Acho super importante preservar e manter a língua e pela comunicação com os familiares brasileiros.* [I think it is super important to preserve and maintain the language and communication with Brazilian family members.]

**(98p)** *Pra nós é muito importante que ele fale português pra ter um vínculo com a família dele... Se nossos filhos não falarem português eles não terão nenhum relacionamento com nossos familiares.* [For us it is very important that he

speaks Portuguese to have a bond with his family... If our children do not speak Portuguese, they will not have any relationship with our relatives.]

**(93e)** *Es importante que mi hijo conserve el español para poder comunicarse con sus abuelos.* [It is important for my son to maintain Spanish so that he can communicate with his grandparents.]

**(52e)** *Para nosotros es muy importante para que no pierdan los lazos familiares con sus abuelos, tíos, primos que están en Colombia.* [For us it is very important so that they do not lose family ties with their grandparents, uncles, cousins who are in Colombia.]

One parent stated specifically that this connection with their extended family is the reason that motivates them the most to maintain the language:

**(128p)** *Quero muito que minha filha possa sempre se comunicar com minha família no Brasil e manter vínculos estreitos com os avós, tios, primas que estão por lá. Isso é o que mais me motiva.* [I really want my daughter to be able to always communicate with my family in Brazil and maintain close ties with her grandparents, aunts and uncles, cousins who are there. That's what motivates me the most.]

According to another parent, “*explicar a importância de manter a língua das pessoas da família o ajudou a entender o porque de falar português em casa* [...explaining the importance of keeping the language of family members helped him to understand why we speak Portuguese at home] (29p), while another noted that this connection with their family in Brazil helps her son “*querer manter a língua portuguesa viva* [to want to keep the Portuguese language alive] (109p).

The third theme of maintaining the language in order to maintain their culture and their roots was mentioned by a number of parents:

(114e) *Es la manera de mantener nuestras raíces en este país que nos acogió.* [It is the way to maintain our roots in this country that welcomed us.]

(30e) *Nos parece importante mantener el español... para mantener la cercanía a nuestras raíces.* [We think it is important to keep Spanish... to maintain closeness to our roots.]

(31p) *Eu acho muito importante que os meus filhos continuem a falar português, para manter a nossa identidade cultural e manter as nossas raízes.* [I think it's very important that my children continue to speak Portuguese to maintain our cultural identity and our roots.]

This relation between maintaining the HL as a way to preserve their culture and remember their roots is further presented in section 4.2.1.4 with results directly related to this topic.

Beyond these three general themes found throughout the responses, two additional reasons were given by parents for maintaining their HLs. On the one hand, one parent mentioned that it was important to maintain their language because “*nos permite comunicarnos con otros hispanohablantes y cultivar en otros la curiosidad por conocerlo*” [it allows us to communicate with other Spanish speakers and cultivate in others the curiosity to know it (the language)] (149e), growing their community here in Canada. On the other hand, another parent gave a more practical reason: *Não sabemos se ficaremos para sempre no Canadá. Isso faz com que o aprendizado formal/informal de português seja importante para nossa filha caso retornemos ao Brasil* [We don't know if we will stay in Canada forever. This makes formal/informal learning of Portuguese important for our daughter if we return to Brazil] (34p).

Although there was only one parent who mentioned the importance of maintaining their language in case they leave Canada, this response is important as it can be true for many

HL speakers who are only temporarily living in Canada and whose children need to be able to integrate back into not only the general society, but also the education system of their home country.

When looking at these results by the length of time the parents have been in Canada to see if this made a difference, the mean rating of the importance of maintaining the HLs was 4.68, with very little difference between the groups, as shown in Table 19, as well as between the HLs, save the difference between the SSP and the PSP who had been in Canada for less than two years (a difference of 0.54).

**Table 19**

*Mean Importance Rating of Maintaining the Heritage Language by Years in Canada*

Language	Years in Canada					Total
	Less than 2	2 to 5	5 to 7	7 to 10	More than 10	
Spanish	4.90	4.79	4.94	4.78	4.46	4.77
Portuguese	4.36	4.63	4.79	4.62	4.57	4.59
Total	4.67	4.71	4.84	4.68	4.51	4.68

Similar results were also noted within the qualitative findings; parents who had been in Canada less time than others did not emphasise the importance of maintaining the HLs more than ones who had been here longer and vice versa. While there were no differences nor mentions of their time in Canada having an impact on the importance they gave to maintaining their HLs, one particular comment was notable as it showed that, for this particular participant, neither their length of time in Canada nor the young age at which they arrived, had an impact on their desire for maintaining their language and culture:

**(117p)** *Eu mesma cheguei no Canadá com 11 anos de idade, estou aqui há 37 anos e pra mim, manter minha língua e minha cultura sempre foi uma prioridade!* [I arrived in Canada when I was 11 years old, I have been here for 37

years, and for me, keeping my language and my culture has always been a priority!]

In addition to the importance they gave to maintaining the HLs in Canada in general, parents were also asked if they felt that their HL would help their children be successful in the future, as shown in the next section.

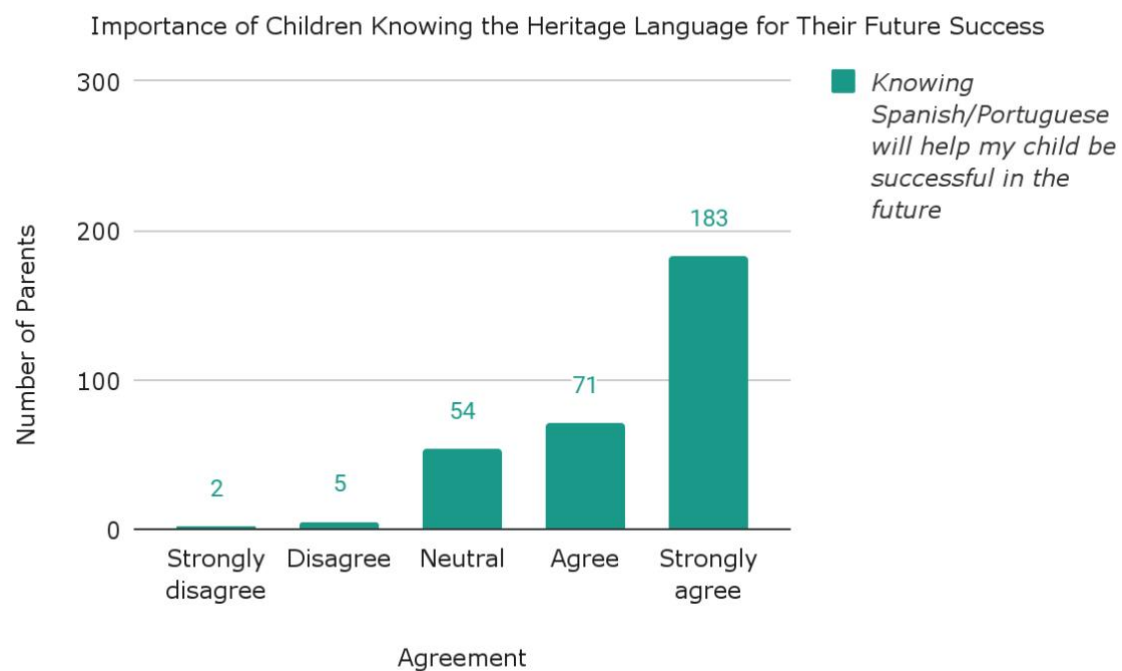
#### 4.2.1.3 The Importance of the Heritage Language for Children's Future Success

Parents were asked to rate their agreement with the statement “*knowing Spanish/Portuguese will help my child be successful in the future*”, with the idea of “success” not being defined and intentionally left subjective.

As shown in Figure 11, the majority of parents (80.64%) said they agreed (22.54%) or strongly agreed (58.10%). Of the remaining parents, 17% were neutral, while 1.59% disagreed and 0.63% strongly disagreed.

**Figure 11**

*Importance of Children Knowing the Heritage Language for Their Future Success*





One of the parents who strongly agreed said that teaching and maintaining the HL “*es una tarea difícil pero de mucho beneficio futuro*” [is a difficult task but one of great future benefit] (49e) for their child, while another noted that speaking their HL will give them “*uma língua a mais no currículo, abrir portas para o futuro e acesso a expansão de conhecimento*” [...an extra language in the curriculum, opening doors to the future and access to expanding knowledge] (140p). This was echoed by a parent who noted the disadvantages of children losing their HL, stating that if they lose it, they will also lose “*la oportunidad de destacarse, tener una mayor competitividad frente a otros y abrirse a un mundo global y diverso*” [the opportunity to stand out, have greater competitiveness against others, and be open to a global and diverse world] (36e).

Two other parents commented on the importance of speaking the HL for their children’s personal growth by allowing them to be able “*entender diferenças e o gosto por viagens e conhecimento*” [to understand differences and the tastes for travelling and knowledge] as knowing how to communicate in various languages “*permite o crescimento*” [permits growth] (29p) and “*pode abrir portas para onde quer que ela queira ir*” [can open doors to wherever she wants to go] (130p).

Separating these results by language, the number of parents who disagreed or strongly disagreed that the HL will help their children’s future were similar, seen in Table 20 below. There were, however, differences between the SSP and PSP who reported a neutral agreement (7.19% of SSP and 26.54% of PSP), and who reported affirmative agreements.

**Table 20***Importance of Knowing the Heritage Language for Future Success*

Language	Agreement				
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
Spanish (153)	0 (0.00%)	1 (0.65%)	11 (7.19%)	23 (15.03%)	118 (77.12%)
Portuguese (162)	2 (1.23%)	4 (2.47%)	43 (26.54%)	48 (29.63%)	65 (40.12%)
Total (315)	2 (0.63%)	5 (1.59%)	54 (17.14%)	71 (22.54%)	183 (58.10%)

A total of 92.15% SSP agreed (15.03%) and strongly agreed (77.12%) that Spanish would help their children in their future. One SSP in particular noted that knowing this HL is important for their child's future as they believe that *“el español es un idioma cada vez más importante, especialmente en Norteamérica y que las personas de Canadá quieren aprenderlo cada vez más”* [Spanish is an increasingly important language, especially in North America, and that people in Canada want to learn it more and more] (109e).

When looking at the results from the PSP, however, only 69.76% agreed (29.63%) and strongly agreed (40.12%) that Portuguese would help their children. One PSP in particular felt that although Portuguese in itself will not be of help for their daughter's future, it will help her in other areas:

**(74p)** *...acredito que apesar de ser pouco provável o português ser uma língua que trará mais oportunidades pra ela no futuro, é uma boa oportunidade de desenvolver uma outra língua que não a que ela fala a maior parte do dia e que isso pode ajudá-la a desenvolver outras habilidades. [...I believe that although Portuguese is unlikely to be a language that will bring her more opportunities in the future, it is a good opportunity to develop a language other*

than the one she speaks most of the day and that this can help her develop other skills.]

Similarly, another PSP felt that although their language may not be overly useful for their children's future success, it is nevertheless an enrichment to their lives and will help them to maintain their cultural identity:

**(19p)** *Acho extremamente importante que meus filhos mantenham sua identidade cultural e uma língua é uma riqueza, não importa se é a língua mais útil.* [I think it is extremely important that my children maintain their cultural identity and a language is a gift, it doesn't matter if it is the most useful language.]

This feeling of the importance of the HLs for not only their child's future, but also their cultural identity was also shared by many, as is shown in the results in the next section.

#### **4.2.1.4 The Importance of The Heritage Language Related to Cultural Identity**

Following the previous questions regarding communication skills in the HL and the importance of their children knowing it for their future, parents were asked if the use of the HL plays an important role in conserving their children's cultural identity as well as how important attending events in the HL is to its conservation.

Only two (0.63%) parents said that knowing the HL was not at all important for their children to conserve their cultural identity, while 78.73% said it was very important. These and the remaining ratings are shown in Table 21.

**Table 21***Importance of Using the Heritage Language to Preserve Cultural Identity*

Language	Importance Rating				
	Not Important at All	Not Really Important	Neutral	Important	Very Important
Spanish (153)	0 (0.00%)	1 (0.65%)	16 (10.46%)	13 (8.50%)	123 (80.39%)
Portuguese (162)	2 (1.23%)	2 (1.23%)	12 (7.41%)	21 (12.96%)	125 (77.16%)
Total (315)	2 (0.63%)	3 (0.95%)	28 (8.89%)	34 (10.79%)	248 (78.73%)

The qualitative analysis yielded results that support these figures, with numerous parents discussing the importance of their children knowing and using the language to preserve their culture and cultural identity, with one parent stating that “*el idioma está ligado también a la cultura*” [language is also linked to culture], (58e) another that “*el idioma no son solo palabras, es toda una transmisión de cultura*” [language is not just words, it is a whole transmission of culture] (5e).

Many noted that maintaining their culture was a main reason they continued to speak the language at home:

**(81p)** *Falamos em português sempre em casa e assim afirmamos a importância de mantermos nossa identidade cultural através do uso cotidiano da língua.* [We always speak Portuguese at home and by doing so affirm the importance of maintaining our cultural identity through the daily use of the language.]

**(31p)** *Eu acho muito importante que os meus filhos continuem a falar português, para manter a nossa identidade cultural e manter as nossas raízes.* [I think it is very important that my children continue to speak Portuguese, to maintain our cultural identity and our roots.]

(50e) *Para nosotros es más una cuestión cultural, es muy importante preservarla.*

[For us it is more a cultural issue, it is very important to preserve it.]

Another parent noted that it is important for them to use their HL and emphasised its connection to their culture so that their “*hijos se sientan tanto colombianos como canadienses*” [children feel both Colombian and Canadian] (5e) in all aspects.

Furthermore, when discussing potential disadvantages of not speaking the HL, one parent noted that “*si pierden el español, estarán perdiendo no sólo sus raíces y cultura...*” [if they lose Spanish, they will be losing not only their roots and culture...] (36e), which was further echoed by two others who noted that to ensure they maintain their culture, “*en casa se vive en la cultura de nuestro país*” [at home we live in the culture of our country] (136e) and “*en casa seguimos como si estuvieras en México... fuera de casa es Canadá dentro de casa es México siempre*” [at home we continue as if you were in Mexico... outside the home is Canada, inside the home is Mexico, always] (65e).

Although almost all of the parents who commented on this topic said that they were the ones who promote their culture at home, one parent said they feel that their daughter is the one who believes maintaining the HL as part of their cultural identity is important:

(111e) *Por el contrario a muchos mi hija es la que insiste... Siento que ella tiene su identidad latina y sabe que conservar su lengua nativa es importante.*

[Contrary to many, my daughter is the one who insists... I feel like she has her Latina identity and she knows that keeping her native language is important.]

This important role of children developing and loving their heritage cultural identity as a way of maintaining their HL was also reflected by one parent who felt that their daughter “*ama su otra identidad cultural*” [loves her other cultural identity] (139e), and another who noted that their son’s love for their culture and country helps their continued use of the HL by stating, “*ele ama o Brasil o que ajuda bastante*” [he loves Brazil which helps a lot] (29p).

Some parents also indicated that they use the HL with their children as a means to “*inculcarle*” [instill in them] a love for their “*país y tradiciones*” [country and traditions] (77e), “*la cultura latinoamericana* [Latin American culture] (5e), and “*sus raíces latinas*” [their Latino roots] (74e) and hope that by doing so, their children will continue to love and use the language.

Connecting HL use for maintaining cultural identity with the idea of cultural and social events in their HL community, many parents also recognized the importance of attending and celebrating festivals from their countries and celebrations of their cultures as, overall, many said it was important (51.11%) or very important (19.37%), as shown in Table 22.

**Table 22**

*Importance of Attending Social Events of the Heritage Language Community*

Language	Importance Rating				
	Not Important At All	Not Really Important	Neutral	Important	Very Important
Spanish (153)	5 (3.27%)	7 (4.58%)	30 (19.61%)	24 (15.69%)	87 (56.86%)
Portuguese (162)	5 (3.09%)	8 (4.94%)	38 (23.46%)	37 (22.84%)	74 (45.68%)
Total (315)	10 (3.17%)	15 (4.76%)	68 (21.59%)	61 (19.37%)	161 (51.11%)

When looking at the discussion of the importance of attending social events in the HLs, one parent commented that it is important to “*ter eventos com os falantes da lingua portuguesa para conservar a identidade* [to have events with Portuguese speakers to preserve identity] (48p), and another noted that they celebrate “*tanto las festividades canadienses como las colombianas resaltando a nuestra hija las tradiciones y la importancia de amar y respetar sus dos países*” [we celebrate both the Canadian and Colombian holidays, highlighting to our daughter the traditions and importance of loving and respecting her two

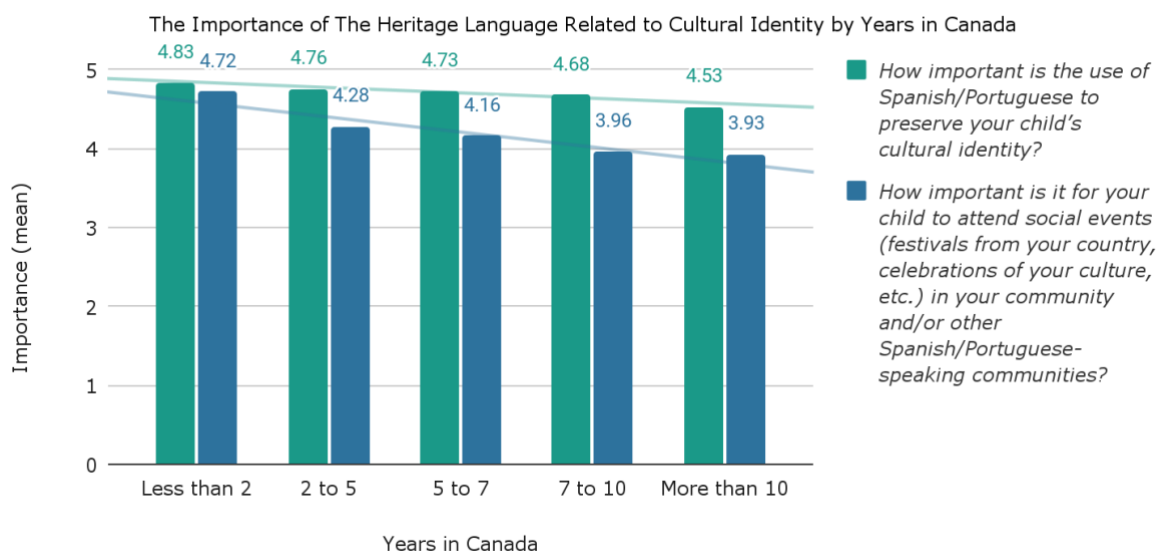
countries] (58e). Finally, one parent said that they encourage use of the HL by participating “*na comunidade portuguesa em eventos com eles*” [in the Portuguese community in events with them] (56p), and another noted that their daughter also “*participava do grupo musical Les Brasileirinhos*” [participated in the musical group Les Brasileirinhos], adding “*acho de extrema importância incentivar seu contato com a língua e nossa cultura!*” [I think it is extremely important to encourage their contact with the language and our culture!] (137p).

Even though most agreed with and noted the importance of both using the HL in conserving their children’s cultural identity as well as attending events in the HL, it was of interest to see if these feelings differed based on the length of time the parents had been in Canada.

As shown in Figure 12, despite there being a steady decline in the importance of their children knowing the HL to conserve their cultural identity the longer the parents had been in Canada, this difference was not statistically significant ( $p = 0.329$ ) between the groups of parents who have been in Canada the least amount of time (4.83) compared to those who have been in Canada the longest (4.53).

**Figure 12**

*The Importance of The Heritage Language Related to Cultural Identity by Years in Canada*



There was a statistical significance ( $p = 0.026$ ,  $d = 0.79$ ) between the groups, however, when it came to the importance of attending social events in the HL, with those who have been in Canada for less than two years giving a mean rating of 4.72 and those who have been in the country for more than 10 years giving a mean rating of 3.93. Although there was a mean rating of 4.21 between all groups, there was a clear trend towards rating this less important the longer they have been in Canada.

#### **4.2.1.5 Parental Desire to Have the Heritage Language in Their Children's Education**

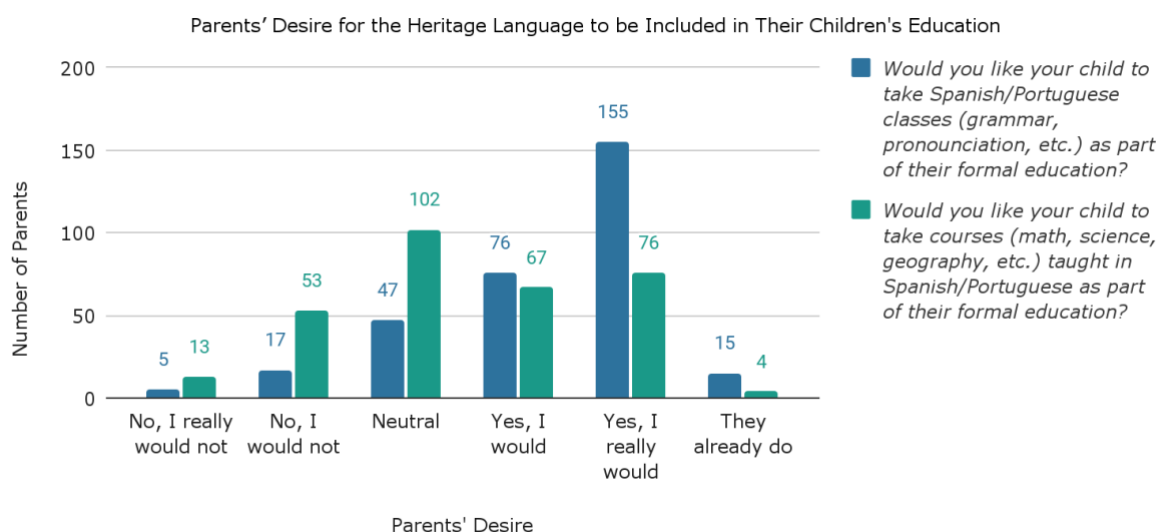
In addition to the questions previously discussed about the HL at home, parents were also asked if they would like their children to have some of their formal education in the HL<sup>27</sup>.

Only four parents (1.27%, all SSP) responded that their children currently take courses taught in the HL, and 15 (4.76%, 13 SSP and two PSP) responded that they currently take HL classes, as shown in Figure 13. Interestingly, the four parents who reported that their children take courses taught in the HL also reported that they take HL classes at school. Of the remaining 11 parents whose children currently take HL classes, 10 expressed a strong desire for them to also take courses taught in the HL and the remaining one was neutral.

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<sup>27</sup> These questions are related to courses and classes taught as part of the children's formal education and do not include courses or classes outside of school, such as private classes or group classes in the evening or on weekends. These results are discussed later in this chapter.



**Figure 13***Parents' Desire for the Heritage Language to be Included in Their Children's Education*

When looking at the parents who expressed a strong desire for their children to have the HL as part of their formal education, 73.34% said they would like (24.13%) or really like (49.21%) their children to take HL classes, as shown below in Table 23, with one parent commenting that *“deberíamos unirnos más como comunidad latina y proponer el aprendizaje del español en las escuela a modo de asignatura electiva o no obligatoria”* [we should unite more as a Latino community and propose the teaching of Spanish in school as an elective or non-compulsory subject] (117e).

**Table 23***Parental Desire for Their Children to Take Heritage Language Classes at School*

Language	Desire					
	No, I really would not	No, I would not	Neutral	Yes, I would	Yes, I really would	They already do
Spanish (153)	1 (0.65%)	2 (1.31%)	19 (12.42%)	30 (19.61%)	88 (57.52%)	13 (8.50%)
Portuguese (162)	4 (2.47%)	15 (9.26%)	28 (17.28%)	46 (28.40%)	67 (41.36%)	2 (1.23%)
Total (315)	5 (1.59%)	17 (5.40%)	47 (14.92%)	76 (24.13%)	155 (49.21%)	15 (4.76%)

When expressing their desire for their children to take courses taught in the HL, fewer parents (45.40% overall) said they would like (21.27%) or really like (24.13%) for them to take them compared to HL classes, as shown in Table 24.

**Table 24**

*Parental Desire for Their Children to Take Courses Taught in the Heritage Language at School*

Language	Desire					
	No, I really would not	No, I would not	Neutral	Yes, I would	Yes, I really would	They already do
Spanish (153)	3 (1.96%)	13 (8.50%)	39 (25.49%)	35 (22.88%)	59 (38.56%)	4 (2.61%)
Portuguese (162)	10 (6.17%)	40 (24.69%)	63 (38.89%)	32 (19.75%)	17 (10.49%)	0 (0.00%)
Total (315)	13 (4.13%)	53 (16.83%)	102 (32.38%)	67 (21.27%)	76 (24.13%)	4 (1.27%)

On the other hand, grouping both negative desires, 6.99% said they would not like their children to take HL classes and 20.96% said they would not like for their children to take courses taught in the HL, with one parent stating *“Eu quero conservar o português em casa porém as aulas na escola devem ser ministradas em francês ou inglês”* [I want to conserve Portuguese at home, but classes at school should be taught in French or English] (140p), although they did not give any reasons why.

Of these, only five (one SSP and four PSP) had strong negative desires for their children to take HL classes, and, of these five, four (one SSP and three PSP) also had strong negative desires for their children to take courses taught in the HL, while the other was neutral. The remaining 24.13% were neutral about HL classes and 32.38% were neutral about their children taking courses taught in the HL. Overall, there was a stronger desire for their children to take HL classes than for them to take courses taught in the HL, although almost half of the parents still expressed interest.

Although apparent from the general results presented above, in order to fully answer the first research question, these results were used to determine and categorise the parental attitudes towards the HLs and their maintenance, as is discussed in the following subsection.

#### 4.2.2 Determining the Parental Attitudes Towards Heritage Language Maintenance

First, in order to determine the parental attitudes towards the HL quantitatively, a total of eight variables from the previously presented findings were used. These included the 5-point scales from the ratings parents gave to the importance of their child having (i) oral and (ii) written communication skills the HL; how highly they rated the importance of (iii) conserving the language in Canada and (iv) knowing the HL for their child's future; the importance of (v) knowing the language to conserve their cultural identity and (vi) the attending events in the HL; and their desires for their child to take (vii) HL classes and/or (viii) courses taught in the HL.

Based on the totals of the eight variables (40 points in total), parental attitudes were calculated and assigned to five categories: very negative (8 to 11), negative (12 to 19), neutral (20 to 27), positive (28 to 35), or very positive (36 to 40). The frequency of these attitudes and the percent of parents they represent are shown in Table 25 for all parents, as well as broken down by language.

**Table 25**

*Overall Parental Attitudes Towards Heritage Language Maintenance*

Language	Attitude Category				
	Very Negative	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Very Positive
Spanish (153)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	8 (5.26%)	55 (35.95%)	90 (58.82%)
Portuguese (162)	1 (0.61%)	1 (0.61%)	10 (6.17%)	66 (40.47%)	84 (51.85%)
Total (315)	1 (0.32%)	1 (0.32%)	18 (5.71%)	121 (38.41%)	174 (55.24%)

As shown, there were only two parents (0.63%) who showed negative (1; 0.32%) and very negative (1; 0.32%) attitudes towards maintaining these HLs in Canada. Eighteen (5.71%) showed neutral attitudes, while the remaining 295 (93.65%) showed positive (121; 38.41%) and very positive (174; 55.24%) attitudes towards HL maintenance<sup>28</sup>.

Looking at these findings for each HL with the reduced groups of *negative*, *neutral*, and *positive* attitudes, none of the SSP parents showed negative attitudes towards maintaining Spanish, while eight (5.23%) showed neutral attitudes and 145 (94.77%) showed positive attitudes. Similarly, although two (1.23%) PSP showed negative attitudes towards maintaining Portuguese, 10 (6.17%) showed neutral attitudes and 150 (92.59%) showed positive attitudes.

#### **4.2.3 Summary of The Parental Attitudes Towards the Heritage Languages**

The previous subsections have shown the results from the questions related to the parents' attitudes towards the HL and its maintenance in Canada. Overall, parents agreed that it was important for their children to have both oral (speaking and understanding) and written (reading and writing) communication skills the HL, with slightly more strongly agreeing with the importance of oral versus written skills. Although not meant to compare, PSP showed a higher importance that their children have oral communication skills in Portuguese than SSP, while more SSP strongly disagreed with the importance of both oral and written communication skills in Spanish, albeit a small percentage overall. The importance of knowing the HL for their children's future success was agreed or strongly agreed with by almost all parents, as was the importance of maintaining the HLs in Canada in general. Similarly, the majority agreed with the importance of the use of the HL in conserving their children's cultural identity. In regard to the importance of attending social events in the HL,

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<sup>28</sup> It is important to recognise that these findings may be reflective of self-selection bias, as discussed previously in Chapter 3.

only slightly more than two-thirds agreed that it was important, and this importance rating lowered the longer the parents had been in Canada. Concerning their desire for their children to have some of their formal education in the HL, almost three-quarters of all parents said they would like their children to take HL classes, and just under half said they would like them to take courses taught in the HL.

When using these results to determine and categorise the parental attitudes towards HL maintenance, the vast majority showed positive attitudes, while very few showed more neutral attitudes and only a very small percentage showed negative attitudes. These categorised parental attitudes will be used to support the results for the third research question in section 4.4.2.1 when discussing how these attitudes influence the HL parents' family language policies or practices.

### **4.3 Parental Attitudes Towards French and English**

This section presents the results related to the second research question about parents' attitudes towards their children's language development in French and/or English. Similar to the procedure to determine the parental attitudes towards maintaining the HLs, various parts of the questionnaires were analysed. As in section 4.2, this section will first present the findings for the relevant questions, followed by the calculation and categorization of the parental attitudes.

#### **4.3.1 General Results Related to Parental Attitudes Towards French and English**

Before determining the parental attitudes towards French and English, it is first necessary to show the relevant findings related to the importance of their child having oral and written communication skills in these OLs and the importance of them for their children's future.

### 4.3.1.1 Importance of Communication Skills French and English

As with the HL, parents were asked to rate their agreement of the importance of their children's oral (speaking and understanding) and written (reading and writing) communication skills in French and English.

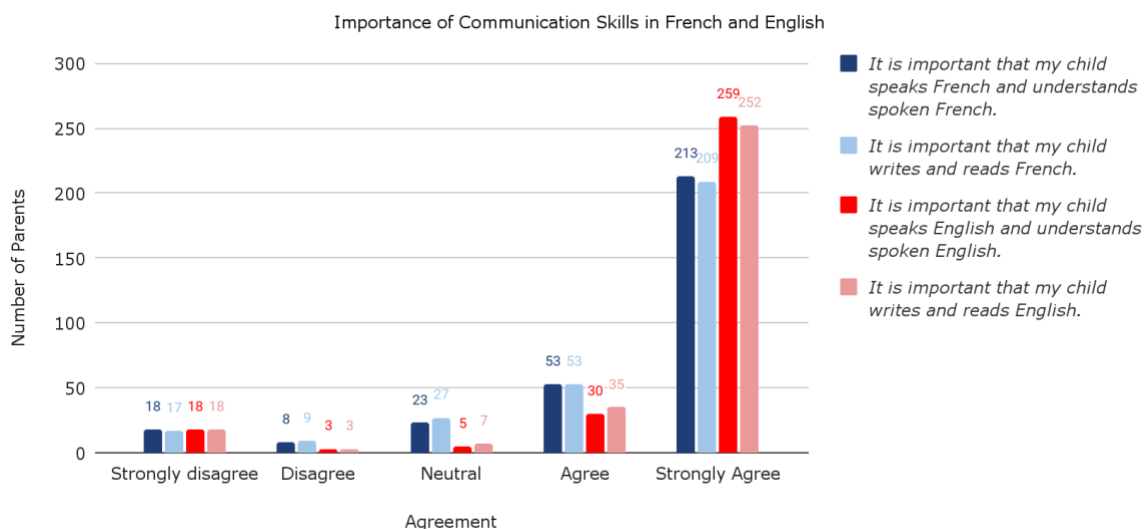
When looking at the parental attitudes towards their children having oral and written communication skills in French, 67.62% strongly agreed that it was important for them to be able to speak and understand, and 66.35% strongly agreed it was important for them to be able to read and write. As shown in Table 26, the results were higher for those skills in English, with 82.22% strongly agreeing that it was important for their children to speak and understand spoken English and 80.00% strongly agreeing that it was important for their children to read and write in English.

**Table 26**

*Importance of Oral and Written Communication Skills in French and English*

Statement	Agreement				
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
<i>It is important that my child speaks French and understands spoken French.</i>	18 (5.71%)	8 (2.54%)	23 (7.30%)	53 (16.83%)	213 (67.62%)
<i>It is important that my child writes and reads French.</i>	17 (5.40%)	9 (2.86%)	27 (8.57%)	53 (16.83%)	209 (66.35%)
<i>It is important that my child speaks English and understands spoken English.</i>	18 (5.71%)	3 (0.95%)	5 (1.59%)	30 (9.52%)	259 (82.22%)
<i>It is important that my child writes and reads English.</i>	18 (5.71%)	3 (0.95%)	7 (2.22%)	35 (11.11%)	252 (80.00%)

The numbers for those who strongly disagreed that it was important for their children to have these two sets of skills were similar for both languages, as shown in Figure 14.

**Figure 14***Importance of Communication Skills in French and English*

The majority of parents agreed or strongly agreed with the importance of their children having both oral and written communication skills in both OLS, and there were only slightly more who strongly agreed with the importance for oral skills when compared to written skills. Overall, there were more parents who strongly agreed that both of these skills were more important in English than in French. These are also reflected in mean importance ratings, which were 4.38 and 4.36 for French oral and written communication skills, respectively, compared to 4.62 and 4.59 for oral and written communication skills in English.

While no parents commented directly on the importance of having oral versus written skills in French and/or English, some did comment on the importance of mastering both languages, particularly because they are the OLS of Canada:

(152e) *Las lenguas oficiales del país que nos ha abierto las puertas son muy importantes dominarlas bien.* [It is very important to master the official languages of the country that has opened its doors to us.]

(39p) *O domínio dos dois idiomas oficiais do Canadá é algo que faço questão... não vejo vantagem alguma em estimular o aprendizado só do francês ou só do*

*anglais*. [Mastery of Canada's two official languages is something I insist on... I don't see any advantage in encouraging learning only French or only English.]

When looking at the mean importance ratings by the length of time the parents have been in Canada, those who have been in Canada the longest rated the two communication skills in both languages ever so slightly higher than those who have been in Canada the least amount of time, as shown in Table 27. This was particularly true for French, but this difference was not statistically significant neither the oral skills ( $p = 0.229$ ) nor the written skills ( $p = 0.316$ ).

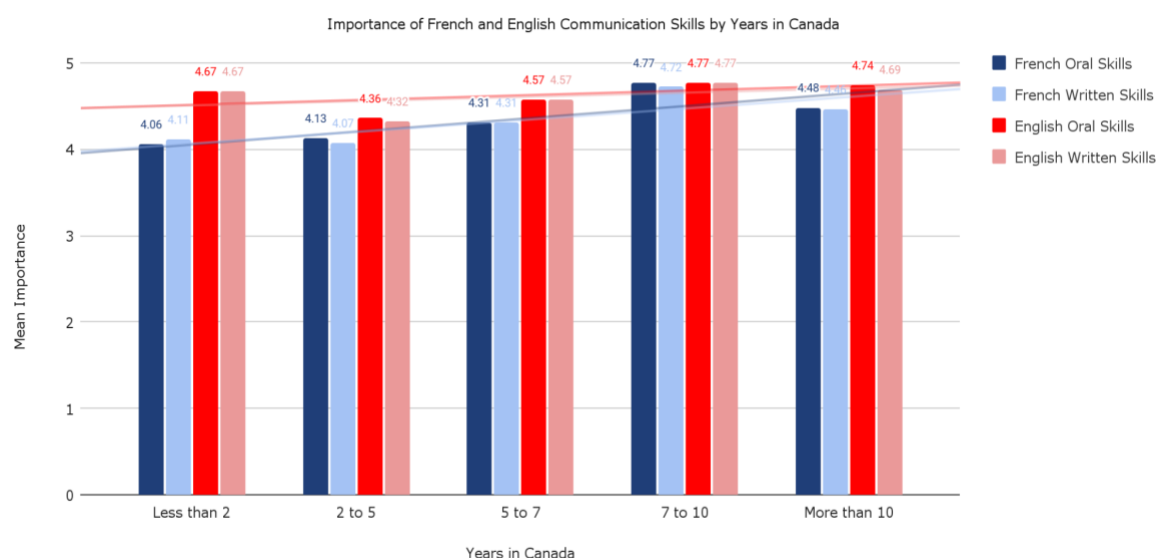
**Table 27**

*Mean Importance of Communication Skills in French and English by Years in Canada*

Language	Years in Canada					Total
	Less than 2	2 to 5	5 to 7	7 to 10	More than 10	
French Oral Skills	4.06	4.13	4.31	4.77	4.48	4.38
French Written Skills	4.11	4.07	4.31	7.72	4.46	4.36
English Oral Skills	4.67	4.36	4.57	4.77	4.74	4.62
English Written Skills	4.67	4.32	4.57	4.77	4.69	4.59

These findings are also shown in Figure 15 below, showing the general trend of parents placing a slightly higher importance on their children having communication skills in the OLs the longer they have been in Canada.



**Figure 15***Mean Importance of French and English Communication Skills by Years in Canada*

After looking at these results overall and by years in Canada, it was also of interest to see if the linguistic environment in which the parents reported living in influenced the importance they gave to knowing the OLs, as is shown in the next section.

#### **4.3.1.1.1 The Importance of Oral Communication Skills in French and English in Different Linguistic Environments**

As noted above, parents generally showed positive or very positive attitudes towards both French and English. As the linguistic environment (LE) in which one lives can influence their attitudes towards its MLs and MinLs, it was of interest to see if the LE the parents reported living in played a role in their attitudes.

In order to calculate this, parents were first grouped by their reported LE, as detailed in Chapter 3. The importance ratings for having oral communication skills in French and English from each group were then used to show the mean ratings and a statistical analysis was done to compare the groups, shown in Table 28.

**Table 28***Importance of Speaking French and English Based on Linguistic Environment*

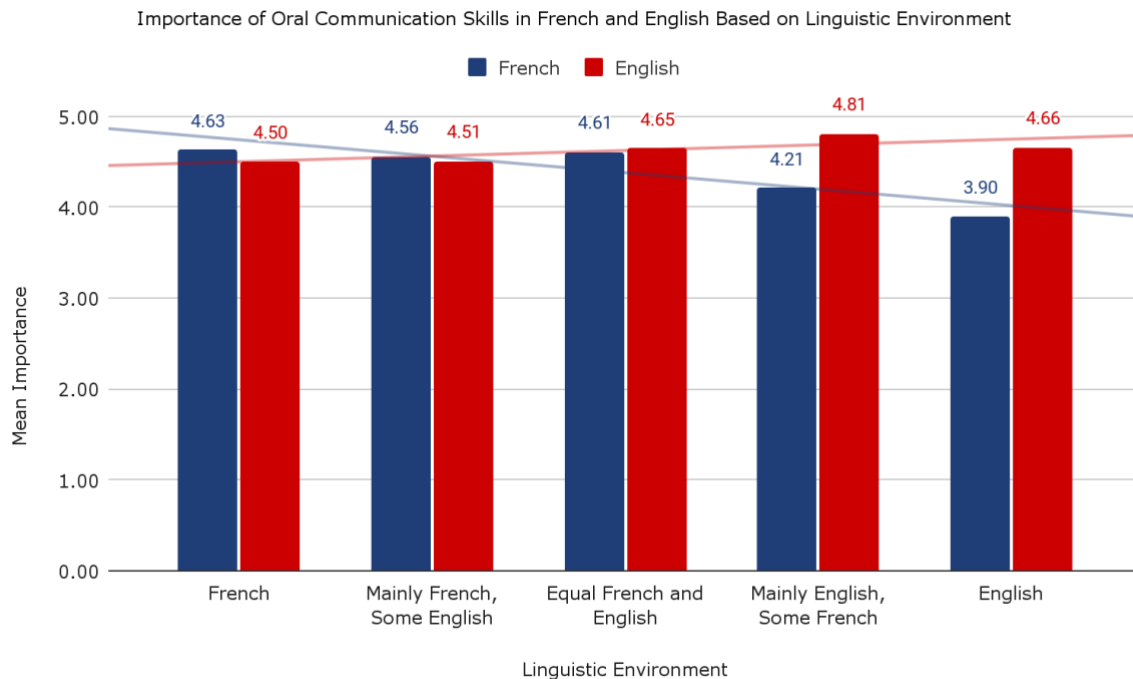
Reported Linguistic Environment	Number of Parents	Mean Importance Rating for Oral Skills in French	Mean Importance Rating for Oral Skills in English
French	86 (27.30%)	4.63	4.50
Mainly French, Some English	55 (17.46%)	4.56	4.51
Equal French and English	49 (15.56%)	4.61	4.65
Mainly English, Some French	58 (18.41%)	4.21	4.81
English	67 (21.27%)	3.90	4.66

When looking at the importance of speaking French produced by parents living in the different LE, the mean importance ratings ranged from 4.63 in French environments to 3.90 in English environments. Comparisons using Bonferroni's *post hoc* test only showed a somewhat strong effect for parents living in a LE that is seen as equally French and English ( $d = 0.68$ ), while all other effect sizes for other LEs were weak (ranging between  $d = 0.55$  and  $d = 0.04$ ). This indicates that the LE did not have a noticeable effect on the importance of knowing French.

In looking at the means of importance of speaking English, they ranged from 4.50 in French environments to 4.66 in English environments. Again, comparisons using Bonferroni's test found no statistical difference between all groups, as only the group of parents living in an equal French/English environment showed a somewhat strong effect ( $d = 0.68$ ) while all other effect sizes were weak (between  $d = 0.37$  and  $d = 0.01$ ). This indicates that the LE barely had an effect on the importance of speaking English. These results are also shown in Figure 16 below.

**Figure 16**

*Importance of Oral Communication Skills in French and English Based on Linguistic Environment*



In summary, parents in LEs that are French, French-dominant, and equal French and English had similar ratings for both languages, while parents living in English and English-dominant environments rated the importance of speaking English slightly higher than speaking French, although they felt that speaking both languages is important. Overall, the LE did not have a noticeable effect on the importance of speaking French and barely had an effect on the importance of speaking English.

#### **4.3.1.2 The Importance of French and English for Their Children's Future Success**

Similar to the HL, parents were also asked if they agreed that knowing French and English will help their child to be successful in the future. When presented with the statement “*Knowing French will help my child to be successful in the future*”, the vast majority (92.06%) agreed (74, 23.49%) or strongly agreed (216, 68.57%), while none strongly disagreed. This number slightly increased when it came to English, as 280 (88.89%) strongly

agreed and 26 (8.25%) agreed with the statement “*Knowing English will help my child to be successful in the future*”, as shown in Table 29.

**Table 29**

*Importance of Children Knowing the French and English for Their Future Success*

Language	Agreement				
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
French	0 (0.00%)	1 (0.32%)	24 (7.62%)	74 (23.49%)	216 (68.57%)
English	0 (0.00%)	2 (0.63%)	7 (2.22%)	26 (8.25%)	280 (88.89%)

Although some parents felt neutral or put less importance on French than English, overall, both languages were seen as being important for their children's future. Many parents who strongly agreed that both OLs were important for their children's future success highlighted “*la importancia de ser trilingüe*” [the importance of being trilingual] (77e), with one saying, “*me siento feliz de que mis hijas hablen los tres idiomas, va a ser tan importante en su futuro*” [I am happy that my daughters speak the three languages, it is going to be very important in their future] (63e).

This importance of learning both languages was especially noted by one parent who noted that “*apesar de morar no Quebec*” [despite living in Quebec], they feel “*o domínio da língua inglesa seja de extrema importância para lhe abrir portas no mundo* [mastering the English language is extremely important to open doors to the world] and French is “*parte da sua formação local que sedimentara sua percepção do mundo...*” [part of their local education that will solidify their perception of the world...] (162p). Similarly, another family who reported living in a French-dominant environment said that they made the decision to also teach their daughter English because they think that learning both OLs “*puede ser muy beneficioso para ella en el futuro*” [can be very beneficial for her in the future] (134e).

These findings, as well as those related to the importance of oral and written communication skills in French and English, are used to determine the parental attitudes towards these OLs in the following subsection.

#### 4.3.2 Determining the Parental Attitudes Towards French and English

In order to determine the parental attitudes towards French and English quantitatively, three variables were used for each language. These included the 5-point scales from the previously-presented ratings they gave to the importance of their child having (i) oral and (ii) written communication skills in French and/or English and (iii) how highly they rated knowing these languages for their child's future. Unlike the previous results regarding their attitudes towards the HL, the frequency in which the parents spoke to their children in French and/or English was not included as parents may have positive attitudes towards their children speaking these languages, but may not speak them themselves.

Based on the totals of the three variables, parental attitudes were assigned to five categories: very negative (3 to 4), negative (5 to 7), neutral (8 to 10), positive (11 to 13), or very positive (14 to 15). The attitudes towards French and English based on the number of parents they represent are shown in Table 30.

**Table 30**

*Parental Attitudes Towards French and English*

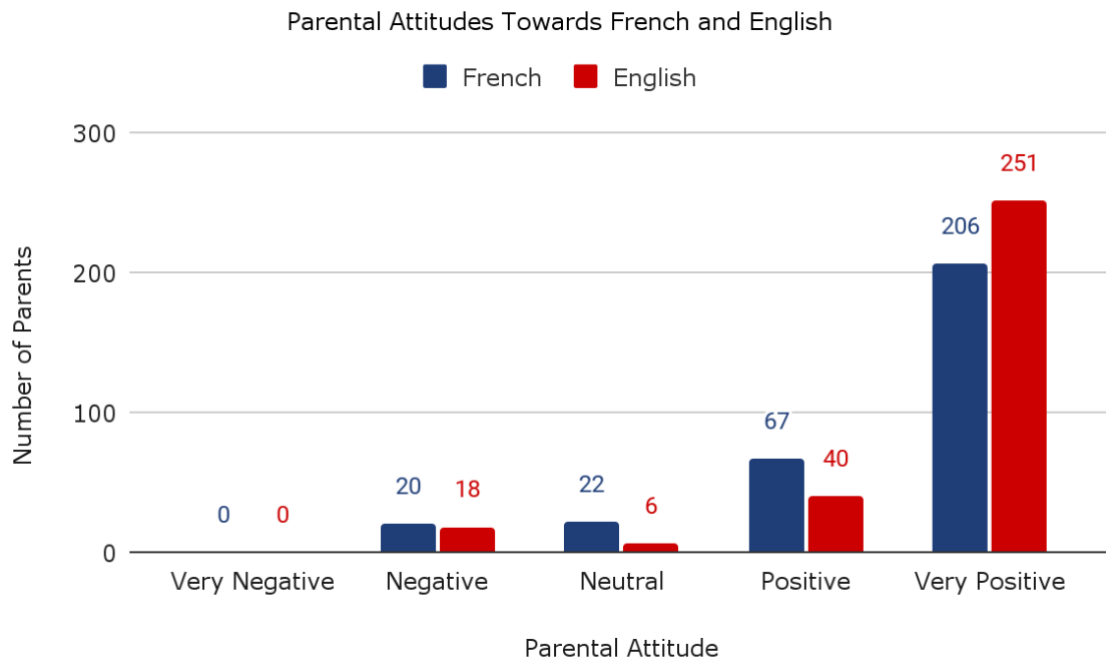
Language	Parental Attitudes				
	Very Negative	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Very Positive
French	0 (0.00%)	20 (6.35%)	22 (6.98%)	67 (21.27%)	206 (65.39%)
English	0 (0.00%)	18 (5.71%)	6 (1.90%)	40 (12.71%)	251 (79.68%)

Overall, 86.66% of all parents had positive (21.27%) or very positive (65.39%) attitudes towards French, while 6.35% had negative attitudes towards the language. The remaining 6.98% had neutral views. These figures are slightly lower compared to the 91.85% of parents who had positive (12.71%) or very positive (79.68%) attitudes towards English.

Similar to French, 5.71% had negative attitudes towards English, and no parents had very negative views. These overall parental attitudes towards French and English and compared in Figure 17.

**Figure 17**

*Parental Attitudes Towards French and English*

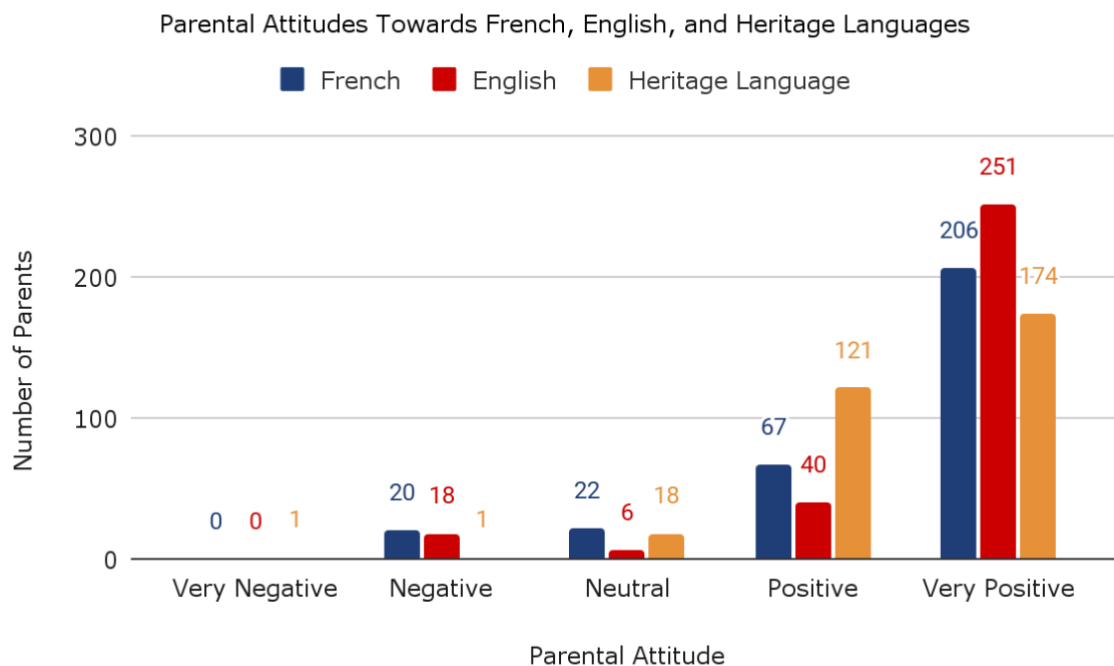


Generally, almost all parents had similar views towards the two languages. There were, however, a few cases in which parents had slightly more extreme views. For example, there were four parents (1.27%) who had a very positive attitude towards English, but negative attitudes towards French and two (0.63%) who had neutral attitudes towards French and negative attitudes towards English. No parents had positive attitudes towards French and negative attitudes towards English. Furthermore, there were 15 (4.76%) parents who had negative attitudes towards both French and English, an unexpected and surprising finding. Interestingly, these 15 parents (14 Spanish-speaking and one Portuguese-speaking) were part of the 55.24% who had very positive attitudes towards the HL.

Figure 18 below shows the findings of parental attitudes towards the HLs and the OLs together.

**Figure 18**

*Parental Attitudes Towards French, English, and the Heritage Languages*



In general, parents showed positive or very positive attitudes towards both of the two OLs and the HLs. With the exception of the 15 with negative attitudes towards French and English and positive attitudes towards the HL, the remaining parental attitudes were more evenly distributed.

In summary, and further reducing the groups into *negative*, *neutral*, and *positive*, positive attitudes towards English were shown by 291 (92.38%) of the parents, French by 273 (86.67%), and the HL by 261 (82.86%). A neutral parental attitude was found for 6.98% of parents for French, 5.71% for the HLs, and 1.90% for English. Finally, as previously mentioned, 6.35% had negative attitudes towards French, 5.71% towards English, and only 0.63% towards the HLs.

### **4.3.3 Summary of The Parental Attitudes Towards French and English**

The previous subsections have shown the results from the questions related to the parents' attitudes towards the OLs, French and English. Overall, parents agreed that it was important for their children to have both oral and written communication skills in both languages, strongly agreeing ever so slightly more with the importance of oral skills compared to written, and with the importance of those skills in English than in French. Those who have been in Canada longer rated the two communication skills in both languages slightly higher than those who have been in the country for less time, particularly French. Overall, the linguistic environment did not have a noticeable effect on the importance of speaking French and barely had an effect on the importance of speaking English, with parents living in English-dominant environments rating the importance of speaking English slightly higher than speaking French. Regarding the importance of knowing the two OLs for their children's future success, although both were seen as being important in general, more parents strongly agreed with the importance of English compared to French.

When using these results to determine and categorise the parental attitudes towards the OLs, the vast majority showed positive attitudes towards English and slightly fewer showed positive attitudes for French, with more having neutral or negative attitudes, although not many. Although there were a number of parents who had negative attitudes towards both French and English (although positive attitudes towards the HL), no parents showed very negative attitudes to either. These overall parental attitudes will be used to present the findings for the third research question in the next two sections, following the results related to the general family language practices.

### **4.4 General Family Language Practices and Heritage Language Exposure**

This section provides the general family HL practices as reported by the participants, including (i) the frequency of HL use of the parents and children, (ii) rules or norms of



language use in the home, and (iii) parental strategies used to navigate these rules. It will also include the reported exposure to the HL in the home from media and contact with other speakers of the HL. These findings are then presented based on the distribution of groups of parental language attitudes, as previously determined.

#### **4.4.1 Reported Frequency of Heritage Language Use**

The following section reports on the results regarding HL use between the parents and their children, as well as the second parent and the child and the two parents together, when applicable. As noted in Chapter 3, these frequency-of-language-use scales were based on De Houwer's (1999) five-point semantic differential language use scale, and also included an option of *N/A* to allow the participants to show that they don't use the HL with the child or other parent because they do not speak and/or understand it. This option was included as it was felt that it was important to allow parents to make a distinction between not using the HL simply because their interlocutor did not understand it and other reasons (because they do not want to, because they were told not to, etc.). Furthermore, as noted in Chapter 3, although these results give an idea of the frequency of language use, they are indeed *reported* frequencies and may not be an accurate evaluation of the true situation.

##### **4.4.1.1 Reported Frequency of Heritage Language Use Between Parent 1 and Children**

When looking at the overall frequency of the parents' HL use, 70.16% said they always speak to their child in the HL, as shown in Table 31, while 15.24% said they often do, 8.25% said sometimes do, and 6.03% said that they rarely do.

**Table 31***Reported Frequency of Heritage Language Use by Parent 1 to Children*

Language	Frequency				
	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
Spanish (153)	1 (0.65%)	12 (7.84%)	21 (13.73%)	22 (14.38%)	97 (63.40%)
Portuguese (162)	0 (0.00%)	7 (4.32%)	5 (3.09%)	26 (16.05%)	124 (76.54%)
Total (315)	1 (0.32%)	19 (6.03%)	26 (8.25%)	48 (15.24%)	221 (70.16%)

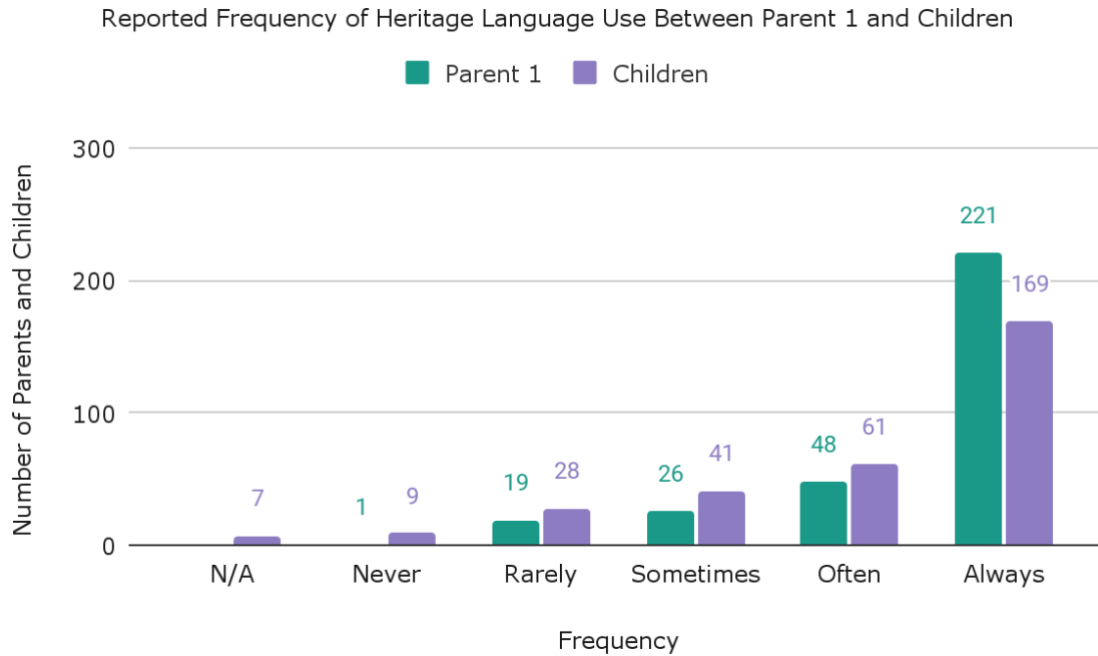
Only one (0.32%) of the parents reported that their child does not understand the HL at all and therefore they never use it with them. Similarly, the 19 parents (6.03%) who said they rarely speak to their child in the HL also reported that their children did not understand the HL (as reported in Chapter 3, section 3.5.2 on language abilities).

When comparing the parents' use of the HL to that which they reported their children use it with them, just over half (53.65%) reported that their children always use the HL and 19.37% often use it, as shown in Table 32.

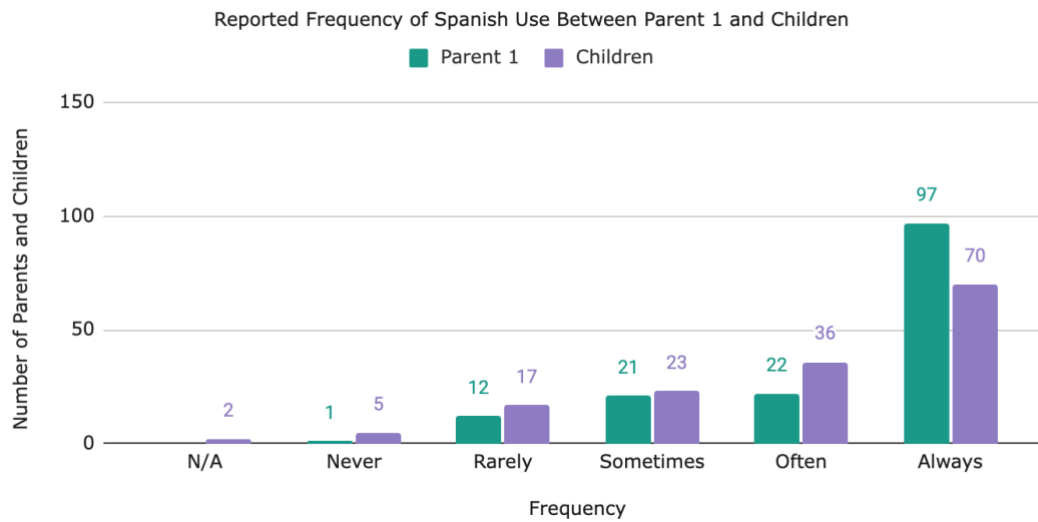
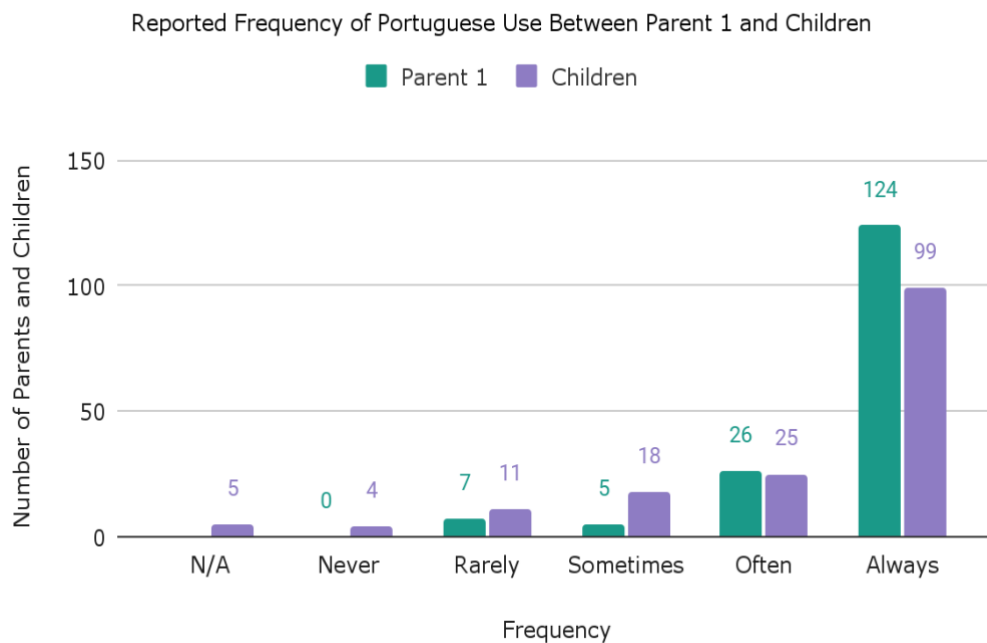
**Table 32***Reported Frequency of Heritage Language by Children to Parent 1*

Language	Frequency					
	N/A	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
Spanish (153)	2 (1.31%)	5 (3.27%)	17 (11.11%)	23 (15.03%)	36 (23.53%)	70 (45.75%)
Portuguese (162)	5 (3.09%)	4 (2.47%)	11 (6.79%)	18 (11.11%)	25 (15.43%)	99 (61.11%)
Total (315)	7 (2.22%)	9 (2.86%)	28 (8.89%)	41 (13.02%)	61 (19.37%)	169 (53.65%)

Of the remaining children, the parents reported that 13.02% sometimes use the HL, while 8.89% rarely use it and 4.13% never use it. The remaining 2.22% include children who do not speak yet. The findings in Table 31 and Table 32 are shown together in Figure 19.

**Figure 19***Reported Frequency of Heritage Language Use Between Parent 1 and Children*

While the numbers are similar for both HLs for children who never or rarely use the HL, more PSP (61.11%) reported that their children always speak the HL to them than SSP (47.75%). Figure 20 and Figure 21 below show the results for the frequency of use of the HL by the children with their SSP and PSP, respectively.

**Figure 20***Reported Frequency of Spanish Use Between Parent 1 and Children***Figure 21***Reported Frequency of Portuguese Use Between Parent 1 and Children*

Although 63.40% of SSP reported always speaking to their children in Spanish, only 47.75% reported that their children speak to them in the HL, while 3.27% reported that their children never do. Similarly, 76.54% of PSP reported always speaking to their children in

Portuguese with 61.11% reporting that their children speak to them in the HL, while 3.09% reported that their children never do.

#### 4.4.1.2 Reported Frequency of Heritage Language Use Between Parent 2 and Children

As mentioned, there were 258 participants (105 SSP and 153 PSP) who reported that their child also has another parent with whom they regularly speak. It is important to note that some parents provided context for these answers, including one who mentioned that the other parent lives in a separate home, and that it was the questionnaire respondent (parent 1) who reported the frequency of use for the other parent. Additionally, unlike the requirement that the respondent be a Spanish or Portuguese speaker, there were no requirements for the second parent to speak a particular language.

When looking at the reported frequency the second parent uses the HL with the child, 61.63% were reported to always speak in the HL, 6.98% often, 12.40% sometimes, and 7.75% rarely. The remaining 11.24% reported that the second parent never uses the HL, because they either don't speak it or because the child does not understand it. These findings are shown in Table 33 below.

**Table 33**

*Reported Frequency of Heritage Language Use by Parent 2 to Children*

Language	Frequency				
	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
Spanish (105)	18 (17.14%)	8 (7.62%)	9 (8.57%)	7 (6.67%)	63 (60.00%)
Portuguese (153)	11 (7.21%)	12 (7.84%)	23 (15.03%)	11 (7.19%)	96 (62.75%)
Total (258)	29 (11.24%)	20 (7.75%)	32 (12.40%)	18 (6.98%)	159 (61.63%)

When comparing the number of second parents who speak the HL to the children to the number of children who speak the HL to them, Table 34 below also shows that the participants responded that 51.94% of their children always do, 15.50% often do, 7.75%

sometimes do, 9.30% rarely do, and 12.79% never do. As noted earlier, the remaining children do not speak yet.

**Table 34**

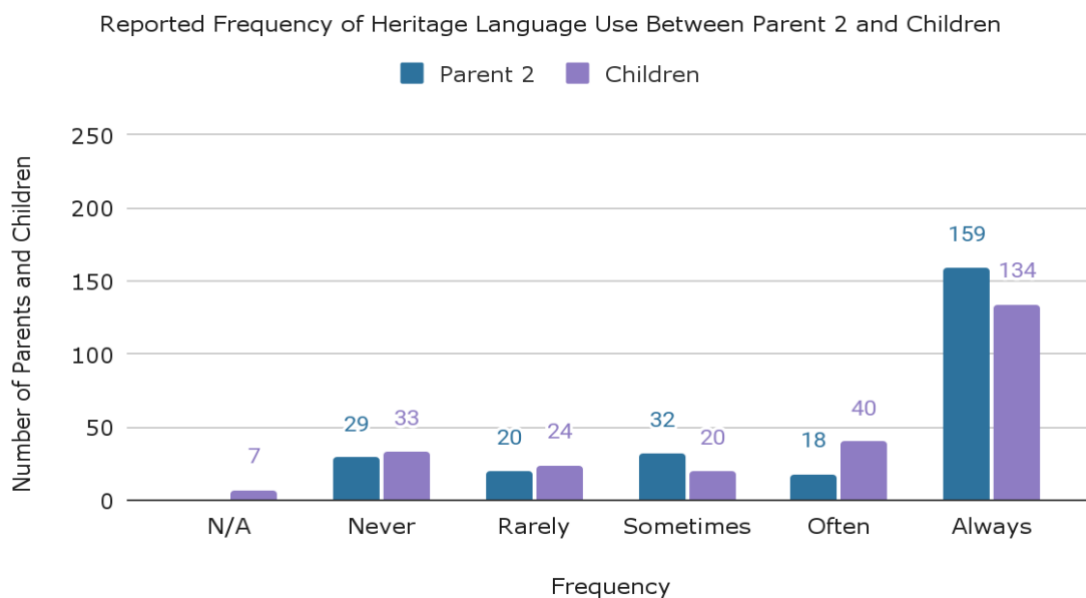
*Reported Frequency of Heritage Language Use by Children to Parent 2*

Language	Frequency					
	N/A	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
Spanish (105)	2 (1.90%)	16 (15.24%)	11 (10.48%)	12 (11.43%)	13 (12.38%)	51 (48.57%)
Portuguese (153)	5 (3.27%)	17 (11.11%)	13 (8.50%)	8 (5.23%)	27 (17.65%)	83 (54.25%)
Total (258)	7 (2.71%)	33 (12.79%)	24 (9.30%)	20 (7.75%)	40 (15.50%)	134 (51.94%)

The findings in Table 33 and Table 34 are shown together in Figure 22 below.

**Figure 22**

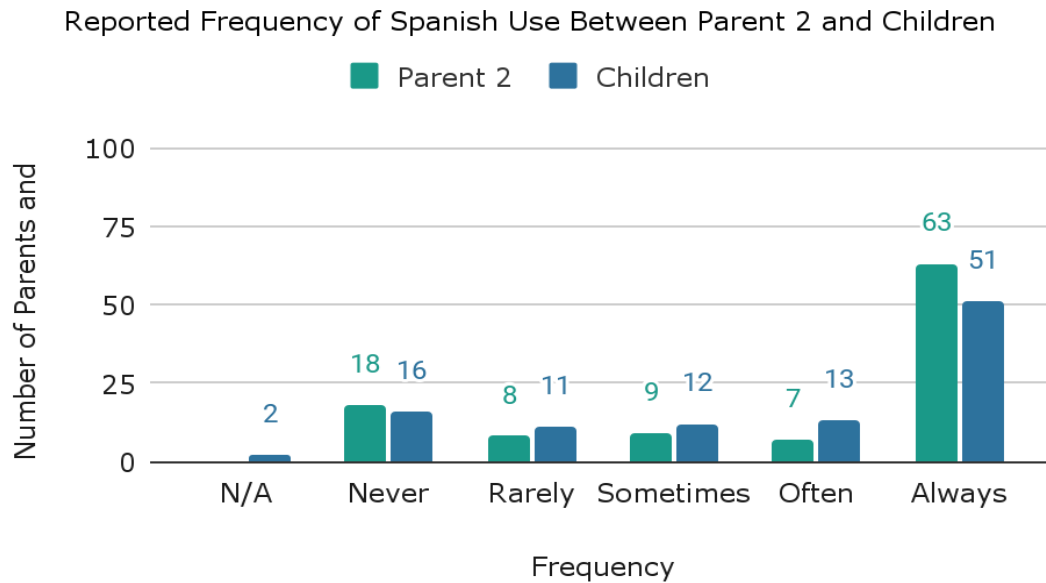
*Reported Frequency of Heritage Language Use Between Parent 2 and Children*



When looking at the HLs separately, shown below in Figure 23 and Figure 24, the percentage of second parents who always speak to their children in Spanish (60.00%) is very similar to those who always speak to their children in Portuguese (62.75%).

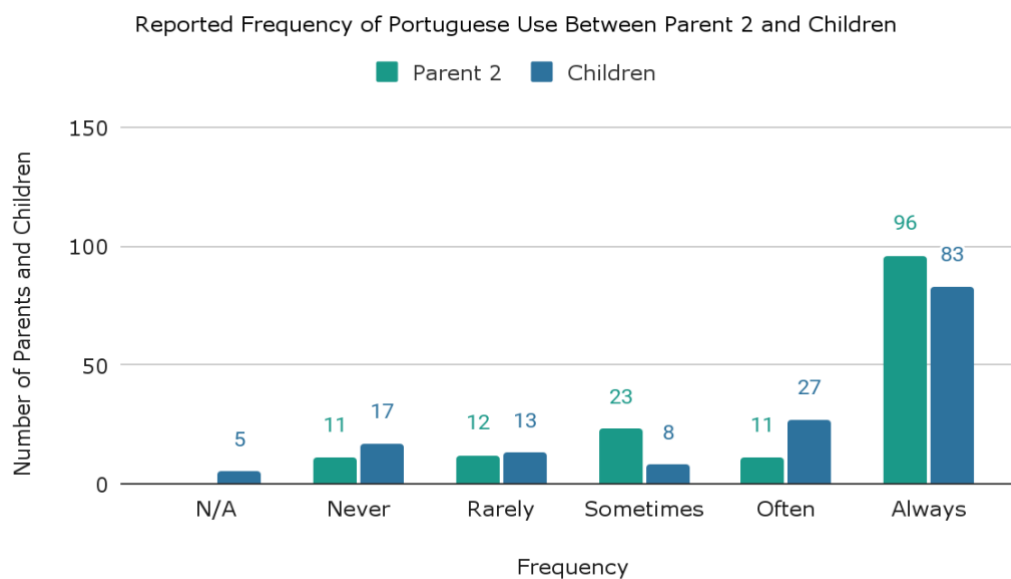
**Figure 23**

*Reported Frequency of Spanish Use Between Parent 2 and Children*



**Figure 24**

*Reported Frequency of Portuguese Use Between Parent 2 and Children*



Although lower than the percentage of second parents who always speak the HL to the child, around half of both SSP (48.57%) and PSP (54.25%) reported that their children always speak to the second parent in the HL, showing that approximately half (51.94%) of all of the participants' children receive HL input from both parents at home.

#### 4.4.1.3 Reported Frequency of Heritage Language Use Between Parents

As noted in Chapter 2, in addition to looking at the HL used between the parents and their children, it is also important to look at the language use between the parents, when applicable, as this plays an important role in HL socialisation and exposure. Table 35 below shows how often the parents reported using the HL with the second parent.

**Table 35**

*Reported Frequency of Heritage Language Use Between Parents*

Language	Frequency				
	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
Spanish (105)	13 (12.38%)	8 (7.62%)	12 (11.43%)	11 (10.48%)	61 (58.10%)
Portuguese (153)	15 (9.80%)	6 (3.92%)	5 (3.27%)	7 (4.58%)	120 (78.43%)
Total (258)	28 (10.85%)	14 (5.43%)	17 (6.59%)	18 (6.98%)	181 (70.16%)

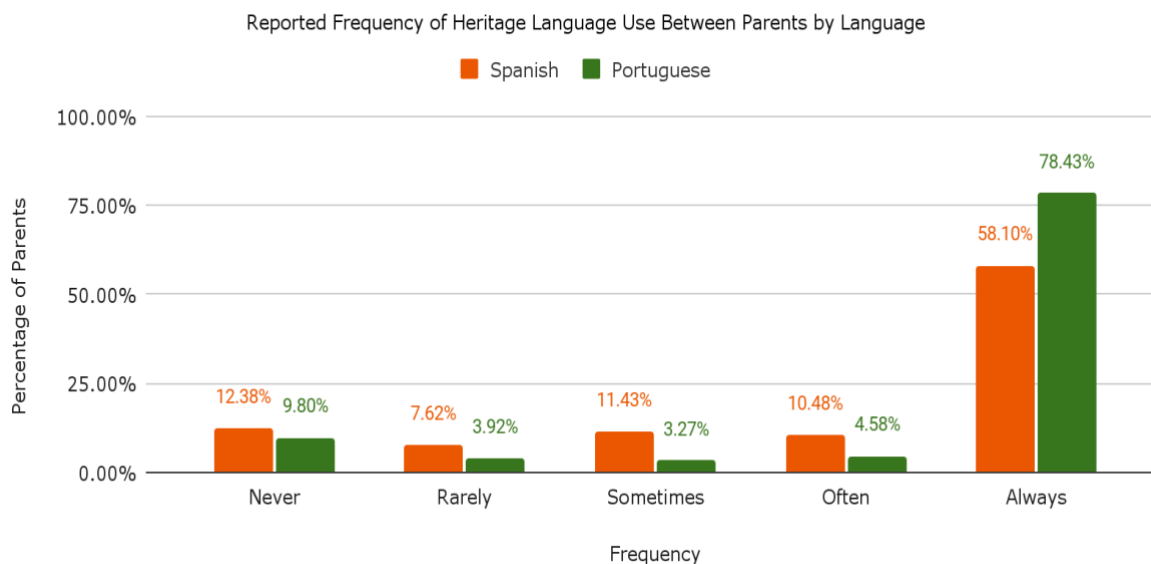
Of the 258 sets of parents, the majority reported that they always (70.16%) or often (6.98%) speak the HL with the second parent. Of the remaining 59 sets of parents, 6.59% said they sometimes communicate in the HL, 5.43% said they rarely do, 10.85% said they never do. When looking at the two HLs separately, a higher percentage of PSP (78.43%) reported



using Portuguese together than SSP who reported using Spanish together (58.10%)<sup>29</sup>, as shown in Figure 25<sup>30</sup>.

**Figure 25**

*Reported Frequency of Heritage Language Use Between Parents by Language*



As noted in Chapter 4, both parents in 188 of the 258 two-parent families (72.87%) were reported to be native or near-native speakers of the HLs, with an additional 21 (8.14%) who were reported to speak and/or understand them well. Thus, the number of home environments in which the HL is used between the two parents on a highly-frequent basis had the potential to reach 209 of 258 (81.01%).

Comparing this potential of 209 two-parent families with the possibility to always speak to each other in the HL to the finding that 181 (70.16%) reportedly always do shows that this is the case for 86.61% of them (181 of 209). This figure increases to 96.28% (181 of

<sup>29</sup> Again, it is important to state that these are not comparisons between the HLs, and even less so considering that the second parents are not necessarily HL speakers. These findings are merely presented in order to get a better understanding of the level of HL input the children are receiving at home overall.

<sup>30</sup> The data in Figure 25 is presented by the percentage of each group (i.e., SSP and PSP) as the numbers of parents in the two are not equal.

188) of the families if only those who are reportedly native or near-native speakers are included (i.e., removing those who reportedly only speak it well).

Although not part of the research questions, it was of interest to see if a reported high-frequency of HL use between both parents resulted in their children having a reported higher level of HL abilities. In order to do so, the parent-reported HL language abilities of the children in these 181 two-parent families were extracted from the general results.

Of these 181 families, five included children who reportedly do not talk yet. Of the remaining 176 families, as shown in Table 36, 107 parents (60.80%) reported that their children speak the HL perfectly for their age while 149 (84.66%) reported that they understand it perfectly.

**Table 36**

*Language Abilities of the Children Whose Parents Reported Always Using the Heritage Language with the Other Parent*

Language	Language Abilities				
	None at all	A little bit	More or less	Well	Perfectly
Speak Spanish (60)	0 (0.00%)	1 (1.67%)	1 (1.67%)	20 (33.33%)	38 (63.33%)
Speak Portuguese (116)	0 (0.00%)	9 (7.76%)	8 (6.90%)	30 (25.86%)	69 (59.48%)
Total (176)	0 (0.00%)	10 (5.68%)	9 (5.11%)	50 (28.41%)	107 (60.80%)
Understand Spanish (60)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	6 (10.00%)	54 (90.00%)
Understand Portuguese (116)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	3 (2.59%)	18 (15.52%)	95 (81.90%)
Total (176)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	3 (1.76%)	24 (13.64%)	149 (84.66%)

Revisiting the findings in Table 15 from Chapter 3 (the reported language abilities of the children), the percentage of children who reportedly speak the HL perfectly from the above 176 families is higher than the overall findings for all children, at 60.80% and 49.84%, respectively. Similarly, the percentage of children who reportedly understand the HL perfectly is higher than the overall findings for all children, at 84.66% and 67.94%, respectively.

Although these results cannot be used to make a clear statement on the importance of both parents always speaking the HL together for their children to have higher HL abilities, it does show that there is an increase in the percentages who have reportedly higher abilities in the HL. The higher percentage in HL comprehension abilities are perhaps due to an increase in not only the amount of HL input the children receive when both parents are around (compared to either individual parents and two-parents who use an OL), but also in the register and the variety of vocabulary that is used between parents as well. As this is not the focus of this study, these findings are not elaborated, but are still worth noting.

A thematic analysis of the comments related to the high frequency of HL use<sup>31</sup> between the parents and their children and/or the other parent showed that the majority said it was done naturally and/or because they feel they do not speak the OLs well enough, with one noting that they do not want their children to learn them ‘incorrectly’:

**(7p)** *Evitamos ao máximo falar inglês ou francês com ela, para que ela não absorva nossos erros e sotaques. Queremos que ela aprenda com os nativos. [We avoid speaking English or French with her as much as possible so she doesn't absorb our mistakes and accents. We want her to learn from native speakers.]*

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<sup>31</sup> These and similar findings are further discussed in the subsequent sections related to norms of HL use and the PDS used in maintaining these norms.

This was also echoed by one parent who described receiving this advice from medical professionals who encouraged them to continue to use their HL with their children:

**(35p)** *Todos os especialistas que consultamos até o presente momento são unânimes na importância de falar o português em casa. Como não somos francófonos, fica difícil corrigir e exigir algo da nossa filha.* [All the experts we have consulted so far are unanimous on the importance of speaking Portuguese at home. As we are not Francophones, it is difficult to correct and demand something from our daughter.]

A number of parents also stated they both speak the HL to their children as they will naturally learn one or both of the OLs outside of the home:

**(50e)** *El inglés y el francés llegarán por sí solos, con el tiempo, ya que son los idiomas en lo que se estudia, trabaja y se relaciona uno en su mayoría en este país.* [English and French will come on their own, in time, as they are the languages in which one mostly studies, works, and interacts in this country.]

**(44e)** *Al estar en un país anglófono, ya de por sí aprenderán a hablar inglés perfecto. Es por esto que en casa debemos reforzar la mayoría del tiempo el español.* [Being in an English-speaking country, by default they will learn to speak perfect English. That is why we must reinforce Spanish most of the time at home.]

**(109e)** *En la casa se habla español... el inglés y el francés lo aprenden en la escuela y en la vida diaria.* [Spanish is spoken at home... English and French are learned at school and in daily life.]

**(91e)** *Cuando estaban pequeños solo podían hablar español en la casa. El francés y el inglés lo iban a aprender igual en el colegio o en la calle.* [They could only

speak Spanish at home when they were little. They were going to learn French and English at school or on the street.]

An interesting result was that none of the parents who reported that they and the other parent are both native speakers reported rarely or only sometimes using the HL with the children.

Of the parents who reported using a mixture of their HL and one or both of the OLs, it was generally during situations related to helping with school or because they felt that it was important to allow their children to feel comfortable speaking to them in their HL and/or an OL both at home and outside of the home:

**(161p)** *Apesar de eu achar muito importante falar e manter o Português como língua de herança, também achei fundamental estabelecer uma abertura para conversar com meu filho em francês, pois ele se sente à vontade para se comunicar comigo nas duas línguas e não sente estranhamento em situações onde é mais adequado falarmos francês.* [Although I think it is very important to speak and maintain Portuguese as a heritage language, I also found it essential to establish the opportunity to talk to my son in French so he feels free to communicate with me in both languages and does not feel strange in situations where it is more appropriate to speak French.]

When looking at the families in which only one parent reportedly often or always uses the HL, the parents generally noted that they each speak their native language to their children, creating a one-parent-one language environment (similar results on family language use/policies are discussed below).

Finally, the parents that reported that they never, rarely, or only sometimes use the HL with their children all reported that this is because the other parent does not speak the HL at all and that an OL has therefore become the language of their family. This lack of HL use

between parents was also mentioned by one mother who underscored this reality for many mixed-language couples:

**(108p)** *A realidade seria completamente diferente se meu marido fosse brasileiro.*

*Mas nessa situação de couple mixte não é nada natural falar português para mim.* [The reality would be completely different if my husband were Brazilian.

But it is not natural for me to speak Portuguese in this mixed-couple situation.]

This mother also noted that because they are a mixed-language couple with an OL being the only common language, it is the only language used in the home. They highlighted the difficulties of trying to teach the HL when it is not used regularly in their child's life and also stated that their child's lack of HL abilities has caused criticism from others:

**(108p)** *Fiz todo o possível... mas em casa só falamos francês, meu marido é*

*francófono e as pessoas não tem ideia de que é praticamente impossível o*

*filho ser fluente em outra língua praticamente não utilizada em contexto*

*nenhum da vida atual. Mas não suporto o julgamento das pessoas como o fato*

*dele não falar português. Porque cada um não cuida do seu?* [I did everything

possible... but at home we only speak French, my husband is Francophone

and people have no idea that it is practically impossible for our son to be

fluent in another language that is practically not used in any context in his

daily life. But I can't stand people's judgement that he doesn't speak

Portuguese. Why doesn't everyone worry about themselves?]

This inability to communicate in the HL was the main reason given by the parents when discussing its use, or lack thereof, by their children. Those who reported that their children rarely or never speak to them in the HL generally noted that it was due to the fact that the other parent did not know it and that the children instead spoke the OLs of the other parent and of their linguistic environment. Although many expressed disappointment that

their children did not frequently speak the HL or have the ability to do so, one parent recognized and stressed that “*devemos aceitar que o português é A NOSSA língua materna, não necessariamente a de nossos filhos*” [we must accept that Portuguese is OUR mother tongue, not necessarily that of our children] (111p).

Additionally, some parents noted that their children did not frequently speak the HL due to a lack of confidence, or out of ‘laziness’, indicating that speaking their HL was difficult for them:

**(113p)** *...por preguiça, eles buscam outro interlocutor para continuar a conversa em francês.* [...out of laziness, they look for another interlocutor to continue the conversation in French.]

**(121p)** *Ele muitas vezes não fala português pq fica com vergonha de não saber ou esquecer alguma palavra.* [He often doesn't speak Portuguese because he is ashamed of not knowing or forgetting a word.]

On the opposite end of the spectrum, those who reported that their children always or almost always use the HL with them and/or the other parent said it was natural for their child largely due to the strong HL home environment they created. This is also further discussed in section 4.4.2. Moreover, some parents stated that in addition to their children always using their HL with them, it is their children who insist on using the HL:

**(81p)** *Sempre que tento falar em francês ou inglês com nossa filha, ela reclama e pede pra voltar a falar em português, pra ela essa é a sua língua mãe e ela faz questão de mantê-la viva todos os dias.* [Whenever I try to speak French or English with our daughter, she complains and asks to speak Portuguese again, for her it is her mother tongue and she insists on keeping it alive every day.]

Overall, the results of the HL use by the parents and children, as well as between the parents, show that they are used at a high frequency by the parents, as well as by the second

parent when applicable, with the children. Although the reported number of children who always use the HL was somewhat lower overall, many parents still reported that their children at least use the HL often with them. Furthermore, the majority of parents also reported that they always use the HL with the second parent, providing the children with a high amount of HL input within the home.

#### 4.4.2 Norms of Language Use in the Home

When looking at the norms of language use in the home, parents were provided with the six norms listed below, which included a seventh option to provide an additional answer. The norms as they were presented in the questionnaires are shown below in Table 37 along with the frequency of their reported use. They are presented with the percent of all parents this number represents as they were able to select multiple norms if necessary.

**Table 37**

*Norms of Language Use and Their Frequency of Use*

Norms of Language Use	Frequency of Use
<i>There are no norms or rules</i>	120 (38.10%)
<i>I (we) only speak to my child in Spanish/Portuguese</i>	120 (38.10%)
<i>I (we) only respond to my child if they speak to me (us) in Spanish/Portuguese</i>	16 (5.08%)
<i>I only speak to my child in Spanish/Portuguese and the other parent only speaks to him in French and/or English (or vice versa)</i>	25 (7.94%)
<i>I (we) speak to my child in Spanish/Portuguese at home and in French and/or English outside of the home</i>	34 (10.80%)
<i>Speaking French and/or English is prohibited at home</i>	17 (5.40%)
<i>Other</i>	31 (9.84%)

As mentioned, as some parents may have multiple norms they use in the home, they were able to select as many rules as they felt applied to them. A total of 37 (11.75%) parents said they use multiple norms in conjunction. Those who reported using multiple rules



included *I (we) only speak to my child in Spanish/Portuguese along with Speaking French and/or English is prohibited at home; I (we) only speak to my child in Spanish/Portuguese along with I (we) only respond to my child if they speak to me (us) in Spanish/Portuguese;* and a mixture of these and *other*.

The use of *other* norms was reported by 31 parents and included those who do not use the HL with their children, as noted in section 4.4.1. Of the remaining *other* responses, as well as comments related to HL use norms in general, four main themes were found from the thematic analysis: (i) only speaking the OLs when non-HL speakers were around, (ii) only using the OLs when helping with homework, (iii) asking that the children only use the HLs when speaking with their siblings, and (iv) not having any rules because the norm of using the HL was something that is done naturally.

The first theme of only using the OLs at home was noted that is done only when there are others around who don't speak the HL, generally out of respect:

**(115e)** *Solo si hay una persona no hispanoparlante en la casa se habla en francés y/o inglés.* [Only if there is a non-Spanish speaking person in the house who speaks French and/or English.]

**(36e)** *Siempre hablamos en español en casa pero si hay alguna visita, por cortesía, hablamos el idioma oficial de su preferencia.* [We always speak Spanish at home but if there is a visitor, out of courtesy, we speak the official language of their preference.]

**(30e)** *Si hay visitas que no hablan español, hablamos en inglés en casa, por respeto.* [If there are visitors who do not speak Spanish, we speak English at home out of respect.]

**(130p)** *Por respeito às pessoas que estão no nosso ciclo, se todos entendem português podemos falar em português. Se tem alguém que não entenda então mudamos*

*para o frances.* [Out of respect for the people who are around us, if everyone understands Portuguese, we can speak Portuguese. If there is someone who doesn't understand, then we switch to French.]

**(138e)** *Si hay más gente que no entiende español y el mensaje es para todos, se habla en francés o en inglés.* [If there are more people who do not understand Spanish and the message is for everyone, we speak French or English.]

Although most of the parents who noted that they don't use the HL when around others who do not speak it made mention of visitors from outside of the family, one did note that this also included the other parent:

**(101p)** *A língua oficial em casa é o francês para ser inclusivo, mas quando estou só eu e minha filha, conversamos em português.* [The official language at home is French to be inclusive, but when it is just me and my daughter, we talk in Portuguese.]

This theme of not using the HLs when others are around out of respect was also noted by those who reported that they only speak to their child in their HL at home, but that they use an OL outside of the home to be polite in general:

**(35p)** *...respeito a outras pessoas em nosso entorno.* [ ...respect for others around us.]

**(29p)** *...se estamos na rua ou com algum amigo que não fala português podemos ter diálogos em outra língua.* [...if we are on the street or with a friend who does not speak Portuguese, we can have dialogues in another language.]

**(36p)** *Português em casa, francês na rua por questão de educação.* [Portuguese at home, French in public to be polite.]

The second theme of only using the OLs when helping their children with homework was mentioned by various parents:

**(3e)** *Hablo con ellos en francés solamente a la hora de hacer las tareas.* [I speak to

them in French only when doing homework.]

**(67e)** *A la hora de hacer tareas se lo explico en inglés.* [I explain in English when doing homework]

**(46p)** *Para fazer dever de casa é mais fácil explicar em inglês.* [It is easier to explain homework in English.]

**(117p)** *Porque preciso ajuda-lo nas tarefas da escola em francês... preciso explicar em francês.* [Because I need to help him with his homework in French... I need to explain it in French.]

The third general theme included requesting that the children only speak in the HL when talking to their siblings:

**(36p)** *...para sempre falarem entre si só em português quando estivessem em casa.* [to always speak to each other only in Portuguese when they were at home.]

**(39p)** *...que elas só podiam usar entre si, quando brincavam, por exemplo, o português.* [...that they could only use Portuguese amongst themselves when playing, for example.]

**(67p)** *Comunicação entre irmãos em português.* [Communication between siblings in Portuguese.]

The fourth theme of naturally only using the HL was found as many parents noted that speaking only the HL was not a 'rule' yet was rather something that was done organically by them and their children:

**(37e)** *Para ellos es automático hablarme en español, sin regla o restricción de mi parte.* [It is automatic for them to speak to me in Spanish, without any rule or restriction on my part.]

**(51e)** *No le pusimos ninguna regla... simplemente lo hace naturalmente y lo dejamos así.* [We didn't put any rules on him... he just does it naturally and we leave it at that.]

**(39p)** *Não proibimos nossas 3 filhas de falarem nenhuma língua em casa ou na rua. Mas em casa elas falam português o tempo todo, é natural...* [We don't forbid our 3 daughters from speaking any language at home or on the street. But at home they speak Portuguese all the time, naturally...]

**(116p)** *O uso de português em casa flui naturalmente, não é de formação obrigatória.* [The use of Portuguese at home flows naturally, it is not mandatory.]

**(81p)** *Não foi preciso impor o uso da língua porque para nós é natural falarmos português entre nós* [It was not necessary to impose the use of the language because it is natural for us to speak Portuguese among ourselves.]

Finally, an interesting comment was made by a parent who noted that it was her oldest daughter who was the one who suggested the idea of only speaking the HL when their sibling was born:

**(135e)** *Tengo una hija mayor que llegó a Canadá de 13 años y cuando nació su hermana fue quien propuso la regla de hablar siempre español en casa para preservar el idioma.* [I have an older daughter who came to Canada when she was 13 years old and when her sister was born, she was the one who proposed the rule of always speaking Spanish at home to preserve the language.]

In terms of family language policies (as outlined in Chapter 2), when looking at these reported norms in conjunction with the reported language use in the previous section, the fourth theme of both parents speaking the HL with the children show that these families have naturally created a *minority language at home* — or *minority language everywhere* for some — policy.

Looking at those that have noted or described other family language policies (FLP), various parents in two-parent families noted that they follow a *one parent, one language* (OPOL) policy with one parent speaking the HL and the other using an OL. One mother specifically noted this and accredited her daughter's bilingualism to this strategy:

**(127)** *O pai da minha filha só fala com ela na língua original dele o francês e eu só falo na minha o português. Dessa forma ela se tornou bilíngue desde cedo, associando o português a mãe e o francês ao pai. Foi a melhor decisão que tomei na educação da minha filha.* [My daughter's father only speaks to her in his native language, French, and I only speak in mine, Portuguese. By doing so, she became bilingual from an early age, associating Portuguese with her mother and French with her father. It was the best decision I made for her education.]

Other parents also noted that they follow a OPOL based on the guidance of doctors and/or speech therapists:

**(103p)** *Não misturar os idiomas é muito importante... A criança relaciona a pessoa a língua... Não misturo os idiomas jamais! (Dica médica quando ela nasceu)*  
[Not mixing languages is very important... The child relates the person to the language... I never mix languages! (Medical tip when she was born)]

**(37p)** *Também segui orientação das orthophoniste. Somente uma língua por pessoa.*  
[I also followed the guidance of the speech therapists. Only one language per person.]

When looking at those who reported using a mix of the HL with one or both of the OLs, others noted they naturally have a *mixed language* or *natural bilingualism* (or multilingualism) policy at home which they feel has helped their children:

**(150p)** *As vezes é um mix de português francês e inglês, e eu acho maravilhoso ela ter essa oportunidade dentro de casa.* [Sometimes it is a mix of Portuguese, French and English, and I think it is wonderful that she has this opportunity at home.]

On the other hand, some parents accredited this mixed-language home environment to their children having high passive HL abilities but lower active abilities. This was detailed by one mother in particular who lives in a French-dominant environment and reported that their partner speaks French with their children:

**(113p)** *Pai francófono e mãe brasileira. Temos 3 filhos nascidos no Québec. Eles se falam em francês. Eu e meu marido (pai) falamos em português. O idioma de nossas conversas em família é bastante misturado... Entendem tudo mas tem dificuldades para falar. Digamos... não é automático o português para eles!*  
[French-speaking father and Brazilian mother. We have 3 children born in Québec. They speak in French. My husband (father) and I speak Portuguese. The language of our family conversations is quite mixed... They understand everything but have difficulty speaking. Let's say... Portuguese is not automatic for them!]

This was also noted by a parent who said that this type of environment led to not only their child speaking less of the HL over time, but them as well:

**(90e)** *Con el tiempo mi hijo fue usando más el inglés y casi sin darnos cuenta nosotros le seguimos y nos dimos cuenta después de que ya no hablaba en español.* [Over time, my son began to use English more and, almost without realizing it, we followed him and realized later that he no longer spoke Spanish.]

This and other disadvantages — as well as advantages — of the various FLP found in these and other results will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

#### 4.4.2.1 Norms of Language Use and Parental Attitudes Towards the Heritage

##### Languages

Although the vast majority of parents had positive and very positive attitudes towards the HLs, as this study aimed to see if parental attitudes towards the HLs would influence their use and maintenance, it was still of interest to compare the reported language use norms as noted above to the parental attitudes determined earlier. These findings are presented in two ways:

- (i) the percentage of use of a given norm by parents in all of the PA categories<sup>32</sup> (e.g., *“50.00% of the parents who reported not using any norms have very positive attitudes”*).
- (ii) the percentage of parents from each individual PA category that reported using given norm (e.g., *“Of the parents with negative attitudes, 100% said they don't have any language use norms”*).

When looking at the distribution of these norms based on parental attitudes towards HL maintenance, Table 38 shows that parents from all categories reported having no norms regarding language use, with those with very positive attitudes making up half (50.00%) of the 120 parents who reported this.

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<sup>32</sup>It is important to note that as the majority of parents had positive (121) or very positive (174) attitudes towards the HLs, the percentages will evidently be higher for these groups. It was of interest, nevertheless, to show the distribution of the norm use. This is also applicable to the upcoming results on PDS use.

**Table 38***Norms of Language Use by Parental Attitudes Towards the Heritage Language*

Norms of Language Use	Parental Attitude Towards the Heritage Language				
	Very Negative	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Very Positive
<i>There are no norms or rules</i> (120)	1 (0.83%)	1 (0.83%)	5 (4.17%)	53 (44.17%)	60 (50.00%)
<i>I(we) only speak to my child in Spanish/Portuguese</i> (120)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	8 (6.67%)	39 (32.50%)	73 (60.83%)
<i>I only respond to my child if they speak to me in Spanish/Portuguese</i> (16)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	2 (12.5%)	6 (37.50%)	8 (50.00%)
<i>I only speak to my child in Spanish/Portuguese and the other parent only speaks to him in French and/or English (or vice versa)</i> (25)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	3 (12.00%)	11 (44.00%)	11 (44.00%)
<i>I speak to my child in Spanish/Portuguese at home and in French and/or English outside of the home</i> (34)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	4 (11.76%)	7 (20.59%)	23 (67.65%)
<i>Speaking French and/or English is prohibited at home</i> (17)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	11 (64.71%)	6 (35.29%)
<i>Other</i> (31)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	3 (9.68%)	8 (25.81%)	20 (64.52%)

The remaining norms were used only by those parents with neutral, positive, and very positive attitudes, with the exception of prohibiting use of the OLs, which was only reported by those with positive and very positive attitudes. This was also the only norm which more parents with positive attitudes (67.71%) than very positive attitudes (35.39%) reported using.



When looking at the language use norms within each of the individual parental attitude categories, Table 39 shows the percentage of parents from each PA who reported using each norm.

**Table 39***Norms of Language Use Within Each Parental Attitude Category*

Norms of Language Use	Parental Attitude Towards the Heritage Language				
	Very Negative (1)	Negative (1)	Neutral (18)	Positive (121)	Very Positive (174)
<i>There are no norms or rules</i>	1 (100.00%)	1 (100.00%)	5 (27.78%)	53 (43.80%)	60 (34.48%)
<i>I(we) only speak to my child in Spanish/Portuguese</i>	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	8 (44.44%)	39 (32.23%)	73 (41.95%)
<i>I only respond to my child if they speak to me in Spanish/Portuguese</i>	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	2 (1.11%)	6 (4.96%)	8 (4.59%)
<i>I only speak to my child in Spanish/Portuguese and the other parent only speaks to him in French and/or English (or vice versa)</i>	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	3 (16.67%)	11 (9.10%)	11 (6.32%)
<i>I speak to my child in Spanish/Portuguese at home and in French and/or English outside of the home</i>	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	4 (22.22%)	7 (5.79%)	23 (13.22%)
<i>Speaking French and/or English is prohibited at home</i>	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	11 (9.10%)	6 (3.45%)
<i>Other</i>	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	3 (16.67%)	8 (6.61%)	20 (11.49%)

*Note:* The percentages in the columns do not equal 100% as the parents were able to select multiple norms.

The one parent (100%) with negative attitudes and the one parent (100%) with very negative attitudes reported that there are no norms or rules for language use in their families.

Parents with neutral attitudes reported all of the listed norms, with the exception of prohibiting the use of the OLs in the home, with many (44.44%) reporting that they only use the HL. Parents with positive attitudes reported using all of the norms listed, with 43.80% also stating that they have no norms, followed by 32.23% who said they only speak to their child in the HL. Only using the HL was the norm reported most by parents with very positive attitudes (41.95%), followed by not using any norms (34.48%).

#### **4.4.2.2 Changes in Language Use Norms**

As these language use norms can change over time due to various reasons, parents were asked to report if this was the case for them as well as to provide details as to why or how they had changed. Overall, 252 (80.00%) said they had not changed, while 63 (20.00%) said that they had.

Of those who said their norms of language use changed to include less of the HL, seven general themes were found: (i) to help their children integrate into school in the OLs, (ii) to avoid confusion, (iii) their children asked them to, (iv) in order to maintain relationships with their children and have a more united family, (v) changes in family dynamics, (vi) because the parents needed to learn the OLs, and/or (vii) because someone told them to. These themes are shown in Table 40.

**Table 40***Reasons for Changes in Language Use Norms*

Reasons for Changes	Examples
To help their children integrate into school in the OLS	<p>(109e) <i>Cuando llegamos a Canadá le hablábamos más en francés para facilitar su aprendizaje e integración.</i> [We spoke to him more in French when we arrived in Canada to facilitate his learning and integration.]</p> <p>(117e) <i>Cuando empezó en la guardería, le hablábamos más en francés para que fuera más fácil la integración. Pero una vez que ingresó a la escuela solo hablamos español en la casa.</i> [When he started daycare, we spoke to him more in French to make the integration easier. But we only speak Spanish at home since he started school.]</p> <p>(17p) <i>Fizemos um intensivo em casa de francês com ele para desbloquear a língua e se comunicar melhor na creche. Passamos 3 meses direto no francês. Depois voltamos gradualmente ao português.</i> [We did intensive French at home with him to unlock the language and communicate better at daycare. We spent 3 months straight in French. Then we gradually returned to Portuguese.]</p> <p>(33p) <i>Quando ele era pequeno só falava em francês vimos o por causa da guarderia, então passei a falar em francês com ele.</i> [He only spoke in French when he was little because of daycare, so I started to speak French with him.]</p> <p>(97p) <i>Quando começou a creche começamos a usar o inglês fora de casa</i> [When they started daycare, we started to use English outside the home]</p>
To avoid confusion	<p>(75p) <i>Eu tentei pelos primeiros 3 anos de vida dele, mas contra a minha vontade, tivemos que unificar a língua da casa pra ser menos confuso pra ele.</i> [I tried for the first 3 years of his life, but against my will, we had to unify the language of the house to be less confusing for him.]</p>

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Their children asked them to	<p><b>(156p)</b> ...<i>ela fazia questão (me pedia) que eu falasse francês com ela na rua/garderie...</i> [...she insisted that I speak French with her on the street/at daycare...]</p>
	<p><b>(116e)</b> <i>Cuando empezó a aprender francés en su Service de Garde, él quería que todo el tiempo habláramos en este idioma, para ese tiempo le dijimos que en la casa solo nos comunicaríamos en español y por fuera en francés.</i> [When he began to learn French at daycare, he wanted us to speak in this language all the time. During that time, we told him that we would only communicate in Spanish at home and in French outside of the home.]</p>
In order to maintain relationships with their children and have a more united family	<p><b>(124p)</b> ...<i>sou eu quem acaba por perder nas interações pois ela não é capaz de se expressar em português. Ela acaba por perder o interesse na brincadeira ou atividade que estamos fazendo juntas e prefere a companhia do pai dela. Percebi que somos juntos uma família mais feliz e integrada usando somente o inglês.</i> [...I am the one who ends up losing out in the interactions because she is not able to express herself in Portuguese. She ends up losing interest in the game or activity we are doing together and prefers the company of her father. I realised that we are a happier and more integrated family using only English.]</p>
Changes in family dynamics	<p><b>(101p)</b> ...<i>tenho outra companheira há 5 anos que é francesa e não fala português</i> [I've had another partner for 5 years who is French and does not speak Portuguese]</p>
	<p><b>(40e)</b> <i>Mi nueva pareja habla francés</i> [My new partner speaks French]</p>
	<p><b>(151e)</b> ...<i>ahora tengo hijastros que no hablan el idioma y hemos dejado el español.</i> [...now I have stepchildren who don't speak the language and we have abandoned Spanish.]</p>
	<p><b>(64e)</b> ...<i>la mamá de mi hija no es latina, y ellos no hablan español en su casa (ya no vivimos juntos). Hablo en español con mi hija, pero está más interesada en hablar francés.</i> [... my daughter's mother is not Latina, and they don't speak Spanish in her house (we don't live together anymore). I speak Spanish with her, but she is more interested in speaking French.]</p>
The parents wanted to learn/practice the OLS	<p><b>(27p)</b> <i>O pai que sempre falava português com ela, agora está falando francês também para ele poder aprender.</i> [Her father, who always spoke Portuguese with her, is now speaking French too so he can learn.]</p>
	<p><b>(111e)</b> ...<i>yo trato de usar más el inglés (por mi aprendizaje).</i> [I try to use English more (for my learning).]</p>

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Pressure from teachers, medical professionals, and/or society	<p><b>(140p)</b> <i>A professora dela nos pediu para conversar com ela em francês em casa.</i> [Her teacher asked us to talk to her in French at home.]</p> <p><b>(142e)</b> <i>...hablábamos en español, pero la sociedad donde estábamos no nos ayudaba y todos se preguntaban por qué hablo ese idioma, si escondía algo, y deje de hacerlo.</i> [...we spoke in Spanish, but the community we were in didn't help us and everyone wondered why I spoke that language, if I was hiding something, and I stopped doing it]</p> <p><b>(56e)</b> <i>La razón de la decisión acerca del uso del inglés fueron basados por recomendaciones médicas, psicólogos y logopedas</i> [The reason for the decision to use English was based on medical recommendations, psychologists, and speech therapists]</p>
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While the last theme of reducing their HL language use based on recommendations or social pressures was noted by some parents, the opposite was true for some who commented that they continued to use their language despite being told not to. It is also interesting to note that these parents also reported that their children speak both their HL and one or both of the OLs perfectly:

**(120p)** *Tomamos a decisão de sempre falar português em mesmo quando íamos em reunião para a escola e os professores nos pedia qu'à do ele era pequeno par falar em francês com ele.* [We made the decision to always speak Portuguese even when we went to school meetings when he was younger and the teachers asked us to speak French with him.]

**(20p)** *Eu não aceitei a recomendação da escola de falar em francês em casa.* [I did not accept the school's recommendation to speak French at home.]

Although not directly related to changes of HL use norms in Canada, it is also interesting to note examples of parents who commented that they used an OL for their children to learn in their home country in anticipation of moving to Canada and then switched to using the HL once in the country:

(27p) *Quando morávamos no Brasil eu só falava francês com ela para ela poder aprender... Agora aqui no Québec é o contrário, falo português com ela para que ela não esqueça...* [When we lived in Brazil I only spoke French with her so she could learn... Now here in Québec it's the opposite, I speak Portuguese with her so she doesn't forget...]

(158p) *Quando morávamos no Brasil, usávamos o inglês para nos comunicar, para ela aprender. Quando mudamos para o Canadá, passamos a usar o português em casa e o inglês e o francês na rua.* [When we lived in Brazil, we used English to communicate for her to learn. When we moved to Canada, we started using Portuguese at home and English and French on the street.]

Finally, one parent noted that their norms of HL use had changed as they had originally forbidden the use of the OLs but now allow their child to use them as “*não vejo mais a necessidade de ser tão rigorosa por ele agora falar perfeitamente o português*” [I don't see the need to be so strict anymore because he now speaks Portuguese perfectly] (117p).

As shown, the reasons for parents changing their HL use norms, or general family language policies, vary and can include many social, medical, and educational reasons. For those who reported that their FLP have not changed to include less HL use, the use of parental discourse strategies (PDS), as discussed in Chapter 2, play a crucial role in maintaining — or attempting to maintain — these family language policies. The results related to the questions related to the use of PDS are shown in the next section.

#### 4.4.3 Parental Discourse Strategies

The strategies as they were presented in the questionnaires are shown below in Table 41 with their corresponding PDS in order to best present the results. Those marked with an

asterisk are those which were not part of the original PDS by Lanza (1992), as detailed in Chapter 2.

**Table 41**

*Parental Discourse Strategies*

Strategies as Presented in Questionnaire	Parental Discourse Strategies
<i>I ignore them until they answer me in Spanish/Portuguese</i>	Ignore*
<i>I pretend I don't understand and ask them to repeat what they said in Spanish/Portuguese</i>	Minimal Grasp
<i>I clarify in Spanish/Portuguese</i>	Expressed Guess
<i>I insist that they answer me in Spanish/Portuguese</i>	Insist*
<i>I repeat what they said in Spanish/Portuguese, but I do not insist that they say it</i>	Repetition
<i>I continue to speak in Spanish/Portuguese and let them speak in the language they want</i>	Move On
<i>I also start to speak French/English (or a mixture of French/English and Spanish/Portuguese)</i>	Adult Code-Switch
<i>Other</i>	Other*

Just as with the norms of language use, the participants were provided with the strategies listed below, which included the option to select *other* and provide a written answer. As some parents may use multiple strategies, they were able to select as many as they felt applied to them. These results are shown in Table 42 below.

**Table 42***Parental Discourses Strategies Reported by the Parents*

Parental Discourse Strategy	Percentage of All Parents
Ignore	7 (2.22%)
Minimal Grasp	34 (10.79%)
Expressed Guess	87 (27.62%)
Insist	62 (19.68%)
Repetition	61 (19.36%)
Move On	89 (28.25%)
Adult Code-Switch	49 (15.56%)
Other	24 (7.62%)

Overall, *move on* (28.25%) and *expressed guess* (27.62%) were reported to be used the most, followed by *insist* (19.68%) and *repetition* (19.36%). Only 15.65% reported code-switching, the most bilingual PDS, while 10.79% reported using the *minimal grasp* strategy, the most monolingual of the original PDS, and only 2.22% reported ignoring their child until they spoke in the HL.

Of the parents who reported using other strategies (7.62%), either separately or alongside the ones listed, those who provided an answer either said that they use a mixture of these strategies, that they have never been in this situation, or that it is because the child did not know a word or phrase in the HL. In these cases, a few parents wrote that they teach the word in the HL (using the *modelling* strategy as detailed in Chapter 2), with one stating that they also look up the words and their meanings in both the HL and the other OL:

(149e) *Si hay palabras que solo conoce en inglés, debemos buscar la significación correspondiente en español y francés.* [If there are words that they only know in English, we must look up the corresponding meaning in Spanish and



French.]

One parent reported that the use of PDS depends on the context, stating that if it is whilst doing schoolwork in the OL, they teach the nomenclatures in the HL and allow the child to continue to use the OL, but in other contexts they teach the term in the HL and ask that the child repeats it:

**(15p)** *Se se tratar de questões escolares, eu falo as palavras em português para que ele conheça as nomenclaturas na nossa língua nativa, mas continuamos o estudo na língua aplicada pela escola. E se for no cotidiano, ensino o termo em português, peço para ele repetir...* [If it is about school matters, I speak the words in Portuguese so that he knows the nomenclatures in our native language, but we continue the study in the language applied by the school. And if it is in everyday life, I teach the term in Portuguese, I ask him to repeat it...]

In addition to parents clarifying the other strategies they use depending on the context, comments related to the use of specific PDS were also made, with one parent referencing their success of using the *move on* strategy, a typically bilingual strategy:

**(117p)** *... se ele contar algo que aconteceu na escola em francês... de imediato eu comento o acontecido em português e ele logo volta para o português também.* [... if he tells me something that happened at school in French... I immediately comment on what happened in Portuguese and he soon goes back to Portuguese too.]

Another parent made reference to using the minimal grasp strategy with their youngest daughter, further adding that their older daughters must do the same with their younger sister:

**(22e)** *...cuando la peque cambia a inglés, le digo que no le entiendo, así que se ve obligada a hablarme en español. Y sus hermanas ya saben que deben decirle*

*lo mismo*. [...when the little one switches to English, I tell her that I don't understand her this way, she feels forced to speak to me in Spanish. And her sisters already know that they should say the same thing to her.]

Finally, in addition to stating other PDS used, a participant who reported using the *minimal grasp* strategy also noted that they do not always use this strategy as it can sometimes be tiring for them or cause stress:

(96p) *Eh [sic] cansativo fingir que não entendeu e às vezes a regra não eh [sic] aplicada em benefício de não se estressar muito*. [It is tiring to pretend not to understand and sometimes the rule is not applied in favour of not getting too stressed.]

This idea of requiring their children use the HL causing stress was also mentioned by a parent who noted that it is a daily challenge for them to know when to insist and when to let it go as it causes their children to stop talking to them:

(113p) *Para mim o grande desafio é saber equilibrar a exigência de falar português em casa. Muitas vezes eles param de me falar porque eu peço para ser em português... É um trabalho diário! Até quando insistir e corrigir?* [For me, the big challenge is knowing how to balance the requirement to speak Portuguese at home. A lot of the time they stop talking to me because I ask for it to be in Portuguese... It is a daily job! How long do you insist and correct?]

#### **4.4.3.1 Parental Discourse Strategy Use and Parental Attitudes Towards the Heritage Languages**

As with the language use norms, the reported PDS use by the parents in the various parental attitude categories is presented in two ways: (i) the percentage of use of a given norm by parents in all of the PA categories, and (ii) the percentage of parents from each individual PA category that reported using a given norm.

When looking at the distribution of the use of the PDS based on the parental attitudes towards HL maintenance, *ignore* and *minimal grasp*, the two most monolingual strategies, were reportedly used more by parents with positive and very positive attitudes, with a few parents with neutral attitudes also reporting using the latter, as shown in Table 43.

**Table 43**

*Parental Discourse Strategy Use by Parental Attitudes Towards the Heritage Language*

Parental Discourse Strategies	Parental Attitudes Towards the Heritage Language				
	Very Negative	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Very Positive
Ignore (7)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	4 (57.14%)	3 (42.86%)
Minimal Grasp (34)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	3 (8.82%)	14 (41.18%)	17 (50.00%)
Expressed Guess (87)	1 (1.15%)	0 (0.00%)	5 (5.74%)	38 (43.68%)	43 (49.43%)
Insist (62)	1 (1.61%)	0 (0.00%)	3 (4.84%)	31 (50.00%)	27 (42.86%)
Repetition (61)	0 (0.00%)	1 (1.64%)	4 (6.56%)	17 (27.87%)	39 (63.93%)
Move On (89)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	6 (6.74%)	32 (35.96%)	51 (57.30%)
Adult Code-Switch (49)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	1 (2.04%)	18 (36.73%)	30 (61.22%)
Other (24)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	3 (12.50%)	8 (33.33%)	13 (54.17%)

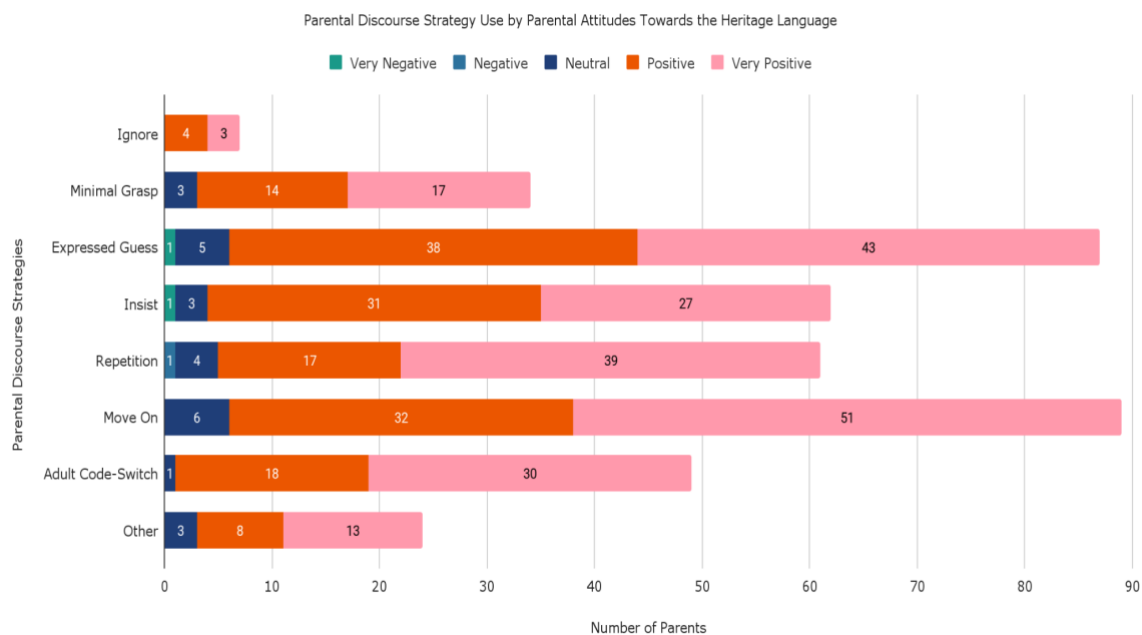
*Expressed guess* was reported to be used the most by parents with very positive attitudes whereas *insist* was reported to be used the most by those with positive attitudes. *Repetition* was reported to be used the most by parents with very positive attitudes, as were *move on* and *adult code-switch*.

When looking at the PDS by categories of PA, shown in Table 44 and Figure 26 below, the two parents with negative and very negative attitudes surprisingly used more monolingual strategies than bilingual strategies.

**Table 44***Parental Discourse Strategy Use Within Each Parental Attitude Category*

Parental Discourse Strategies	Parental Attitudes Towards the Heritage Language				
	Very Negative (1)	Negative (1)	Neutral (18)	Positive (121)	Very Positive (174)
Ignore	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	4 (3.31%)	3 (1.72%)
Minimal Grasp	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	3 (16.67%)	14 (11.57%)	17 (9.78%)
Expressed Guess	1 (100%)	0 (0.00%)	5 (27.78%)	38 (31.40%)	43 (24.71%)
Insist	1 (100%)	0 (0.00%)	3 (16.67%)	31 (25.62%)	27 (15.52%)
Repetition	0 (0.00%)	1 (100%)	4 (72.00%)	17 (14.04%)	39 (22.41%)
Move On	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	6 (33.33%)	32 (26.45%)	51 (29.31%)
Adult Code-Switch	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	1 (5.56%)	18 (14.88%)	30 (17.24%)
Other	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	3 (16.67%)	8 (6.61%)	13 (7.47%)

Note: The percentages in the columns do not equal 100% as the parents were able to select multiple PDS.

**Figure 26***Parental Discourse Strategy Use by Parental Attitudes Towards the Heritage Language*

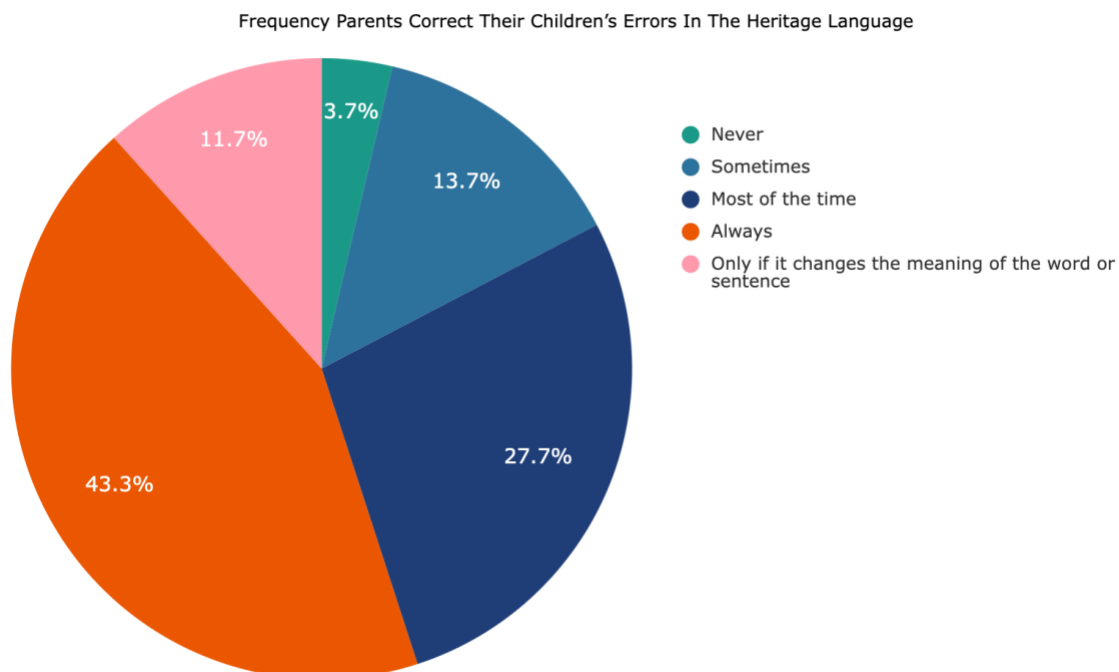
Parents with neutral attitudes reported using all but the *ignore* PDS, with *move on* being used by the most (33.33%). Parents with positive attitudes reported using all strategies, with *expressed guess* (31.40%) being reported the most and *ignore* (3.31%) being used the least. Similarly, parents with very positive attitudes reported using all PDS, but with *ignore* being used the least (1.72%), and, surprisingly, *move on* being used the most (29.31%).

#### 4.4.3.2 Correcting Heritage Language Errors

Although not considered a PDS, the parental correction of errors committed by children in the HL can be seen as a type of *modelling* and are also part of a child's HL language socialisation and development. When asked if they correct their children if they make any grammatical or pronunciation errors, after considering those who said their children don't speak the HL or don't speak yet, 130 (43.33%) said they always correct them, as shown in Figure 27.

**Figure 27**

*Frequency Parents Correct Their Children's Errors in The Heritage Language*



Of the remaining 170, 83 (27.67%) said they do most of the time, 41 (13.67%) said they sometimes do, 11 (3.67%) said they never do, and 35 (11.67%) said they only correct their child in the HL if their error changes the meaning of the word or the sentence they said.

When discussing their reasons for correcting their children in the HL, many said it was important to do so that they can “*hablarlo correctamente*” [speak it correctly] (43e), but that it was imperative to do it as a “*como forma de aprendizado, nunca como punição ou crítica!*” [as a way of learning, never as punishment or criticism!] (58p) and to “*parabenizar e incentivar-los pelas tentativas*” [congratulate and encourage them for their attempts] (113p).

Many also felt that it was important to always use the HL and “*corregirles si es necesario*” [correct them if necessary] (121e), but also to “*nunca viver corrigindo, policiando a criança*” [never live correcting, policing the child] (133p). This policing lead one parent to note that, although correcting errors can help improve a child’s language development, it can also have the opposite effect in the long term:

**(91p)** *Minha filha entende bem se eu falar, lê bem e escreve muito errado. Às vezes eu mando mensagem em português e ela responde em inglês ou em voz, por não saber como escreve em português. Antes ela escrevia errado e eu a corrigia, agora ela prefere não escrever.* [My daughter understands well if I speak, she reads well and writes very incorrectly. Sometimes I send a message in Portuguese and she responds in English or in voice, because she doesn't know how to write in Portuguese. Before she wrote incorrectly, and I corrected her, now she prefers not to write].

#### 4.4.4 Other Exposure to the Heritage Language

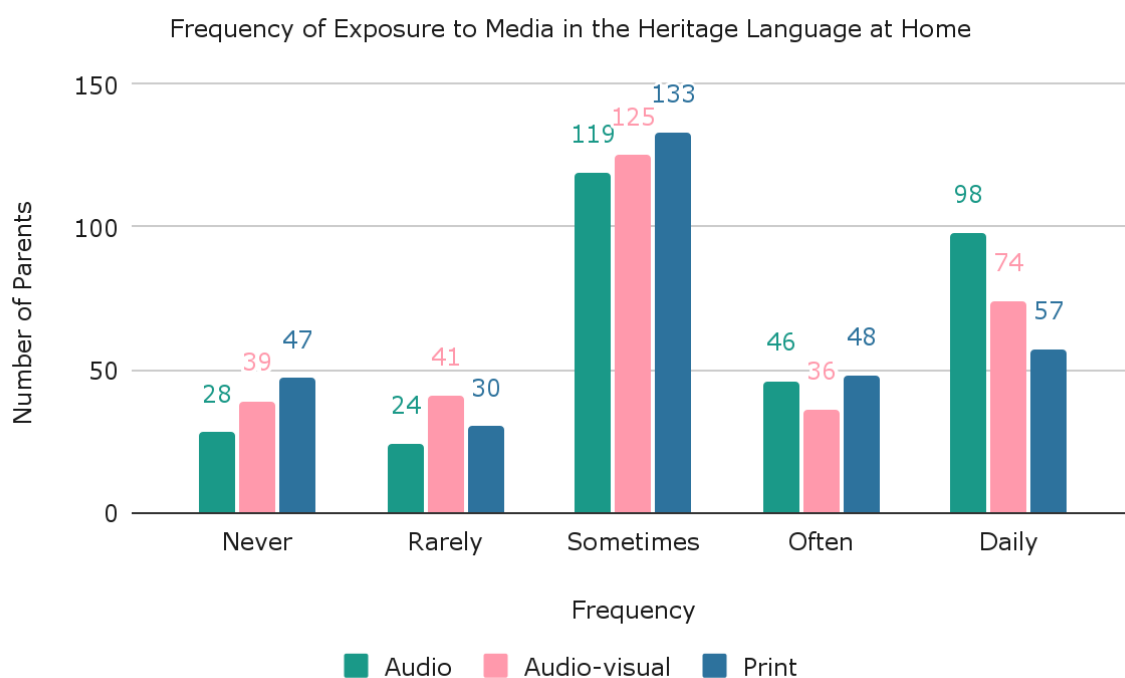
In addition to asking participants to provide the frequency they speak to their children in the HL, they were also asked to provide an approximation of how often they were exposed to the HL via media and contact with other speakers of the HL.

##### 4.4.4.1 Exposure to the Heritage Language via Media

For media exposure in the HL, parents were asked to rate how often their children were exposed to media in the HL, including (i) audio media (music, radio, and/or podcasts); (ii) audio-visual media (television, movies, videos, and/or video games<sup>33</sup>); and (iii) print media (books, magazines, and/or newspapers; print or electronic). The results of these questions are shown in Figure 28.

**Figure 28**

*Frequency of Exposure to Media in the Heritage Language at Home*



<sup>33</sup> Audio-visual media is used here to include any media consisting of both a visual and an audible component (not excluding those that use sign language), including video games. It can be argued that video games are a separate category of media as they can also include a spoken component for the user, however they were included here for simplicity.

While most parents said their children are at least sometimes exposed to the HL at home via media, only 28 (8.91%) said they are never exposed to it via music, radio, and/or podcasts; 39 (12.41%) via television, movies, videos, and/or video games; and 47 (14.98%) via books, magazines, and/or newspapers. On the opposite end of the spectrum, 98 (31.22%), 74 (23.59%), and 57 (18.15%) said their children had daily HL exposure via audio, audio-visual, and print media, respectively. In general, more parents reported a higher frequency of exposure to audio than to print media.

Breaking these figures down by language, Table 45 shows that the numbers are similar, albeit not even, across the two languages.

**Table 45**

*Exposure to Media in the Heritage Language at Home by Language*

Media	Language	Frequency				
		Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Daily
Audio	Spanish (153)	10 (6.54%)	6 (3.92%)	57 (37.25%)	27 (17.65%)	53 (34.64%)
	Portuguese (162)	18 (11.11%)	18 (11.11%)	62 (38.27%)	19 (11.73%)	45 (27.78%)
	Total (315)	28 (8.89%)	24 (7.62%)	119 (37.78%)	46 (14.60%)	98 (31.11%)
Audio-visual	Spanish (153)	16 (10.46%)	14 (9.15%)	56 (36.60%)	21 (13.73%)	46 (30.07%)
	Portuguese (162)	23 (14.20%)	27 (16.67%)	69 (42.59%)	15 (9.26%)	28 (17.28%)
	Total (315)	39 (12.38%)	41 (13.02%)	125 (39.68%)	36 (11.43%)	74 (23.49%)
Print	Spanish (153)	28 (18.30%)	13 (8.50%)	67 (43.79%)	17 (11.11%)	28 (18.30%)
	Portuguese (162)	19 (11.73%)	17 (10.49%)	66 (40.74%)	31 (19.14%)	29 (17.90%)
	Total (315)	47 (14.92%)	30 (9.52%)	133 (42.22%)	48 (15.24%)	57 (18.10%)



Although mostly similar, the exposure rate with the most difference between the two HL can be seen in the everyday exposure to television, movies, and/or videos, with 30.07% of SSP reporting their children watching something in the HL every day, while only 17.28% of PSP reported the same. It is important to note that these frequencies are approximate as they do not take into account media that the children expose themselves to that their parents may not know about (i.e., listening to music with headphones or watching movies alone), particularly the older children. Nevertheless, they are representations of the HL home environment which parents do have influence over.

When looking at the role parents felt media plays in the maintenance of the HLs, numerous parents noted its importance and said they expose their children to the HL daily through books, music, films, cartoons, etc.:

**(15p)** *Mantemos o contato diário com a língua por meios de conversas, leitura, filmes, músicas...* [We maintain daily contact with the language through conversations, reading, movies, songs...]

**(72p)** *... leio livros em português quase todos os dias. Fora as músicas infantis que escutamos ou canto para ele que também são em português* [... I read books in Portuguese almost every day. Apart from the children's songs that we listen to or sing to him, which are also in Portuguese]

**(130p)** *Lemos livros todas as noites antes de ela ir dormir* [We read books every night before she goes to sleep]

**(136p)** *Ouvimos MPB praticamente todos os dias* [We listen to MPB (Brazilian Popular music) practically every day]

Others also noted using media to expose their children to the HL to the maximum and to teach new vocabulary:

**(58p)** *Muitas músicas em português, TV, filmes, o máximo possível de português*

[Lots of songs in Portuguese, TV, movies, as much Portuguese as possible...]

**(74p)** *Expomos ela o máximo possível ao português. Ela ouve estórias, tentamos*

*variar o vocabulário, ensinar palavras novas sempre que temos*

*oportunidade... ela também tem contato com programas de tv e músicas em*

*português* [We expose her as much as possible to Portuguese. She listens to

stories, we try to vary the vocabulary, teach new words whenever we have the

opportunity... she also has contact with TV shows and songs in Portuguese]

Many parents also noted media as a way to expose their children to the richness of their language and how it can be used to maintain their culture:

**(128p)** *A língua portuguesa é muito bonita, rica, e quero abrir essa janela a minha*

*filha através da música, da literatura, etc.* [The Portuguese language is very

beautiful, rich, and I want to open that window to my daughter through music,

literature, etc.]

**(30p)** *Sou músico, é importante passar essa parte da sua cultura para ela* [I'm a

musician, it's important to pass this part of her culture on to her]

While many noted the importance of exposing their children to the HL via media, others noted that resources, particularly books, are not always easy to find in Canada:

**(75e)** *Hay pocos recursos disponibles, por ejemplo libros en español para niños, no*

*es fácil encontrar.* [There are few resources available, for example books in

Spanish for children, it is not easy to find (them).]

**(136p)** *Lemos os livros que compramos no Brasil.* [We read books that we buy in

Brazil.]

Furthermore, one parent stated that they felt that quality of the media available in their HL was not high quality nor culturally appropriate for them while living in Canada, stating:

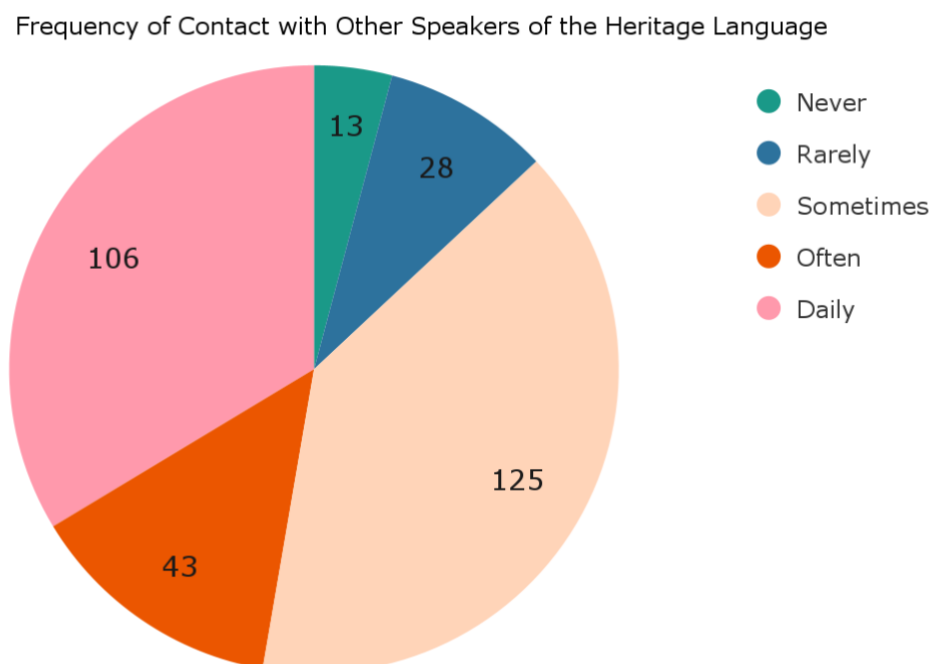
**(133p)** *Infelizmente assistir TV com conteúdo em português não é uma opção em razão da baixa qualidade do conteúdo e que não se adequa aos padrões canadenses... Muitos tratam e abordam situações culturais que são Ok no Brasil mas não aqui.* [Unfortunately, watching TV with content in Portuguese is not an option due to the low quality of the content and that it does not meet Canadian standards... Many treat and address cultural situations that are okay in Brazil but not here.]

#### 4.4.4.2 Exposure to the Heritage Language via Other Speakers

In addition to exposure to the HL via media in the home, when asked how often their children had contact with other speakers of the HL from outside of the home (i.e., not the other parent or siblings), 33.65% said daily, while only 4.13% said never, as shown in Figure 29.

**Figure 29**

*Frequency of Contact with Other Speakers of the Heritage Language*



Many parents mentioned that their children have frequent, usually daily, conversations with their family and friends:

**(34p)** *...contato diário via telefone com a família.* [...daily contact via telephone calls with the family.]

**(145e)** *...llamar a sus familiares por teléfono todos los días.* [...call their relatives on the phone every day.]

**(63p)** *Ele conversa com primos e amigos diariamente em português.* [He talks daily with cousins and friends in Portuguese.]

This connection was also mentioned by one parent who noted the importance of their children staying connected with family members of their generation as a way to maintain and improve their HL in different registers:

**(127e)** *Algo que ha motivado mucho a mi hijo es que su primo vive en Argentina y comparte mucho con él, lo que ha mejorado mucho su expresión.* [Something that has motivated my son a lot is that his cousin lives in Argentina and shares a lot with him, which has greatly improved his expression.]

Also of note was the mention of the use of various technologies, particularly video calls, as a means of keeping in touch with these family members:

**(6e)** *Conversar via FaceTime con los abuelitos o amigos.* [Talk via FaceTime with grandparents or friends.]

**(71e)** *Llamar a familiares vía Facetime.* [Call relatives via Facetime.]

**(25p)** *...mantemos contato com os familiares do Brasil, via Facetime.* [...we keep in touch with relatives in Brazil via Facetime.]

**(136p)** *Brinca com a avó materna por Skype em português.* [They play with their maternal grandmother via Skype in Portuguese.]

**(22p)** *Manter contato diário com familiares no Brasil através de ligações com câmera.* [Maintain daily contact with relatives in Brazil by video calls.]

**(39e)** *Conversamos por Zoom con la familia en México.* [We talk with family in Mexico via Zoom.]

In addition to the exposure of their HL in community events as noted earlier when discussing their importance, some parents also noted that their children have exposure to their HL with the help of “*una niñera hispana*” [a Hispanic nanny] (148e), as well when regularly attending a “*grupo social hispano*” [Hispanic social group] (115e), a “*...uma igreja em Português*” [... a church in Portuguese] (31p), and “*playgroups em português com outras famílias brasileiras*” [playgroups in Portuguese with other Brazilian families] (147p).

Furthermore, many parents noted that it is important for their child to be around other children who also speak the HL, either their friends’ children or by belonging to a “*una comunidad hispano hablante donde los niños también hablan español*” [a Hispanic community where the children also speak Spanish] (6e). This factor was also highlighted by another parent when commenting on their thoughts as to why their children speak their HL well:

**(120p)** *Outra decisão importante foi mesmo com amigos brasileiros, sempre tentamos evitar que eles falem entre eles outras línguas que não seja o português.*

[Another important decision was made with Brazilian friends; we always try to avoid them speaking languages other than Portuguese among themselves.]

Although some parents said their children did not have daily or frequent exposure to the HLs, many parents did state that their children have received immersive HL — and culture — exposure when visiting their countries of origin, as well as increased exposure when their family has visited Canada for long periods of time:

(6e) *Visitar mi país de origen por períodos bastante largos.* [Visiting my home country for fairly long periods.]

(44e) *...enviarlo con mi familia de habla hispana por largas vacaciones solo.* [...send him to my Spanish-speaking family for long vacations alone.]

(115e) *Las vacaciones las pasan en nuestro país de origen o la familia viene a pasar con nosotros y lo vemos como intercambiamos culturales.* [Vacations are spent in our country of origin or the family comes to spend them with us and we see it as exchanging cultures.]

(6e) *Visitar mi país de origen por períodos bastante largos.* [Visiting my home country for fairly long periods.]

(145p) *...viagens ao Brasil frequentemente.* [...frequent trips to Brazil]

(34e) *Con la presencia de los abuelitos, durante el verano, se incrementa el uso del español en casa.* [With the presence of the grandparents, during the summer, the use of Spanish at home increases.]

Along with these immersion experiences, the results of the four questions shown above indicated that the majority of the parents reported that their children are exposed often, if not every day, to additional input in the HL.

#### **4.4.5 Summary of The General Family Language Practices and Heritage Language**

##### **Exposure**

In general, around three-quarters of parents reported that they, along with the second parent when applicable, use their HL at a high frequency with the children and only a small number of parents reported never using it with their children, generally because the other parent does not speak it and an OL is the language of the family. Although the reported number of children who always use the HL was somewhat lower overall, many parents still reported that their children at least use the HL often with them, often naturally. When looking

at these findings by HL, more PSP said that their children always speak in the HL than the SSP. Furthermore, the majority of parents also reported that they always use the HL with the second parent, providing the children with a high amount of HL input within the home. The reported HL language abilities of the children of these parents were generally reported to be higher than those of all children under investigation.

These findings on HL language use were also shown in the reported norms of language use, with many parents reporting that they speak the HL naturally to their children yet do not force their children to do the same. Additional norms were found with other parents who reported having a one parent, one language and/or a mixed bilingualism policy. Many parents also reported that, although the general norm is to always use the HL, it depends on the context and that they will use an OL when helping with homework or around others who do not know the HL. When reporting the reasons for changes to these norms, parents noted that they were related to changes in locations, education, family dynamics, etc. Additionally, a few reported that they stopped using the HL completely or almost completely to better unite their family that included a non-HL speaking parent or because of social pressures from others. The reported PDS used to navigate these norms included a variety of all of the bilingual and monolingual strategies listed, with some parents noting they do not need to use them and others noting their success. The issue of balancing the use of PDS and harmonious family communication was also highlighted.

When looking at the reported norms of HL use and PDS by categories of PA, the two parents with negative and very negative attitudes towards their HL reported that there are no norms for language use in their families; however, they reported using more bilingual PDS than monolingual ones when necessary. Parents with positive and very positive attitudes reported using all of the norms listed, with having no norms and only using the HL being reported the most. Although many reported that they did not need to use any PDS, a variety

of all strategies were reportedly used by parents in this category, with *move on* being reported the most.

Under half of the parents reported that they always correct their children when they make a mistake in their HL, while many said they only do if it changes the meaning of the phrase and can be considered to be *modelling*. They generally commented that it was done to ensure they learn the HL correctly. Contrary to this, those who reported that they never correct their children said that it was because they do not want to discourage their use of the HL.

In addition to the reported HL exposure the children receive from their parents, the reported frequency of exposure via media ranged greatly from never to everyday, with the majority of parents reporting that their children are at least sometimes exposed to it. More parents reported a higher level of frequency of exposure with audio media than with print and a few noted that it is difficult to find quality print and audio-visual media in their HL in Canada. Over half of the parents reported that their children are in contact often, if not every day, with other HL speakers beyond their parents, generally via telephone or video calls. Many also noted that their children also spend time with other children who speak the HL and/or that they have immersive experiences during visits to their home countries.

#### **4.5 Language of Education**

The second part of the final research question was concerned with the parental attitudes towards the HLs and the OLs and their influence on the language(s) their children received their education in. In this section, the results of the questions regarding the percentage of formal education their children receive in each language are first presented, along with the reasons the parents reported for having chosen this type of education. These are followed by the comparisons of these results to the parental attitudes as outlined earlier. Additional results related to factors that may influence these findings, such as their linguistic



environment, are also included. Finally, results related to non-formal language education the children receive are also presented.

#### **4.5.1 Formal Education in the Heritage Languages and Official Languages**

Parents were asked to give the approximate percentage of their children's formal education, including school and daycare, that is in the HLs and the OLs. This was done using a value bar of 100% for the HL, French, and English together.

When asked what percentage of their children's education was in the HL, 254 (80.63%) said that none of it was, while only two (0.63%) said it was all in the HL, with one (0.65%) other saying it was almost all in the HL. As shown in Table 46, both of the parents who said their children's education is completely in the HL were SSP. As previously mentioned, these three parents noted that this was due to homeschooling or their children remaining in online classes from a school in their home country.

**Table 46***Reported Percentage of Formal Education in the Heritage Languages and Official Languages*

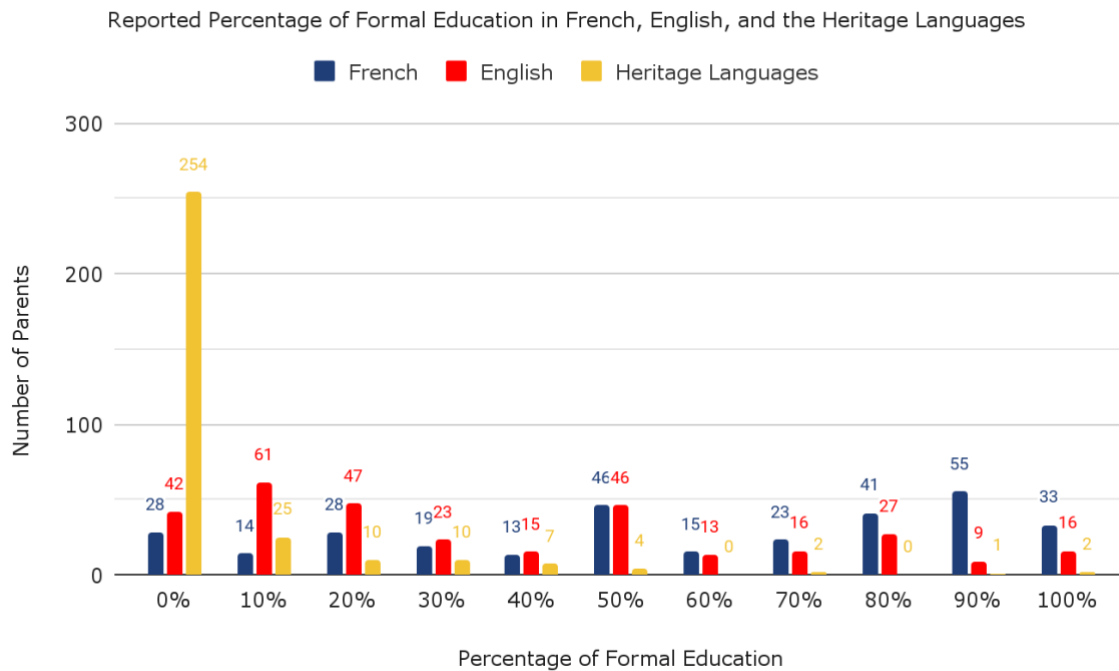
Language		Percentage of Formal Education										
		0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Heritage Languages	Spanish	103	16	9	9	7	4	0	2	0	1	2
	(153)	(67.32%)	(10.46%)	(5.88%)	(5.88%)	(4.58%)	(2.61%)	(0.00%)	(1.31%)	0.00%	(0.65%)	(1.31%)
	Portuguese	151	9	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	(162)	(93.21%)	(5.56%)	(0.62%)	(0.62%)	(0.00%)	(0.00%)	(0.00%)	(0.00%)	(0.00%)	(0.00%)	(0.00%)
	Total	254	25	10	10	7	4	0	2	0	1	2
	(315)	(80.63%)	(7.94%)	(3.17%)	(3.17%)	(2.22%)	(1.27%)	(0.00%)	(0.64%)	(0.00%)	(0.32%)	(0.64%)
Official Languages	English	42	61	47	23	15	46	13	16	27	9	16
	(315)	(13.33%)	(19.37%)	(14.92%)	(7.30%)	(4.76%)	(14.60%)	(4.13%)	(5.08%)	(8.57%)	(2.86%)	(5.08%)
	French	28	14	28	19	13	46	15	23	41	55	33
	(315)	(8.89%)	(4.44%)	(8.89%)	(6.03%)	(4.13%)	(14.60%)	(4.76%)	(7.30%)	(13.02%)	(17.46%)	(10.48%)

The remaining SSP reported that their children had varying levels of Spanish in their formal education, ranging from 10% to 90%. The remaining PSP, however, reported that only a maximum of 30% of their children's education is in Portuguese, with one (0.62%) parent each reporting 20% and 30%, and nine (5.56%) reporting 10%.

When looking at the percentage of formal education in French and English, parents reported varying levels of both languages, also shown in Table 46 above. A total of 33 (10.48%) said their children's education is completely in French, and 16 (5.08%) said it is completely in English, and 28 (8.89%) said their children had no French education and 42 (13.33%) said they have no English education.

The remaining results show a variety of the typical percentages of school in French and English, such as those reporting 80% to 90% of the education in one of the languages and 10% to 20% in the other. There were also 46 (14.60%) parents who reported that their children have an even amount of French and English education, as well as a number who reported an almost-even amount of the two OLs and a small percentage of the HL.

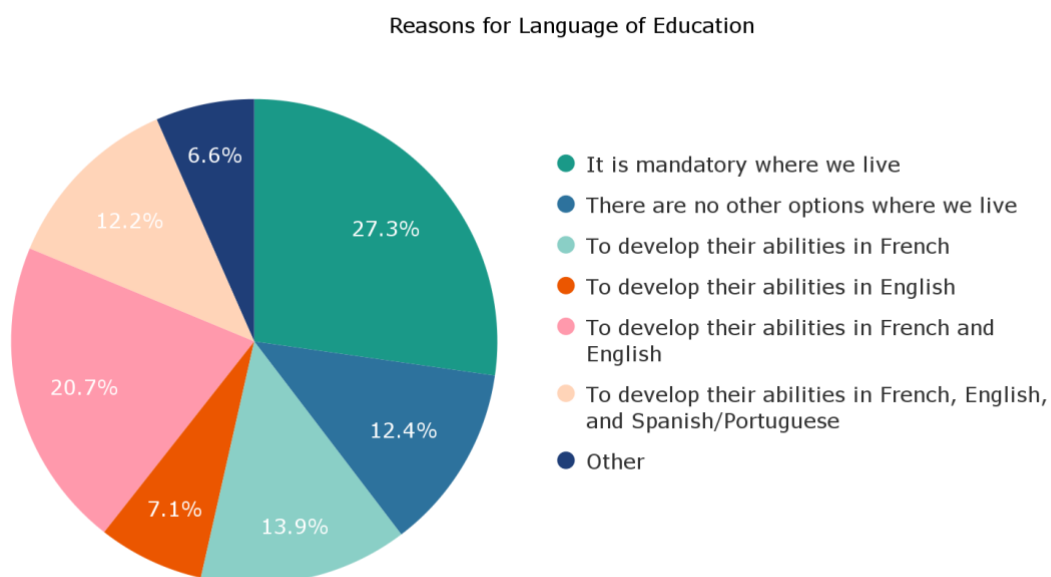
Putting all of these findings together, Figure 30 shows the percentage of all the languages under investigation side by side.

**Figure 30***Reported Percentage of Formal Education in French, English, and the Heritage Languages*

As shown, the reported percentages of OL education that the children receive varied and, although the majority do not receive any HL education, a number of parents did report that they received at least 10%, with a select few receiving all or almost all of their formal education in the HL. The following section presents the reasons parents gave regarding these varying percentages.

#### 4.5.1.1 Parental Reasons for the Language(s) of Formal Education

In addition to asking the percentage of their children's education in the OLs and HLs, parents were also asked why they chose this type of education for them, with the ability to select multiple answers and provide other reasons. Overall, 112 (35.56%) said it was because it was mandatory where they live, and 51 (16.19%) said it was because there are no other options where they live, as shown in Figure 31.

**Figure 31***Reasons for Language of Education*

Of the other parents who had options where they live, 57 (18.09%) said it was for their children to develop their abilities in French, 29 (9.21%) said it was to develop their abilities in English, and 85 (26.98%) said it was to develop their abilities in French and English. Fifty (15.87%) parents said that they chose the percentage of education in the OLS and HLs in order for their children to develop abilities in French, English, and their HL.

Of the 27 (8.57%) parents who reported having other reasons for choosing a particular language of education, many said that the language of instruction was not important, but rather the methodology used, the specialised education programs available, the distance from home, and/or the religious affiliations of the school:

**(128p)** *A língua falada na creche não era um critério decisivo; a pedagogia*

*(Montessori), sim.* [The language spoken at the daycare was not a decisive criterion; pedagogy (Montessori), yes.]

**(24p)** *Metodologia de ensino na creche* [Teaching methodology at the daycare]

**(27p)** *Nossa filha tem sérios desafios de aprendizagem, está numa escola especializada; Infelizmente lá não ensinam inglês, muito menos português.*

[Our daughter has serious learning challenges, she is in a specialised school;

Unfortunately, they don't teach English there, much less Portuguese.]

**(67p)** *Programa específico escolhido só dado em escolas em inglês* [Specific program chosen is only given in schools in English]

**(121e)** *Porque es la escuela más cercana.* [Because it is the closest school.]

**(141p)** *Escola cristã* [Christian school]

When looking at the responses related to options of selecting their children's education based on the OLs, the parents' motives were generally based on three themes: (i) lack of information on the types of education available, (ii) beliefs about language acquisition, and (iii) multilingualism and multiculturalism.

The first theme was more prevalent when it came to the options to enrol their children in schools in the OL that was not the dominant OL where they lived. One parent living in an English-dominant environment reported that they made their choice due to the lack of knowledge of options available, stating that “*no teníamos información acerca de las escuelas francófonas, por eso ingresó a una escuela angloparlante que dicta un curso de francés*” [we had no information about francophone schools, so they entered an English-speaking school that teaches a French course] (66e).

The second theme related to beliefs about language acquisition generally included the parent's belief that French is a more complicated language and that by learning it first, their children will pick up English more easily after:

**(119p)** *O francês é uma língua mais complexa comparado ao inglês, se ele aprender francês o inglês será fácil e natural.* [French is a more complex language compared to English, if he learns French, English will be easy and natural.]

**(139p)** *Escolhemos pois o francês é mais difícil do que inglês e o inglês é mais difundido. Assim, eles poderiam se tornar trilingues.* [We chose because French is more difficult than English and English is more widespread. This way, they could become trilingual.]

The third theme, of enrolling their children in an immersion or full program in the other OL, related to exposing their child to a multilingual and multicultural environment in order to “*exercitar a interculturalidade*” [to practice interculturality] (125p) and develop their multilingual abilities, with one parent noting that “*si los apoyamos y los exponemos al plurilingüismo ellos podrán desenvolverse bien sin duda en más de un idioma*” [if we help them and we expose them to multilingualism, they will undoubtedly be able to function well in more than one language] (106e). Furthermore, another parent in an English-dominant area felt that the (perceived) bilingual environments of Francophone schools would help their child’s multilingual development and comfort using the HL stating that:

**(5e)** *En el sistema francófono es normal que los niños hablen al menos dos idiomas, inglés y francés, por lo que mi niño no se siente extraño hablando otro idioma que no sea inglés.* [In the francophone system it is normal for children to speak at least two languages, English and French, so my son does not feel strange speaking a language other than English.]

Examining the responses related to formal education in the HLs, many stated that although they would have liked for their children to be educated in their HL (as detailed earlier in section 4.2.1.5), they are not because there are no schools in their areas that offer formal education in these languages. Despite this, of the parents who reported that all or almost all of their children's education is in the HL, two noted that they chose to homeschool their children completely in the HL in order to maintain it. A third parent reported that their child is still enrolled in online school from their home country, stating that “*se mantiene en*

*clases online del país donde venimos*” [they remain in online classes from the country we come from] (35e).

Finally, while answering the questionnaire based on their HL use with their daughter (who reportedly spoke all three languages perfectly well and had a relatively high percentage of education in all three), one parent commented on her linguistic abilities compared to their son, describing the benefits she received from immersion and HL education, even if she is no longer in them:

(46e) *Mi hijo tuvo su educación en su mayoría en inglés pero mi hija estuvo con el programa de inmersión y veo la gran diferencia. Ella domina los 3 idiomas... Ya que están grandes se me hubiera gustado que ambos estuvieran en inmersión y haberlos mantenido en los programas de español.* [My son had his education mostly in English, but my daughter was in the immersion program and I see a big difference. She speaks all 3 languages... Now that they are older, I would have liked for both of them to have been in immersion and to have kept them in the Spanish programs.]

As shown by the above results, the reasons why parents enrolled their children in the reported percentage of education in the three languages varied. Although the majority noted that they either did not have any options where they live (or did not know about these options), or the options were not available due to educational requirements or financial barriers, many indicated that it was to improve their children's bilingual or multilingual abilities. The role in which their attitudes towards these three languages play in their education choices was also important to take into consideration and are discussed in the next section.



#### **4.5.2 Language of Formal Education by Parental Attitudes**

Although many parents noted that they had no other options where they live when it came to the linguistic makeup of their children's formal education, it was still of interest to see if the parental attitudes determined earlier had an effect on the percentage of education their children receive in each language. In order to do so, a descriptive statistical analysis was done using the percentage of their children's education in each language compared to the five categories of parental attitudes.

##### **4.5.2.1 Reported Percentage of Formal Education in the Heritage Language by Parental Attitudes**

When looking at the percentage of formal education in the HLs compared to the parental attitudes towards them, all of the parents who reported that their children have at least 10% of their schooling in the HLs had very positive attitudes towards the maintenance of these languages. Although many with positive or very positive attitudes towards their HL also reported that there were no options for them where they live, as previously reported in section 4.2.1.4, many of them did express a desire for their children to take courses taught in the HL or HL classes, as noted in section 4.5.1.1.

##### **4.5.2.2 Reported Percentage of Formal Education in French and English by Parental Attitudes**

As with education in the HL, many parents noted that they had no other options when it came to the language of their children's formal education. Nevertheless, a descriptive statistical analysis was done using the percentage of their children's education in French and English compared to the four<sup>34</sup> categories of parental attitudes towards these OLs.

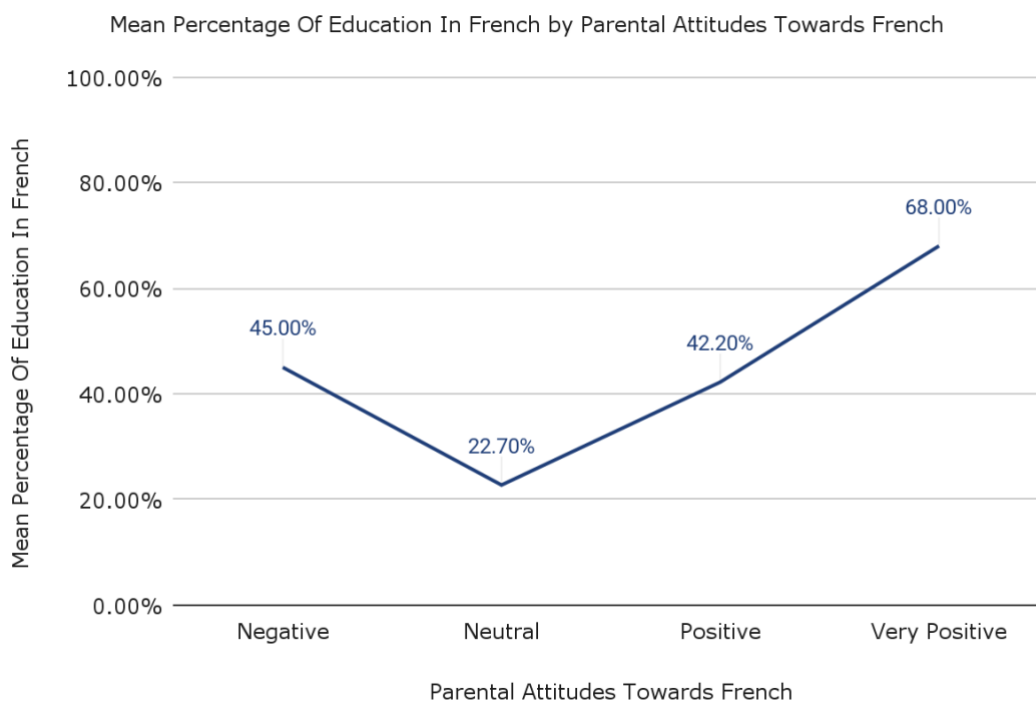
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<sup>34</sup> Although five categories of parental attitudes were determined, no parents had very negative attitudes towards French nor English and it was therefore removed for the statistical analysis.

When comparing the percentage of education in the OLs to the parental attitudes towards these languages, Figure 32 first shows the mean parental attitudes towards French and the mean percentage of their children's education in French.

**Figure 32**

*Mean Percentage of Education in French by Parental Attitudes Towards French*



When looking at the means of the percentage of education in French, Table 47 shows the descriptive statistics for the four groups of parental attitudes.

**Table 47**

*Mean Percentage of Education in French by Parental Attitudes Towards French*

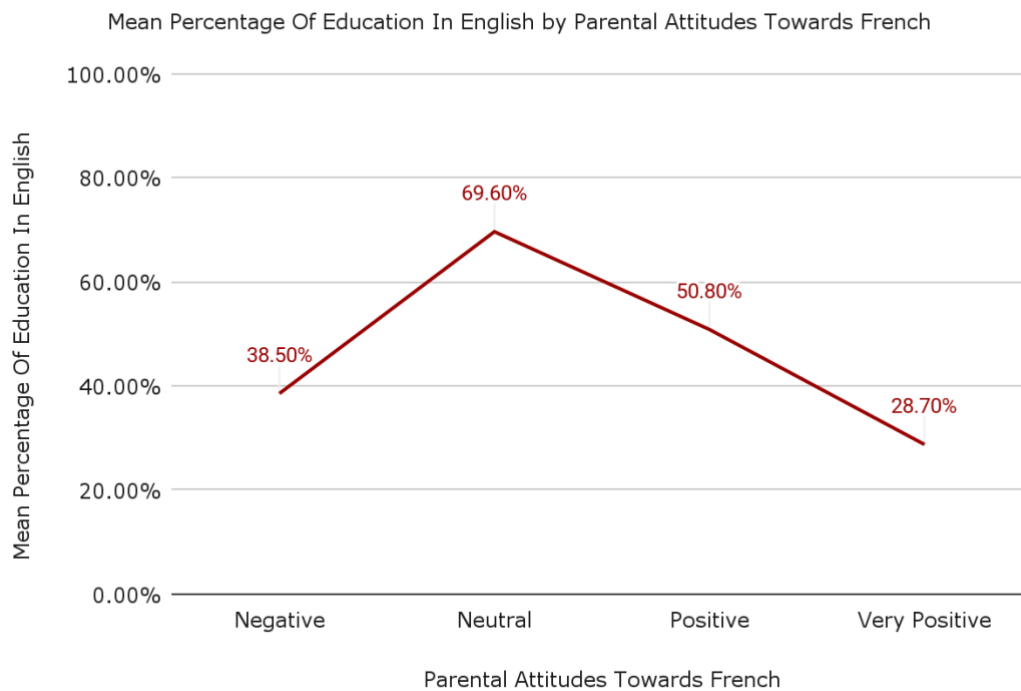
	Parental Attitudes				
	Very Negative	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Very Positive
mean	-	45%	22.7%	42.2%	68%
sd	-	35	21.2	31.7	27.8
<i>n</i>	-	20	22	67	206

The main effect of the group is statistically significant ( $F_{3,311} = 27.29$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and comparisons using Bonferroni's *post hoc* test found a statistical difference between parents with very positive attitudes and those with negative attitudes (mean difference = 22.9, 95% CI = 40.86, 5.06,  $p = .004$ ), neutral attitudes (mean difference = 45.2, 95% CI = -62.38, 28.09,  $p < .001$ ), and positive attitudes (mean difference = 25.7, 95% CI = 36.47, 14.97,  $p < .001$ ), and between the groups of parents with positive attitudes and those with neutral (mean difference = 19.5, 95% CI = 38.29, 0.73,  $p = .037$ ), but not between groups of parents with positive attitudes and those with negative ones ( $p = 1.0$ ), nor between those with neutral and negative attitudes ( $p = .077$ ). Most effect sizes showed a large effect (Cohen's  $d$  above 0.7), with one exception: positive-negative ( $d = 0.08$ ). This indicates that parents' attitude towards their children's language development in French has a strong effect on the percentage of their children's education in French.

Using these same attitudes towards French, Figure 33 shows the mean percentage of their children's education in English.

**Figure 33**

*Mean Percentage of Education in English by Parental Attitudes Towards French*



With these means of the percentage of education in English, Table 48 shows the descriptive statistics for the four groups of parental attitudes towards French.

**Table 48**

*Mean Percentage of Education in English by Parental Attitudes Towards French*

	Parental Attitudes				
	Very Negative	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Very Positive
mean	-	38.5%	69.6%	50.8%	28.7%
sd	-	34.8	22.8	32.3	25.6
<i>n</i>	-	20	22	67	206

The main effect of group was statistically significant ( $F_{3,311} = 21.94, p < .001.$ ) and comparisons using Bonferroni's *post hoc* test found a statistical difference between the parents with very positive attitudes and the parents with neutral attitudes (mean difference = -40.8, 95% CI = -24.4, -57.3,  $p < .001$ ) and the parents with positive attitudes (mean

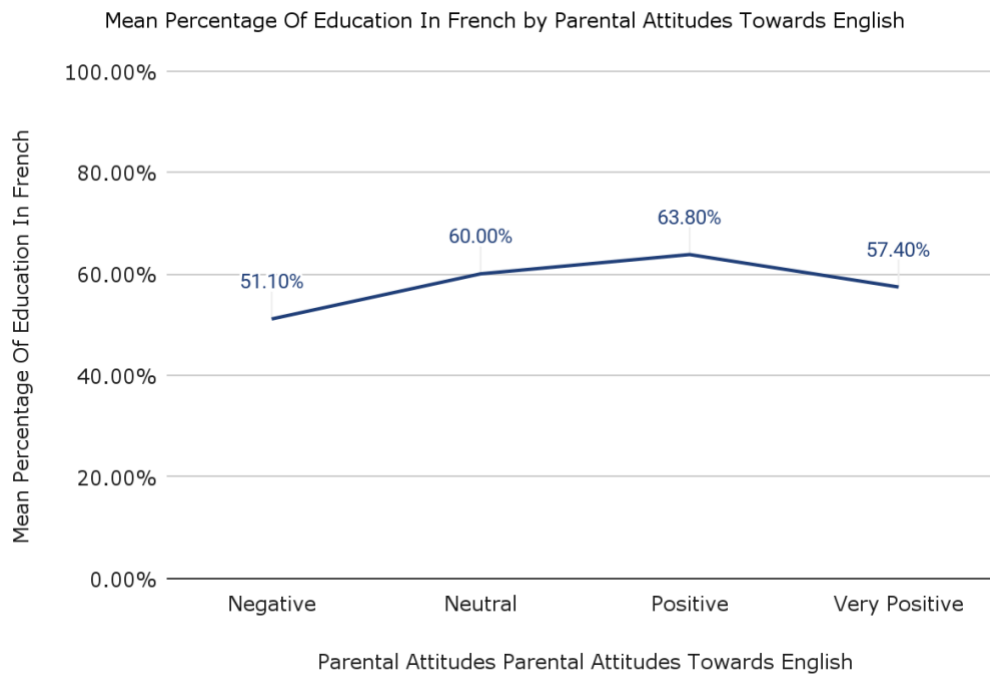
difference = -22.1, 95% CI = -11.74, -32.37,  $p < .001$ ). There was also a statistical difference between the parents with positive attitudes and those with neutral ones (mean difference = -18.8, 95% CI = -0.77, -36.82,  $p = .036$ ), and between the parents with neutral attitudes and those with negative ones (mean difference = -31, 95% CI = -8.38, -53.71,  $p = .002$ ). There was not a statistical difference between the parents with positive and negative attitudes ( $p = .497$ ), nor between very positive and negative attitudes ( $p = .783$ ). Most effect sizes showed a large effect (Cohen's  $d$  above 0.7), with two exceptions: positive-negative ( $d = 0.37$ ) and very positive-negative ( $d = 0.32$ ). This indicates that parents' attitude towards their children's language development in French has a somewhat strong effect on the percentage of their children's education in English.

As shown, the parental attitudes towards French had a strong effect on the percentage of education their children have in French, and a somewhat strong effect on the percentage of education in English.

When looking at the parental attitudes towards English, Figure 34 shows the parental attitudes towards this OL and the mean percentage of their children's education in French, followed by the descriptive statistics for the four groups of parental attitudes in Table 49.

**Figure 34**

*Mean Percentage of Education in French by Parental Attitudes Towards English*

**Table 49**

*Percentage of Education in French by Parental Attitudes Towards English*

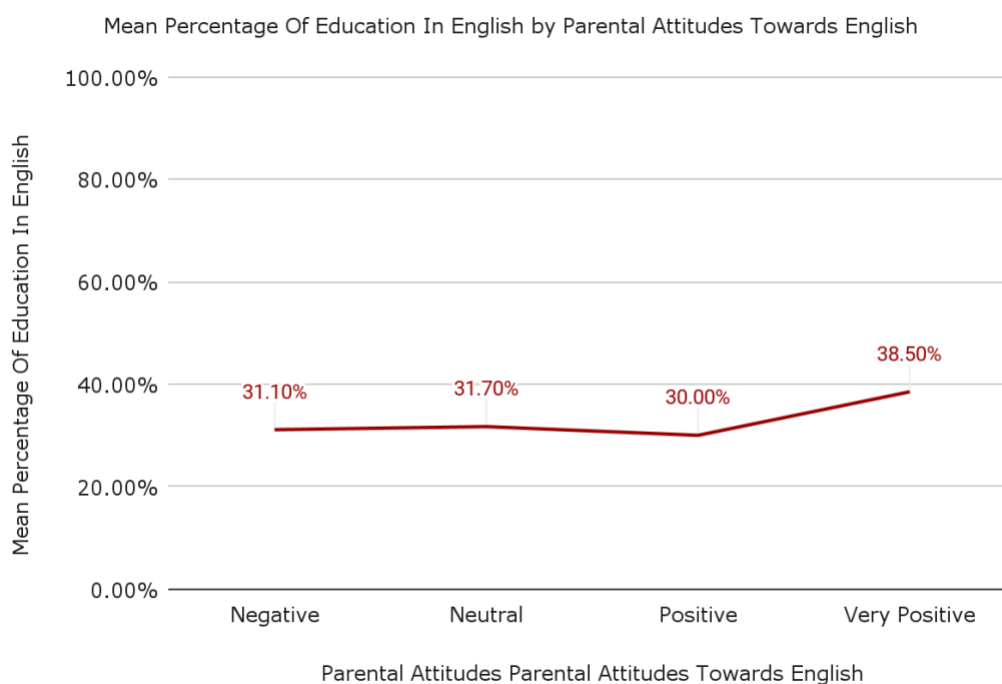
	Parental Attitude				
	Very Negative	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Very Positive
mean	-	51.1%	60%	63.8%	57.4%
sd	-	33.1	40.5	25.9	32.9
<i>n</i>	-	18	6	40	251

The main effect of group was not statistically significant ( $F_{3,311} = 0.74$ ,  $p = .531$ ) and comparisons using Bonferroni's *post hoc* test found no statistical difference between any group combination ( $p = 1.0$ ). This indicates that parents' attitudes towards their children's language development in English has no effect at all on the percentage of education in French.

Again, using these groups of parental attitudes towards English, Figure 35 shows them along with the mean percentage of their children's education in English, followed by the descriptive statistics for the four groups of parental attitudes in Table 50.

**Figure 35**

*Mean Percentage of Education in English by Parental Attitudes Towards English*



**Table 50**

*Mean Percentage of Education in English by Parental Attitudes Towards English*

	Parental Attitude				
	Very Negative	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Very Positive
mean	-	31.1%	31.7%	30%	38.5%
sd	-	28.3	35.4	22.9	40
<i>n</i>	-	18	6	31.2	251

The main effect of group was not statistically significant ( $F_{3,311} = 1.2, p = .308$ ) and comparisons using Bonferroni's *post hoc* test found no statistical difference between any

group combination ( $p > 0.6$ ). This indicates that the parental attitudes towards their children's language development in English has no effect at all on the percentage of their education that is in English. Overall, parental attitudes towards English had no effect on the percentage of education in English and also had no effect at all on the percentage of education in French.

In summary, the parental attitudes towards French had a strong effect on the percentage of education their children have in French, and a somewhat strong effect on the percentage of their education in English, whereas the parental attitudes towards English had no effect at all on the percentage of their education in English nor on the percentage of their education in French.

Again, it is important to take into account that many parents noted they did not have an option when it came to what type of education their children have, but it is nevertheless interesting to see these effects.

#### 4.5.2.3 Language of Education in Different Linguistic Environments

It was also of interest to see the mean of the percentage of education in each of the OLs within each of the reported linguistic environments. Table 51 shows the mean percentage of education in French and English based on the number of parents in each of the linguistic environments.

**Table 51**

*Mean Percentage of Education in French and English in Each Linguistic Environment*

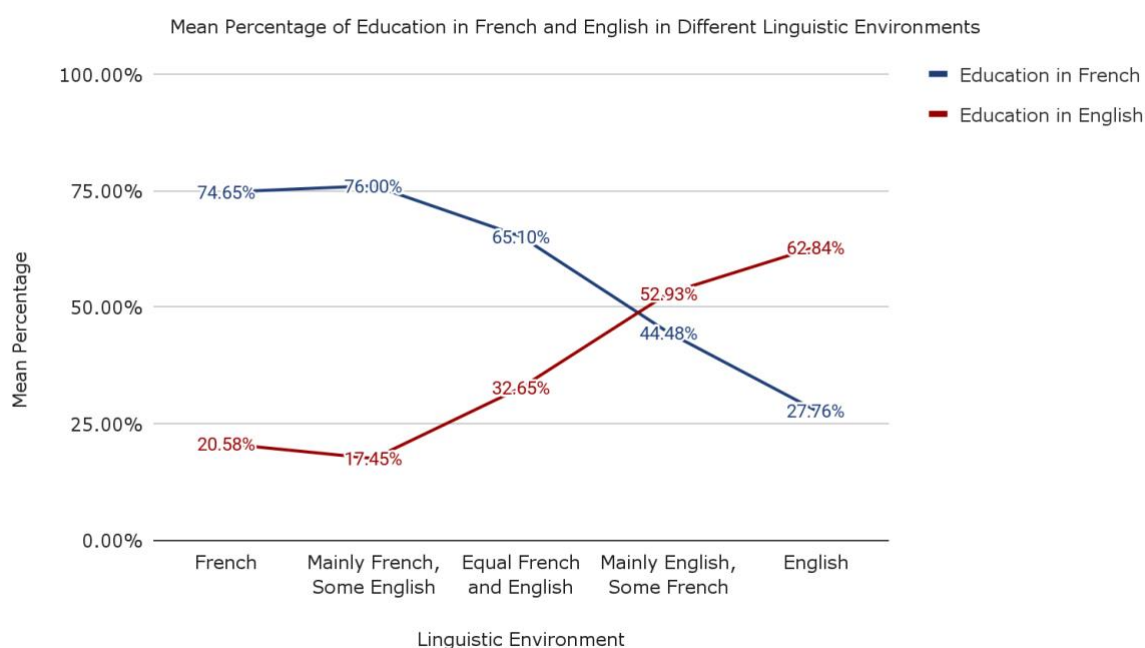
Linguistic Environment	Mean Percentage of Education in French	Mean Percentage of Education in English
French	74.65%	20.58%
Mainly French, Some English	76.00%	17.45%
Equal French and English	65.10%	32.65%
Mainly English, Some French	44.48%	52.93%
English	27.76%	62.84%



For the parents living in French-dominant areas, the mean percentage of education in French is 74.65% and 20.58% for English, and for the parents living in English-dominant areas, the mean percentage of education in English is 62.84% and 27.67% for French. These figures are presented again in Figure 36, which shows the trend of having a higher mean percentage of the OLs in environments in which they are the dominant languages.

**Figure 36**

*Mean Percentage of Education in French and English in Different Linguistic Environments*



When looking at the environment that is mainly French with some English, the mean percentage of French (76.00%) is much higher than that of English (17.45%), and even slightly higher than in French-only environments. This is not the case, however, in environments that are mainly English with some French. Although the mean for English (52.93%) is still higher than that for French (44.48%), the difference between the two is much less. Additionally, the mean percentage for French (65.10%) is quite a bit higher than that of English (32.65%) in linguistic environments in which French and English are considered to be equal, showing a preference for French-language education when possible.

### 4.5.3 Language Classes Outside of Formal Education

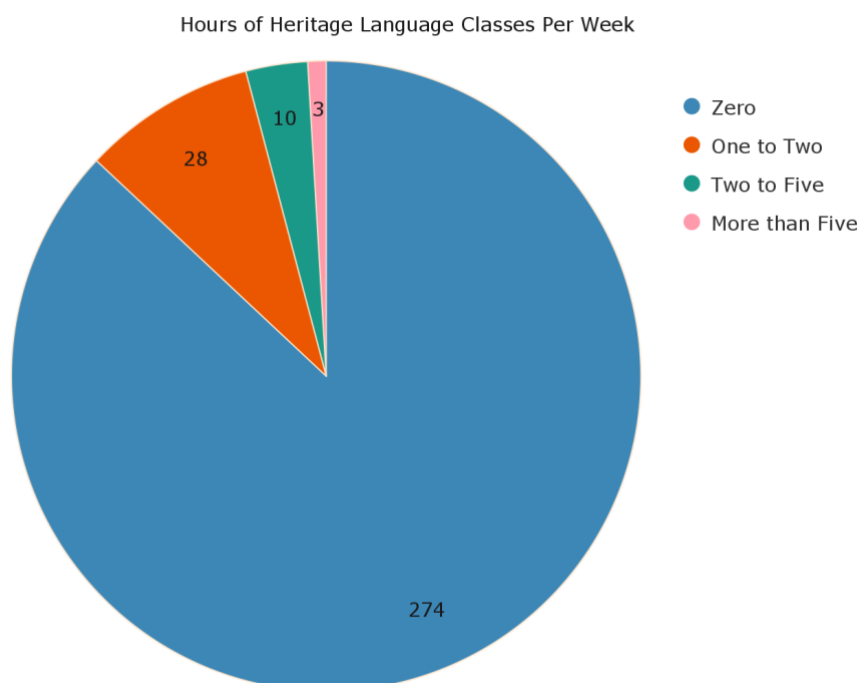
In addition to their formal education in the HLs and OLs, parents were also asked if their children take any additional language classes outside of school, including formal or informal courses, on-line or in-person private classes, play groups, and/or “Saturday school” for the HLs, as detailed in Chapter 2. Overall, 272 (86.35%) parents reported that their children do not currently take any language classes outside of their formal education in neither the OLs nor the HLs.

#### 4.5.3.1. Heritage Language Classes Outside of Formal Education

When asked about HL classes, 274 (86.98%) parents reported that their children do not currently take any, as shown in Figure 37.

**Figure 2**

*Hours of Heritage Language Classes Per Week*

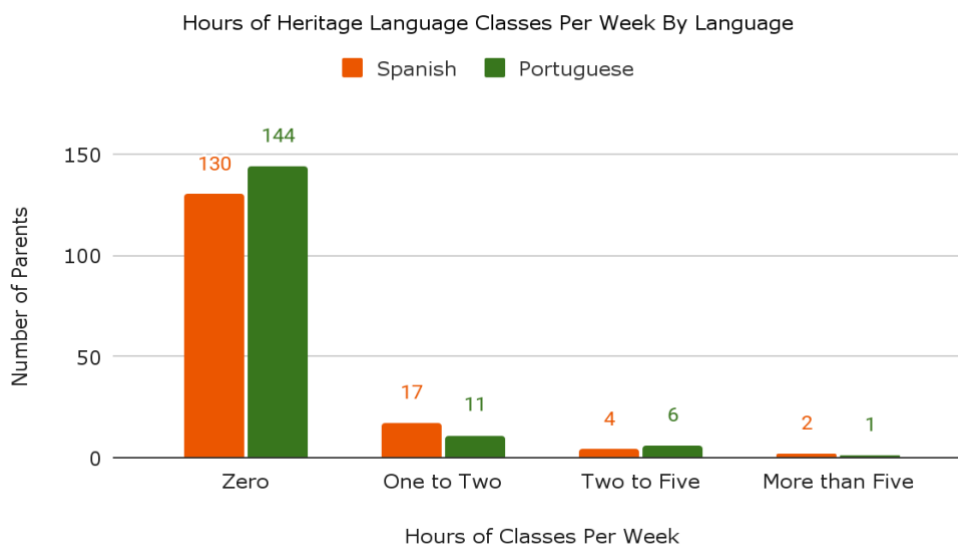


Of the 41 (13.02%) parents who reported that their children do take classes, 28 (8.89%) said they take one to two hours per week, 10 (3.17%) said they take two to five

hours per week, and 3 (0.95%) said their take more than five hours per week. These figures are further broken down by language in Figure 38.

### Figure 3

*Hours of Heritage Language Classes Per Week by Language*



Of those who take more than five hours of classes per week, two take Spanish classes and one takes Portuguese classes. Four take Spanish classes and six take Portuguese classes two to five hours a week, and the remaining 17 and 11 take one to two hours of Spanish and Portuguese classes, respectively, per week.

When looking at the responses to the open-ended questions regarding HL courses and classes, many parents said their children do not take any because “*não há bons programas/opções disponíveis em português onde moramos*” [there are no good programs/options available in Portuguese where we live] (10p) and that any good programs that once existed, currently do not, as noted by one parent who said that their daughter used to take Portuguese class, but the classes went online and “*o interesse em continuar não existe mais*” [the interest in continuing is no longer there] (90p). This was further emphasised by another who previously voiced a desire for their child to take HL classes or programs and said that “*sería genial de que hubiera cursos para niños que fueran dinámicos e*

*interesantes*” [it would be great if there were courses for children that were dynamic and interesting] (45e), as, in their experience, there are not. These feelings were echoed by other parents with similar complaints:

**(46e)** *Sí tomó clases de pequeño, algunos cursos pero lo retiré ya que las clases no me parecían bien preparadas. Mucha tv pero no actividades que le ayudarán en su lenguaje.* [He did take classes when he was little, some courses but I removed him because the classes did not seem well-prepared to me. Lots of TV, but no activities that will help him with his language.]

**(133p)** *Infelizmente a demanda por português brasileiro é baixa e aí a sala de aula une crianças de todas as idades e graus de conhecimento... Não funciona e não estimula pq não está direcionado para necessidade da criança.*  
[Unfortunately the demand for Brazilian Portuguese is low and the classroom unites children of all ages and levels of knowledge... It doesn't work and it doesn't stimulate because it isn't directed to the child's needs.]

One also mentioned the lack of accessible classes in their area:

**(102e)** *Que lastima que no hay clases gratuitas de español para aprender a leer y escribir en Ottawa para nuestros hijos.* [It's a shame that there are no free Spanish classes in Ottawa for our children to learn to read and write it.]

On the other hand, while many parents live in areas which may offer quality programs, they choose to not enrol their children in them as they do not want the HL to become something they despise or something that is no longer fun for their children:

**(125p)** *Acreditamos que não cobrar muito da criança e ensinar pelo exemplo (conversa, mecanismos lúdicos, etc.) é mais eficaz que inserir a criança numa sobrecarga de cursos formais e levá-la a repulsa pelo idioma.* [We believe that not demanding too much from the child and teaching by example

(conversation, play mechanisms, etc.) is more effective than overloading them with formal courses and making them grow to repulse the language.]

**(115e)** *La forma más fácil de que ellos no lo pierdan es que aprendan a disfrutar el hablarlo, por eso todo lo que nos divierte se hace en español... por eso no recibieron nunca clases de español. Porque no les parecía divertido.* [The easiest way for them to not lose it is for them to learn to enjoy speaking it, that's why everything that amuses us is done in Spanish... That's why they never received Spanish classes. Because they didn't find it fun.]

It is interesting to note the trend of many parents mentioning that their children take extracurricular classes in the HL, often online and with teachers from their home countries:

**(75e)** *Toma clases extraescolares en línea con maestros de México (pintura, piano, gimnasia, etc.).* [They take extracurricular classes online with teachers from Mexico (painting, piano, gymnastics, etc.).]

**(142e)** *...ahora comenzó clases extraescolares en español.* [...now she has started extracurricular classes in Spanish.]

**(145p)** *...aula de música em Português online...* [...music class in Portuguese online...]

**(147p)** *Meu filho faz aula de piano em português.* [My son takes piano lessons in Portuguese.]

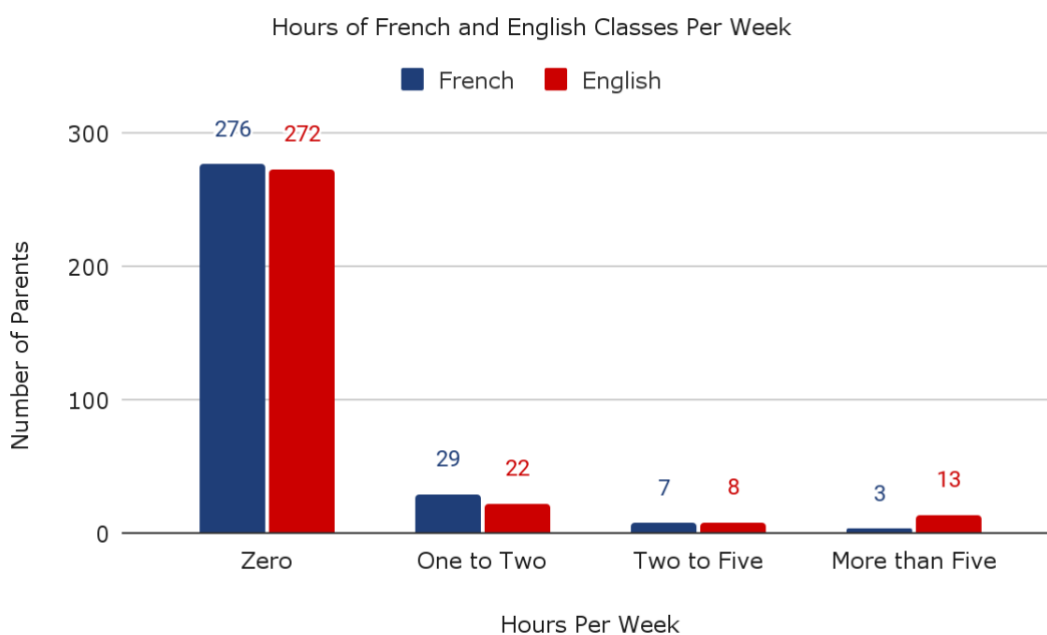
The idea of having extracurriculars offered in the HLs was also highlighted as something of interest by one parent who expressed a desire “*ter opções de escolinhas de esportes... onde só se falasse português*” [to have options for sports... where only Portuguese is spoken] (106p).

#### 4.5.3.2 Official Language Classes Outside of Formal Education

When looking at French and English classes, 276 (87.62%) parents said that their children do not take French classes, and 272 (86.35%) said they do not take English classes, as shown in Figure 39.

**Figure 39**

*Hours of French and English Classes Per Week*



Of the 39 (12.38%) parents who did report that their children take French classes, 29 (9.20%) said they take one to two hours of classes per week, 7 (2.22%) have two to five hours per week, and 3 (0.95%) take more than five hours per week. Of the 43 (13.65%) who said their children take English classes, 22 (6.98%) said they have one to two hours per week, 8 (2.54%) have two to five hours, and 13 (4.13%) take more than five hours per week.

Interestingly, 15 parents said their children take classes in both of the OLs, and nine (four SSP and five PSP) said they take classes in one of the OLs and their HL. Furthermore, five parents (four SSP and one PSP) said their children take classes in both the OLs and their

HL, all of varying hours per week. None of the parents commented on why their children do or do not take OL classes.

#### **4.5.4 Summary of Language of Schooling**

The reported percentage of formal education in the HLs was overall very low, with only a few parents reporting that their children receive all or almost all of their education in their HL. Although some PSP reported low percentages of Portuguese education, the vast majority reported none. The majority of SSP also reported that their children receive no education in the HL, however, there was a notable number who receive varying levels, including some who receive all or almost all of their formal education in Spanish.

The reported percentages of formal education in French and English showed varying levels of both languages. A small percentage said it was completely in one of the two OLs, and some parents reported that their children have an even amount of French and English or an almost even amount of the two languages and a small percentage of the HL.

Although many parents said their children receive their education in varying levels of the OLs because it was mandatory or there were no other options where they live, many also reported choosing more bilingual options in order for their children to develop their abilities in the two OLs. Furthermore, those who reported that their children receive at least some of their formal education in one or both of the OLs and their HL reported doing so in order for their children to develop their multilingual abilities in the three languages.

When compared to the parental attitudes determined earlier, the attitudes towards French had a strong effect on the percentage of education their children have in French, and a somewhat strong effect on the percentage of their education in English. The parental attitudes towards English, however, had no effect at all on the percentage of their education in neither English nor French. Additionally, parents reported a higher mean percentage of education in the OLs in environments in which they are the dominant languages. There was, however, a

higher percentage of education in French in English-dominant areas than English in French-dominant areas, showing a slight preference for parents to enrol their children in a higher percentage of education in French when available.

Outside of formal education, the vast majority of parents reported that their children do not currently take any language classes outside of their formal education in French, English, nor the HLs. Of those who do, there were similar numbers of SSP and PSP who reported that their children take at least one hour of HL classes per week. A similar percentage of parents reported that their children take classes in the OLs, and, interestingly, some said their children take classes in both of the OLs, in one of the OLs and their HL, or in both the OLs and their HL, all of varying hours per week.

#### **4.6 Results Summary**

The first section reported the results related to the parents' attitudes towards the HL and its maintenance in Canada, showing that the vast majority showed positive attitudes towards their HL, while very few showed neutral or negative attitudes. Overall, most parents agreed that it was important to maintain the HLs in Canada and for their children to have both oral and written communication skills in them. The importance of knowing the HL for their children's future success was agreed or strongly agreed by most, as was its use in the importance of preserving their children's cultural identity. Fewer parents agreed on the importance of attending social events in the HL, a rating which was lower the longer the parents had been in Canada. Finally, many showed a desire for their children to have some of their formal education in the HL.

The second section reported on the results related to the parents' attitudes towards French and English, showing that the vast majority showed positive attitudes towards both, although slightly fewer showed positive attitudes towards French. Although there were a number of parents who had negative attitudes towards both French and English, no parents



showed very negative attitudes to either. A notable finding was that the 15 parents who had negative attitudes towards both OLs had very positive attitudes towards the HLs.

In general, parents agreed that it was important for their children to have both oral and written communication skills in both OLs, with only some showing slightly more extreme views towards the two languages. Those who have been in Canada longer rated the two communication skills in both languages slightly higher than those who have been in the country for less time, particularly French. Most also agreed on both languages being important for their children's future success, with slightly more in favour of English than French. Finally, the linguistic environment in which they reported living did not have a noticeable effect on the importance of speaking French and barely had an effect on the importance of speaking English.

When looking at the results of the general family language practices, the results showed a high level of HL input for the children, as many parents reported that they and the second parent, when applicable, use their HL at a high frequency with the children. Even at a somewhat lower rate, many parents reported that their children use the HL often, if not always, with them, although this frequency was lower for the SSP than the PSP. Furthermore, the majority of parents also reported that they always use the HL with the second parent, providing a high amount of HL input for the children. The reported HL language abilities of the children in these two-HL-speaking-parent families were generally reported to be higher than those of all children under investigation.

Many parents reported that they speak the HL naturally to their children yet do not force their children to do the same, while other HL use norms were reported by parents who reported having a *One parent, one language* and/or a *Mixed bilingualism* policy. Many parents also reported that their HL use changed when helping with homework or around non-HL speakers. Changes in locations, education, family dynamics were listed as the main

reasons for the evolution of their FLPs, including some who reported no longer using their HL in order to better unite their family or because of social pressures from others to do so. The reported PDS used to navigate these norms included a variety of all of the bilingual and monolingual strategies listed, with some parents noting they do not need to use them and others noting their success. The issue of balancing the use of PDS and harmonious family communication was also highlighted. The use of corrective feedback was noted by many of the parents, with some expressing their importance to HL development, while other expressed not using them as to not 'police' their children's language use and potentially create animosity towards them and the HL.

Parents with negative and very negative attitudes towards their HL reported that there are no language use norms within their family, yet reported using more bilingual PDS than monolingual ones when necessary. Parents with positive and very positive attitudes reported using all of the norms listed, with having no norms and only using the HL being reported the most. A variety of all strategies were reportedly used by parents in this category, with *move on* being reported the most, followed by *expressed guess*.

In addition to the reported HL exposure the children receive from their parents, the reported frequency of exposure via media ranged from never to everyday, with the majority of parents reporting that their children are at least sometimes exposed to it. More parents reported a higher level of frequency of exposure with audio media than with print. Furthermore, over half of the parents reported that their children are in contact often, if not every day, with other HL speakers beyond their parents.

Moving outside of the family home, when asked what percentage of their children's education was in the HL, most parents said that none of it was while only two said it was all in the HL. The remainder reported varying amounts of education in the HL, with notably higher percentages from SSP than PSP.

The reported percentage of formal education in French and English showed varying levels of both languages, which is a typical pattern for education in Canada. A small percentage said it was completely in French or English, and a few parents reported that their children have an even amount of French and English or an almost even amount of the two languages and a small percentage of the HL.

Looking at the reasons for choosing these percentages of formal education, although many said it was because it was mandatory or there were no other options where they live, many also reported choosing more bilingual or multilingual options in order for their children to develop their abilities in the two OLs and/or the HL. Even considering the fact that many parents noted that they did not have options, the parental attitudes towards French had a strong effect on the percentage of education their children have in French, and a somewhat strong effect on the percentage of their education in English, whereas the parental attitudes towards English had no effect at all on the percentage of their education in English nor French. When looking at the linguistic environment, parents reported a higher mean percentage of formal education in the OLs in the environments in which they are the dominant languages, although there was a higher percentage of education in French in English-dominant areas than there was English in French-dominant areas, showing a slight preference for parents to enrol their children in a higher percentage of French when possible.

Outside of formal education, most parents reported that their children do not currently take any language classes in neither the OLs nor the HLs. Of those who do, there were similar numbers among SSP and PSP when it came to HLs classes. A similar percentage of parents reported that their children take classes in the OLs, and, interestingly, some said their children take classes in both of the OLs, in one of the OLs and their HL, or in both the OLs and their HL, all of varying hours per week.

The following chapter discusses the major findings from the presented data and relates them to the previous literature review in Chapter 2 as well as highlights and imparts the future academic and real-life implications these findings can have.

## Chapter 5: Discussion

*“Yo les he dicho a mis hijas que a Canadá*

*hemos venido a ganar idiomas, no a perderlos.”*

[I have told my daughters that we have come to Canada  
to gain languages, not to lose them.]

### 5.1 Overview

As outlined in Chapter 1, the objectives of this study were: (i) to investigate what Spanish-speaking and Portuguese-speaking parents' attitudes are regarding the maintenance of Spanish and Portuguese in Canada and their children's language development in these HLs alongside French and English; and (ii) to gain an understanding of how these attitudes influence their practices with respect to their children's HL socialisation, specifically their family language practices and the language of schooling in which they choose to enrol their children. The summary of the key findings and the subsequent detailed discussion are presented in the same general order as in the previous chapter.

### 5.2 Key Findings

The key findings from both the qualitative and quantitative results showed that the parents generally had positive or very positive attitudes towards their HLs and their maintenance in Canada. The parents generally showed a high desire for their children to develop bilingually or multilingually in their HL and one or both of the OLs, noting the importance of these languages for their future.

Parents' reasons to maintain their HL were found to be the same ways by which they are maintained, including: (i) their personal relationship with their children; (ii) for their children to be able to communicate with their family members; and (iii) maintaining their

culture and cultural identity. The role of technology was also found to play a key role in these three themes.

The parents' reported general family HL practices supported these attitudes, with many parents reporting a high use of their HL with their children and the other parent, when applicable, as well as general HL language exposure. This also included parents from linguistically intermarried families, although at a lower rate, with some highlighting the lack of use of the HL in order to maintain harmonious family communication and to develop and maintain emotional relationships with their children.

The parents' generally positive attitudes towards both of the OLs and a generally high desire for bilingual or multilingual education was supported by the choices they made, when possible, in the language(s) of education of their children in both of the OLs, particularly in French.

Despite their positive attitudes towards their HL and a high desire — with some notable exceptions — for their children to have their HL included in their education, the vast majority do not. Many parents noted the lack of quality and/or accessible options for them, showing a growing demand for more educational offerings in these two HLs.

The following sections further look at these key findings and the general findings related to them.

### **5.2.1 Parental Attitudes Towards the Maintenance of Their Languages in Canada**

Overall, the vast majority of the parents had positive or very positive attitudes towards the maintenance of their languages in Canada. Although this may be due to self-selection bias due to the nature of the study's methodology, it was still of interest to see the breakdown of these attitudes. These attitudes were shown throughout the quantitative results of the variables used to determine these attitudes, with many of the qualitative results providing further insight into why parents have these attitudes.

The parents overwhelmingly stated that they agreed that it was important to have both oral and written skills in the HL; however, there was a higher rating of agreement for oral skills compared to written skills, with some noting that they feel that it is more important to speak than write in order to communicate with family. Some noted that they also make a point of teaching words, idioms, and slang that are uncommon, have multiple or non-literal meanings, or meanings that vary by dialect, as well as attempt to instil a love for literature in their HL. This shows that not only do they have positive attitudes towards their children's HL maintenance, but are taking an active role in their HL development beyond typical home language use. One of these parents, as quoted in Chapter 4, expressed their pride in the fact that their daughter can read and write in her HL and speak “without an accent”. In addition to showing their positive attitudes towards their daughter’s HL development and maintenance, this may be indicative of a desire for them to also be seen as someone who was “successful” in transmitting their HL, as well as for their daughter to be recognized as belonging to their community based on her communication skills, showing their perceived level of prestige and/or stigmatisation within their language community (along the lines of Wölck, 2003).

Parents taking an active role in their children’s HL development beyond typical home language use was also seen when discussing if and why they correct their children when they make an error in the HL. Many parents reported doing so, with some explaining that they feel it is important so they can learn to speak the HL “correctly”, but that it was imperative that they never do it as punishment or criticism. They noted that it was important to encourage their HL use by positive reinforcement, congratulating them for their attempts and never “policing” their HL, showing that they understand that doing so can have damaging effects on their children's desire to use the HL.

When commenting on the importance of their children knowing their HL for their future success, many parents thought it was important not only for future academic and

professional success, but also for personal growth. As discussed in Chapter 4, this particular question was intentionally left ambiguous by not defining success as it was of interest to see how the parents would interpret and respond to it. The results were notable as, while many SSP listed these three areas in which they felt their HL would help their children, some PSP felt that their language may not be important for their future academic or professional success, but that it would allow them to be successful in their personal growth, expanding their access to knowledge through travelling and cultures and to the world in general.

These future economic, academic, social, and personal growth benefits of maintaining their HL show that these parents recognize that, as one stated, the difficult task of HL maintenance is one of great future benefit for their children. An interesting finding in both the quantitative and qualitative data was that there was very little difference in the attitudes towards HL maintenance and its importance in their children's future among the parents when looked at by the length of time they have been in Canada. Although this also may be due to self-selection bias and is data that warrants more in-depth research, the qualitative data suggests that many parents are deeply connected to their families and communities both in Canada and their home countries, regardless of how long they have been in the country.

Within the results that directly answer the research questions, the many interesting findings were noted from the thematic analysis, including the key themes to why and how parents maintain their HLs.

### **5.2.2 Key Themes of Why and How Parents Maintain Their Heritage Language**

As noted, the qualitative results that supported the quantitative data used to determine parental attitudes showed three main themes as to why parents feel it is important for their children to have communicative skills in their HL and to maintain the language in Canada in general: (i) their personal relationship with their children; (ii) for their children to be able to



communicate with their family members; and (iii) transmitting their culture and cultural identity.

The idea of maintaining their personal and emotional relationships with their children was one of the main reasons why the majority of parents noted they only use the HL with them and why they feel that maintaining their language is so important. The concept of being able to both *effectively* and *affectively* communicate in their native language was highlighted by parents as it allows them to fully connect with their children by freely expressing themselves and speaking from their hearts. Numerous quotes presented throughout the previous chapter show the emotional importance parents place on HL maintenance, as well as provide insight into why some continue to use the HL even if their children do not.

Building on the concept of affective communication, as discussed in Chapter 2, as a key factor in the desire to maintain their HL, many parents highlighted the role that they feel their children's bond with their grandparents plays in their language socialisation. Numerous parents stated that the ability for their children to communicate with their grandparents — and family in general — in their language was their main reason for maintaining it, with one parent specifically stating that it is the reason that motivates them the most. Moreover, the ability to communicate with family members was a reason why some parents felt their children also have positive attitudes towards maintaining their HL and are self-motivated to do so.

Not only was communication with family a main reason for HL maintenance, but it was also listed as the main way by which their HL is maintained beyond parental input. Frequent, if not daily, communication with their family, namely grandparents, was noted as a main source of HL input their children receive in addition to conversations at home. In addition to spending vacations with their family, some parents expressed that this daily communication has played a key role in their children's successful HL development and

cultural identity. This theme is consistent with previous studies that have shown that this intergenerational transmission of the HL is beneficial to successful HL socialisation (Braun, 2012; Houle, 2011; Ishizawa, 2004; Jones & Morris, 2007; Park, 2006; Potowski, 2008; Tan Jun Hao & Ng, 2010; among others)

When commenting on this communication with their grandparents and extended family, many parents mentioned using video calls. The use of video calls plays an important role in HL socialisation, as not only are the children communicating with their grandparents and maintaining their familiar bond (similar to findings from Kędra, 2020; King-O’Riain, 2015; Martín-Bylund & Stenliden, 2020; Palviainen, 2020, among others), but they are also receiving both audio and visual input during such communications. In addition to audible linguistic input in the HL, video calls with family in their country of origin or heritage can also allow children to have a visual of their family members’ faces, aiding in HL development through kinesics. This non-verbal communication also includes gestures used in conversation that may be culturally specific, allowing the children to pick up on such non-verbal cultural communication norms.

Furthermore, video calls also allow children to see, consciously or subconsciously, their families and their surroundings, keeping their culture visible. Such elements include cultural ways of dressing as well as the visual (e.g., decor, architecture, etc.) and audible (e.g., music, general noise levels, etc.) elements within their families’ homes and general environments.

This element of maintaining their culture and cultural identity was the third general theme found when discussing the reasons why they had positive attitudes towards maintaining their HL and why they felt important to do so. This theme was found throughout the qualitative and quantitative results, with many parents sharing their deep desires to transmit their culture to their children via their HL and for them to develop and/or maintain

their cultural identity. Even those who felt that their language may not be the most useful for their children's future, as discussed above, highlighted its importance in maintaining their culture and cultural identity. The parents showed an understanding of how deeply linked their HL is to their culture, a key element in the framework of HL language socialisation. They recognized that language is more than just the ability to communicate, it is a whole transmission of culture and cultural identity that is affirmed through its daily use. These findings are similar to the literature discussed in Chapter 2 which noted the connection between one's HL and heritage culture (Cho, 2000; Guardado, 2002; He, 2008; Kouritzin, 1999; Pacini-Ketchabaw, Bernhard, & Freire, 2001; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009),

As with grandparents, culture was seen not only as a reason to maintain their HL, but also a way by which parents felt it was maintained. A few parents stated that they created a home environment that is reminiscent of or resembling their home country, "living" their culture while in the home. Some noted that their children's established cultural identity and love for their HL culture were reasons they felt they were self-motivated to maintain the language, while others said that instilling a love for their country, culture, and traditions was their focus as they felt this love will help establish and conserve such identities.

Although not all parents felt that attending cultural and social events in the HLs was necessary to preserve their language, with fewer parents noting their importance the longer they had been in Canada, those who did emphasised their role in preserving their culture and identity within the community. These parents showed not only a recognition of the importance of maintaining contact with their HL community for HL maintenance, but also suggested that they had developed *diasporic families* (Guardado, 2008; Guardado & Becker, 2013) within them by which to immerse their children. Finally, the desire for their children to be bicultural was noted by a few parents, with one emphasising that they celebrate both the holidays and traditions of their country of origin and those of Canada as they feel it is

important for their child to develop biculturally with a love and respect for both their countries.

A small, yet very important, finding was that parents have very positive attitudes towards maintaining their HL and do as much as possible to maintain it as they may only be in Canada temporarily. Although this was mentioned by only one parent, this is important to take into consideration as it can be true for many HL speakers who are only temporarily living in Canada and whose children need to be able to integrate back into not only the general society, but also the education system of their home country. As such, these families need to not only maintain their language at home in an informal way, but also need to develop and maintain their children's formal learning of the language. This is something that schools that offer HL programs can take into consideration when developing their course offerings.

Finally, as mentioned, the role of technology was shown to be important when connecting with family, specifically the use of video calls. In addition to this, the theme of technology and its role in HL maintenance was found throughout the qualitative results (as has been found in Cho, 2008; Francisco, 2015; Greenberg & Neustaedter, 2012; Said, 2021; Szecsi & Szilagyi, 2012; among others). When discussing additional HL exposure their children receive, a significant number of parents said that it was via various types of media online, particularly audio and audio-visual media (e.g., music, television, cartoons, online videos, online streaming, etc.), stating that they use this media to expose their children to the HL to the maximum and to teach new vocabulary and expose their children to the richness of their language. It was also a way in which they can expose their children to books in the HL, especially considering they are difficult to find in Canada, as mentioned by a few parents. Furthermore, as will be discussed later in this chapter, the use of technology has allowed children to not only take HL classes or extracurriculars in their HL with teachers from

different countries, but it has also made it possible for one child to continue their entire education online from a school in their home country.

### **5.2.3 Reported Family Heritage Language Practices**

The reported general family HL practices supported the generally positive and very positive attitudes towards their languages, with many parents reporting a high use of their HL with their children, including those from linguistically intermarried families, although at a slightly lower rate.

The majority of parents in two-parent families reported that the other parent is also a native or near-native speaker of the HL and they always use the HL together, providing a high amount of HL input for the children. The reported HL language abilities of the children in these two-HL-speaking-parent families were generally reported to be higher than those of all children under investigation. Although these results are based on reported data and therefore no definitive conclusions can be drawn, they do suggest that HL maintenance can be more successful in such families.

When looking at the language use norms within each of the individual parental attitude categories, the parents with negative attitudes and with very negative attitudes reported that there are no norms or rules for language use in their families. This finding is not surprising as it can be assumed that those with negative attitudes would not force the use of their HL and would accept language shift and HL loss. While these two parents may be seen as outliers, their negative views are nevertheless important to note as they can be representative of some parents within the general SSP and PSP population, going against the self-selection bias.

Only using the HL and not having any norms were the two reported most by parents with very positive attitudes. The qualitative data shows that many of the parents, especially in the two-HL-speaking-parent families, noted that the high use of their HL by them, the other

parent, and their children was something that was done naturally and thus no policies had been put in place.

Although having naturally followed *minority language at home* or *minority language everywhere* policies, a few parents did note that the only rule they ask their children to follow was that they communicate with their siblings in the HL. While only a few parents mentioned this rule, it is important as it shows that these parents recognise, consciously or subconsciously, that communication between the siblings often shifts to the ML(s) (Bridges & Hoff, 2014; Kheirkhah & Cekaite, 2018; Kinsella, 2020; Parada, 2013) and thus it is important to (attempt to) enforce this. Although these reported practices are in line with *minority language at home* or *minority language everywhere* policies, the theme of using an OL when around non-HL speakers both in and outside of the home was noted multiple times by the parents as a way of being “inclusive” and/or “polite”.

Those who reported that they naturally have a *mixed language* or *natural bilingualism* policy at home either noted that they feel it has helped their children to be able to express themselves and naturally pick up multiple languages, or accredited this mixed-language home environment to their children having high passive HL abilities but lower active abilities. These two findings can potentially suggest two things: that by not pressuring the children to speak the HL, they will not be put off by the language and will naturally use it; or that they will shift to using the ML and only develop passive HL abilities, the latter being more commonly found in the literature, as noted in Chapter 2.

In the families that were not two-HL-speaking-parent families, various parents noted that they follow a *one parent, one language* family language policy. Some stated that they did so based on the guidance of doctors and/or speech therapists, while others said it was also done naturally by the parents. When discussing the benefits of this policy, one parent specifically noted the use of it and accredited their child’s bilingualism to this strategy,

something that has been found in previous studies on this particular policy (Lanza, 1992; among others, as reviewed in Hollebeke, Struys, & Agirdag, 2020).

The PDS used within these families' HL use norms including a mixture of both monolingual and bilingual strategies, with the two parents with negative and very negative attitudes surprisingly reporting using more monolingual strategies (i.e., ones that encourage HL use) than bilingual ones, even though they reported not following any language use norms and having these negative attitudes towards their language. Parents with neutral attitudes reported using *move on* the most, a typically bilingual strategy leading to the use of the ML rather than HL. This finding is not surprising as those with neutral attitudes, in theory, would not push for their children to use the HL. The use of this strategy, however, was also found to be the one used the most by parents with very positive attitudes (who also reported using *expressed guess* and *repetition* at similar, yet slightly, lower percentages).

If examined on its own, this use of a bilingual PDS by parents with very positive attitudes towards the HL may seem unexpected, however when looked at in conjunction with the family HL use norm results discussed earlier, it suggests that these parents know that their children will naturally return to the HL given the positive, high-HL-use home environment and do not feel the need to pressure them to do so.

The opposite was declared by a few parents who reported using more monolingual strategies infrequently, stating that it can be tiring for them to pretend to not understand or causes stress for them and/or their children by continually asking them to repeat themselves in the HL. They noted that the insistence on the use of the HL via the use of these PDS was a “daily challenge”, one that has caused their children to stop talking to them at times. These and the notion of not wanting to “police” their children's language use were mentioned by parents with positive attitudes towards the language, showing that despite them having

positive or very positive attitudes, they may not use the HL as much as they would like nor insist their children do so via PDS.

When looking at the qualitative data, a number of the parents who had very positive attitudes towards HL maintenance reported that they use the HL at a much lower rate, if at all, particularly those in linguistically intermarried families. Although these parents showed a high desire to maintain the HL and felt it was important for their children's personal relationships with them and their extended family, as noted earlier, many reported that their lack of HL use was done in order to maintain harmonious family communication and/or to develop and maintain emotional relationships with their children who do not fully speak the HL and express themselves better in the OL(s). This was particularly highlighted by those who reported that their children have another parent who does not speak the HL and therefore felt not using the HL better unites their families. These findings of wanting to create a home environment that allows for full and open communication on behalf of the child are consistent with those found in previous studies (Brooksbank, 2017; Curdt-Christiansen, 2016; Curdt-Christiansen & Lanza, 2018; De Houwer, 2013, 2020; among others) and also highlight the difficulties of HL maintenance within these types of families and in general.

Although it has been suggested that parental ideologies and identities can be “discoverable in their linguistic practices” (Guardado, 2018, p. 56) — or that one’s language use may be seen as a representation of their attitudes towards certain languages — some of the findings of this study show that this may not always be the case when it comes to the frequency of HL use, family HL use norms, and/or the use of some PDS.

#### **5.2.4 Parental Attitudes Towards French and English**

Many parents had similar views towards their children developing communication skills in French and English as well as their importance for their future, resulting in most of them having the same attitudes towards both. Despite this, overall, more parents had positive



attitudes towards English than French, albeit not many. The higher number of parents with positive attitudes towards English than French was mainly seen from parents who live in English-dominant areas, with those in French-dominant environments having similar attitudes towards both OLs.

Although there was a slight influence on the linguistic environment when it came to the importance of French and English communication skills, many parents still saw them to be of importance in both languages, suggesting that these HL speakers value multilingualism and recognize both OLs to be of importance. This was also seen in their beliefs towards the importance of knowing the OLs for their children's future, with some parents highlighting the importance of being not only bilingual, but trilingual through their quantitative and qualitative responses. This importance was grounded in two reasons: (i) the general benefits of being multilingual, and (ii) because they are both the OLs of Canada, and was mentioned mainly by parents who lived in French-dominant and equal French-English environments. These findings are in line with the generally more positive attitudes towards English than French, with many parents recognizing that French is important for their children's general development, education, and social inclusion, yet English is a language that will afford them more success in the future.

Based on some of the qualitative data, these attitudes towards both of the OLs can be seen as being influenced by the concept of language as capital and how they see these languages as a commodity, either economically or symbolically (Bourdieu, 1977; Dagenais, 2003; Guardado, 2002; Norton, 2000; Norton & Toohey, 2001; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007; Piller & Takahashi, 2006), with many parents noting future benefits and success their children may have by knowing them.

When looking at the parental attitudes towards the OLs and the HLs together, and further reducing them to negative, neutral, and positive attitudes, more parents had positive

attitudes towards English, followed by French and then the HLs. An unexpected and somewhat surprising finding within these results, however, was the group of parents who had negative attitudes towards both French and English yet all had very positive attitudes towards the HL. Although this can be seen as a positive finding for the attitudes towards the HL, these negative views towards both OLs are difficult to interpret, especially given the number of parents (15) with the same views. A more in-depth review of these special cases is required in order to make any inferences regarding these results and goes beyond the scope of this study.

### **5.2.5 Language of Education**

The reported percentage of formal education their children receive in French and English was expected given the typical types of OL and minority OL education in Canada, as discussed in Chapter 2. Many reported percentages that are in line with the Core and Immersion programs, while others reported that they receive an even or almost-even amount of French and English education. A number of parents reported that their children's education is completely in one of the OLs with no minority OL education. Although not typical for many provinces, especially those detailed in Chapter 2, some schools do offer this level of instruction, or lack thereof, in the OLs depending on the area and grade.

Just over half of the parents reported that their reasons for enrolling their children in these percentages of language education were due to having no other options, either because of their location or provincial education directives. Of the other parents who had options where they live, some noted it was because of specific education wants or needs, while the remaining ones said it was for their children to better develop their abilities in one or both of the OLs, or in the OLs and their HL. The findings show parents' motives were generally based on three themes: (i) lack of information on the types of education available, (ii) beliefs about language acquisition, and (iii) multilingualism and multiculturalism. The lack of information on the types of education available can also explain the high percentage of

parents who reported that they had no other options, depending on the area in which they live. These findings suggest that there is a higher need for more accessible or in-depth information available for parents, particularly for those who are newcomers to Canada.

The second and third themes related to beliefs about language acquisition and multilingualism and multiculturalism are representative of the positive parental attitudes towards the two OLs, particularly French, as shown in the quantitative data related to the percentage of education in the OL based on parental attitudes and linguistic environment. As stated many times, these findings must be seen as exploratory as many do not have an option when it comes to what type of education their children receive, but it is nevertheless interesting to see these effects. These exploratory findings are important, however, as Francophone schools and/or French-language education are available throughout Canada (with some exceptions) but in many cases, they may not be accessible to all due to geographical or financial accessibility of the institutions.

Within the qualitative findings related to this data, many parents mentioned enrolling their children in French Immersion or Francophone schools as the best options for their children's linguistic, social, and cultural development given the perceived multilingual and multicultural education and social environments within. Although some parents noted that these beliefs were based on their perceived linguistic complexity of French and that they will easily learn English within society, it nevertheless shows that their positive attitudes towards this OL was a decisive factor in their children's education.

Furthermore, an interesting finding was one parent's reasoning that the perceived bilingual environment of the Francophone school in the English-dominant area they live in would help their child's HL development as these are environments in which speaking more than one language is commonplace. They felt that this would allow their child to not feel alienated for speaking a language other than English. Although impossible to know with the

data given, this finding may be suggestive of underlying parental self-consciousness issues related to their HL abilities and/or its use in public, or a fear that their child would not be accepted had they been enrolled in an Anglophone school.

Turning to the results related to the education that their children receive in the HLs, the percentages parents reported were significantly lower than those of the OL, a finding that is far from surprising. Given the limited availability of Canadian schools that offer either full or partial education in these languages, as noted in Chapter 2, it was expected that the majority of parents would report that their children receive very little, if any, HL education, particularly in Portuguese. Although low for all parents, the numbers were significantly lower for the PSPs, potentially due to the amount of Spanish education offered compared to Portuguese in western Canada. Again, unsurprisingly, those parents who reported that their children have at least 10% of their schooling in their HL all had very positive attitudes towards the language and its maintenance. The findings related to HL classes outside of formal education were similar, again with low percentages of parents reporting that their children take classes, including the HL programs offered detailed in Chapter 2.

These results are starkly contrasted to those related to the number of parents who reported a high desire for their children to have the HL as part of their formal education. Although there was less of a desire for their children to take courses taught in the HL than HL classes, many parents felt that these would benefit their children greatly, with one even proposing that their HL community unite to advocate for the teaching of their HL in school as a non-compulsory subject.

While many parents did express a desire for their children to take such courses and/or classes, it is important to recognise those who did not, specifically those who justified their lack of desire by not wanting to overload their children in the HL and/or lead them to be “repulsed” by the language. This was also noted by some parents when discussing why their

children did not take any HL classes outside of their formal education as they did not find them enjoyable. These findings are in line with previous studies (for example, Eisenchlas, Schalley, & Guillemin, 2015) that found that although these additional programs may aid in HL maintenance, many children find them to be a burden, academically and/or socially.

Of those who did have a desire for their children to take HL classes outside of school, many reported that they did not due to the lack of quality and/or available options, particularly in their HL variety (similar to findings by Almeida, 2015). The findings show that there is a high desire for HL programs in both Spanish and Portuguese that are dynamic, interesting, well-prepared, and financially accessible that factor in the varieties of the HLs spoken within the general communities as well as the children's needs based on age and levels of HL knowledge.

An interesting finding was the number of parents who reported homeschooling or educating their children online due to the lack of options. This shows not only the strong desire for parents to have their children educated in the HL, but also the decisions they are willing to make regarding their children's education and overall general language socialisation. These particular cases would be of interest for further investigations on both HL maintenance as well as HL and ML socialisation. Similarly, it is also interesting to note the trend of children taking extracurricular classes in the HL online, often with teachers from their home countries, again highlighting the use of technology in HL maintenance. These findings, together with those related to video calls discussed earlier, also provide growing evidence of the use of technology in HL development and maintenance, HL education, and overall HL socialisation.

### 5.3 A Note on the Reported Language Abilities

When looking at the language ability of the parents who participated<sup>35</sup> (i.e., Parent 1, not Parent 2), more parents reported that they understood the HLs at a native or near-native level than can speak at the same level, something that is typical of language shift or loss. These findings may also speak to the confidence levels these parents feel regarding their own language loss. These numbers can be related back to the retention rate of these languages found in the Census (Statistics Canada, 2017b), although not representative of these populations due to sampling self-selection bias and representation.

When looking at the children's reported language abilities<sup>36</sup>, more parents reported that their children understood the HLs at a native or near-native level than can speak at the same level<sup>37</sup>. This discrepancy is common among HL children as they shift to the ML yet still maintain a passive knowledge of the HL. More PSP reported that their children spoke Portuguese at native or near-native level; however, they also reported that they came from families that had two parents who were also native or near-native speakers of Portuguese. Similar findings were shown in the families with two SSP, showing evidence that having two parents who speak the HL at home is beneficial for children's HL maintenance.

Only a small percentage of the parents reported that their children do not speak HL at all, with only half of these reporting that they also do not understand the HL. This small percentage may be due to the nature of the parents who participated. The number of children with reported high abilities in the OLs were consistent with the number of parents who reported living in the various linguistic environments (e.g., a similar number of parents who

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<sup>35</sup> While the parents were required to be native speakers of Spanish or Portuguese in order to participate, there is no way to confirm this, and even less so due to the online nature of the research tool.

<sup>36</sup> As these are only the reported language abilities, they cannot be used to draw any conclusions and, as these results were not part of the research questions for this study, an in-depth analysis was not conducted. They can therefore only be seen as observations that may warrant future research.

<sup>37</sup> This and the following observations only consider the number of children who were reported to have native or near-native abilities.

reported living in French-dominant areas also reported their children having native or near-native abilities in French.

Although the parents who participated in this study generally had positive attitudes towards HL maintenance, it is important to recognize the difficulties involved in HL maintenance, as particularly highlighted in the section on family HL practices. While many expressed disappointment that their children did not frequently speak the HL or have the ability to do so, one parent recognized and stressed that they must accept that it is their native language, not necessarily that of their children.

#### **5.4 Summary**

In summary, the parents generally had positive attitudes towards their HLs and their maintenance in Canada, as well as towards the OLs, showing a high desire for their children to develop bilingually or multilingually. Although generally positive towards all of the languages, more parents had very positive attitudes towards English, followed closely by French, and then their HL.

These positive attitudes were found to influence their children's language socialisation by providing a reportedly high level of HL input and promoting their culture through the language. Despite this, having a positive influence is not always possible as many parents discussed the difficulties of using their HL due to the influence of the OLs.

These positive attitudes also influenced the languages of education their children received, when possible, in the OLs, particularly French, as well as the HLs, although a lack of quality and/or accessible options was highlighted, showing a growing need for more educational offerings in these two HLs, particularly Portuguese.

The following chapter concludes this study by providing an overview of it and discussing its implications and limitations and suggesting future research.

## Chapter 6: Conclusion

### 6.1 Study Summary

This exploratory study looked at the language attitudes of Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking parents in Canada with children between the ages of 2 and 16 and had two main aims: (i) to identify the attitudes and desires of these parents towards their HL and its maintenance in Canada as well as their attitudes towards French and English; and (ii) to explore how these attitudes influence their practices with respect to their children's language socialisation, specifically their family language practices and the language(s) of schooling in which they choose to enrol their children.

These objectives were met by the use of an online questionnaire, available in both Spanish and Portuguese, which was completed anonymously by 315 parents, 153 of whom were reportedly native-Spanish speakers, and 162 of whom were reportedly native-Portuguese speakers.

The response to this questionnaire provided a substantial amount of data, including both quantitative and qualitative results. The quantitative results were used to determine the parental attitudes and desires, general family language practices, and choices related to the language of education their children receive in the OLs and HLs. A thematic analysis of the qualitative data was then used to gain a better understanding of these attitudes, practices, and education choices, as well as to amplify the results with any additional information provided by the parents.

Reaching these two aims by using the three research questions previously outlined, it was found that the parents generally had positive attitudes towards their HLs and their maintenance in Canada, as well as towards the OLs, showing a high desire for their children to develop bilingually or multilingually. These positive attitudes were found to positively influence their children's language socialisation, albeit with some exceptions.



The results suggested that their generally positive attitudes towards their HLs positively influenced their reported family language practices, showing a high level of HL use with their children and promoting their culture through the language. Despite this, these positive attitudes were not always found to have a positive influence as many parents discussed the difficulties of using their HL due to the influence of OL use within the family.

It was suggested that their generally positive attitudes towards the OLs was shown to influence the languages of education their children received, when possible, particularly French. It was also suggested that their generally positive attitudes towards their HLs showed a positive influence on their children's education in the HL, when possible. Despite positive attitudes and a high desire for their children to be educated in their HL, many were not due to a lack of quality and/or accessible options.

## **6.2 Implications**

This study contributes to the field of language socialisation, particularly HL socialisation at the family level, as well as to the fields of MinL / HL maintenance and family language policy as it provides insight into the attitudes parents have towards their HLs and the languages of their communities and how these attitudes influence their children's language socialisation.

The findings provide information that could be of use for other parents, regardless of language, who wish to maintain their language in Canada, suggesting best practices in HL maintenance based on the experiences of other HL parents. They could also be useful for those who advise parents on such linguistic matters.

The findings provide information that could be useful for government and/or private agencies which provide information to immigrants on HL maintenance as well as the various language education options available in Canada. More specifically, they provide evidence that there is a growing need for more educational offerings in these two HLs, particularly

Portuguese. Not only do they show this growing need, but they also provide evidence that there is a desire for HL programs aimed specifically at HL speakers that are dynamic, interesting, well-prepared, and financially accessible to their speaker populations that factor in the varieties of the HLs spoken within these populations.

### **6.3 Limitations and Future Research**

The various limitations of this study have been discussed throughout the previous chapters and were mainly based on the methodological research tool used. The primary methodological limitations were (i) survey errors, including *self-selection bias*, *under-coverage*, and *non-response*, and (ii) self-reported data as it applies to language use and competencies.

*Self-selection bias* and *under-coverage* were noted throughout the findings and their roles in the results found were highlighted when relevant. *Non-response* was only considered to be a limitation when it came to the qualitative data, as these questions were not made mandatory to answer in an attempt to avoid participation fatigue. Although this may have limited the amount of qualitative data (which was substantial even with this limitation), it did not affect the overall findings based on the quantitative data.

The limitation of self-reported data as it applies to language use and competencies was taken into consideration when analysing and discussing the results, with an emphasis made on the findings including *reported* language abilities and *reported* language use. Although these primary methodological limitations do not allow these results to provide any definitive conclusions, as noted in Chapter 3, they are common in this type of research and do not negate the general findings. As this was an exploratory study using self-reported data, the findings must also be considered to be exploratory. They do, however, show key findings that can be used to build upon in future studies, especially considering the large number of participants.

As this study was exploratory and did not aim to be an in-depth case study, the other limitation of this study was the inclusion of responses from parents based only on their eldest child within the set age range. It is important to take into consideration that the parental attitudes and practices may be vastly different with each of their children due to numerous reasons and, as such, the results found may have been considerably different if they were asked about their attitudes and habits with their youngest child, all of their children, only their children born in Canada, *et cetera*.

Finally, it is important to recognise that this study did not aim to note nor compare parents from different backgrounds and therefore did not ask for their country of origin. Although this may be seen as a limitation for future analysis of the data, it was beyond the scope of this study and there are many cultural and sociopolitical factors that would also require further investigation. Similarly, parents were not asked to provide their status in Canada (Canadian citizen, permanent residence, temporary worker, refugee, etc.) as, although this may also influence their attitudes towards HL maintenance, it was not part of the research questions nor aims of this study.

Given these limitations, ideas for future research include studies that look at similar attitudes and practices with multiple children within the same family, specifically with those born and partially raised outside of Canada compared to siblings who were born in Canada or were young when they arrived. It would also be of interest to investigate correlations involving many factors that were not included in this study, such as the social, economic, and/or educational backgrounds of the parents, as well as their reasons for immigrating or living in Canada temporarily. A similar, yet more in-depth study on the various varieties within these HL populations in Canada would also be of interest to see if there are any differences based on their different cultural and/or national backgrounds. Furthermore, similar studies that focus specifically on these populations in smaller communities where

access to in-person HL and/or OL education is limited or non-existent would also be of interest given the rise in the various types of education provided online.

#### **6.4 Conclusion**

To conclude, this study ultimately showed that the majority of parents had positive attitudes towards their HLs and the OL, and that these positive attitudes are generally shown within their general HL family practices and the language of education their children receive. They also show that these positive attitudes do not always positively influence their HL language practices nor their choices related to their children's education due to external factors. This included having positive attitudes towards their HL and its maintenance in Canada yet favouring the use of the OLs in order to maintain harmony in family communication, and not enrolling their children in HL education because it is not available or accessible.

Although these findings are exploratory, this study shows that HL maintenance is a very challenging and complex endeavour, influenced by a large number of factors that positive parental attitudes alone may not be able to overcome.

My hope is that the results can have a positive impact on the future of HL educational offerings in Canada, as well as provide parents with the comfort that maintaining their HL, culture, and culture identity in Canada is indeed possible, especially when transmitting a positive attitude towards it. As described by one of the participants, HL maintenance is a difficult task, but one of great future benefit and great emotional importance.

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## Appendix A: Certificate of Ethics Approval

28/06/2021

**Université d'Ottawa**

Bureau d'éthique et d'intégrité de la recherche

**University of Ottawa**

Office of Research Ethics and Integrity

### CERTIFICAT D'APPROBATION ÉTHIQUE | CERTIFICATE OF ETHICS APPROVAL

**Numéro du dossier / Ethics File Number**

S-05-21-6532

**Titre du projet / Project Title**

Family Language Policy,  
Language Socialization, and  
Schooling Choices of Hispanic  
Families in Bilingual Areas of  
Canada.

**Type de projet / Project Type**

Thèse de doctorat / Doctoral  
thesis

**Statut du projet / Project Status**

Approuvé / Approved

**Date d'approbation (jj/mm/aaaa) / Approval Date (dd/mm/yyyy)**

28/06/2021

**Date d'expiration (jj/mm/aaaa) / Expiry Date (dd/mm/yyyy)**

27/06/2022

### Équipe de recherche / Research Team

**Chercheur /  
Researcher**

**Affiliation**

**Role**

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Département des langues et littératures modernes / Department of  
Modern Languages and Literatures

Chercheur Principal / Principal  
Investigator  
Superviseur / Supervisor

**Conditions spéciales ou commentaires / Special conditions or comments**

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## Université d'Ottawa

Bureau d'éthique et d'intégrité de la recherche

## University of Ottawa

Office of Research Ethics and Integrity

Le Comité d'éthique de la recherche (CÉR) de l'Université d'Ottawa, opérant conformément à l'*Énoncé de politique des Trois conseils* (2014) et toutes autres lois et tous règlements applicables, a examiné et approuvé la demande d'éthique du projet de recherche ci-nommé.

L'approbation est valide pour la durée indiquée plus haut et est sujette aux conditions énumérées dans la section intitulée "Conditions Spéciales ou Commentaires". Le formulaire « Renouvellement ou Fermeture de Projet » doit être complété quatre semaines avant la date d'échéance indiquée ci-haut afin de demander un renouvellement de cette approbation éthique ou afin de fermer le dossier.

Toutes modifications apportées au projet doivent être approuvées par le CÉR avant leur mise en place, sauf si le participant doit être retiré en raison d'un danger immédiat ou s'il s'agit d'un changement ayant trait à des éléments administratifs ou logistiques du projet. Les chercheurs doivent aviser le CÉR dans les plus brefs délais de tout changement pouvant augmenter le niveau de risque aux participants ou pouvant affecter considérablement le déroulement du projet, rapporter tout événement imprévu ou indésirable et soumettre toute nouvelle information pouvant nuire à la conduite du projet ou à la sécurité des participants.

The University of Ottawa Research Ethics Board, which operates in accordance with the *Tri-Council Policy Statement* (2014) and other applicable laws and regulations, has examined and approved the ethics application for the above-named research project.

Ethics approval is valid for the period indicated above and is subject to the conditions listed in the section entitled "Special Conditions or Comments". The "Renewal/Project Closure" form must be completed four weeks before the above-referenced expiry date to request a renewal of this ethics approval or closure of the file.

Any changes made to the project must be approved by the REB before being implemented, except when necessary to remove participants from immediate endangerment or when the modification(s) only pertain to administrative or logistical components of the project. Investigators must also promptly alert the REB of any changes that increase the risk to participant(s), any changes that considerably affect the conduct of the project, all unanticipated and harmful events that occur, and new information that may negatively affect the conduct of the project or the safety of the participant(s).

Riana MARCOTTE

Responsable d'éthique en recherche / Protocol Officer

Pour/For **Barbara GRAVES** Président(e) du/ Chair of the **Comité d'éthique de la recherche en sciences sociales et humanités / Social Sciences and Humanities Research Ethics Board**

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### **Appendix B: Call for Participants in Spanish**

¡Ayúdenos a entender cómo se transmite el español a sus hijos en Canadá!

Estamos buscando padres hispanohablantes en Canadá con hijos entre 2 y 16 años de edad para completar un cuestionario de 15 minutos sobre cómo mantener el español en Canadá junto con el francés y/o el inglés.

Con su colaboración, los resultados de este cuestionario formarán parte de mi tesis doctoral en la University of Ottawa y ayudarán en la preparación de literatura sobre cómo los padres pueden mantener su idioma en Canadá.

Acceda al cuestionario aquí: <https://joselyn29.typeform.com/espanol>

¡Muchas gracias!

### **Appendix C: Call for Participants in Portuguese**

Então nos ajude a entender como você transmite e mantém o português para os seus filhos no Canadá!

Estamos procurando pais de língua portuguesa no Canadá com crianças entre 2 e 16 anos de idade para preencher um questionário de 15 minutos sobre a manutenção do português no Canadá, junto com o francês e/ou inglês.

Com a sua colaboração, os resultados deste questionário farão parte da minha tese de doutorado da University of Ottawa e ajudarão na preparação de literatura sobre como os pais podem manter a língua no Canadá.

Acesse o questionário aqui: <https://joselyn29.typeform.com/portugues>

Muito obrigada!

## **Appendix D: Consent Form in Spanish**

### **Formulario de Consentimiento**

Esta encuesta forma parte de la tesis doctoral realizada por la estudiante Joselyn Brooksbank y supervisada por la Dra. Elena Valenzuela de la University of Ottawa.

Si completa la siguiente encuesta, este acto se interpretará como una aceptación de participación. Usted es libre de responder a todas las preguntas que considere adecuadas y de dejar en blanco aquellas a las que no quiera/pueda responder.

**Propósito del estudio:** El objetivo principal de esta investigación es conocer las creencias de los padres hispanohablantes respecto al uso y mantenimiento del español en casa y en la escuela en las áreas bilingües de Canadá. Este estudio se enfoca en las prácticas que los padres hispanohablantes ponen en práctica en el acto de promover el español, francés y/o inglés e investigará si existe una correlación entre las creencias/actitudes de los padres hacia el mantenimiento de la lengua y estas prácticas.

**Beneficios:** Las principales contribuciones potenciales y beneficios de esta investigación son (i) una mayor comprensión de cómo los padres transmiten y mantienen su lengua minoritaria en las comunidades con varias lenguas mayoritarias, (ii) el papel que sus creencias y prácticas juegan en ese mantenimiento, y (iii) el papel que sus creencias y prácticas juegan a la hora de tomar decisiones acerca de la educación formal/reglada e informal de sus hijos.

**Confidencialidad y anonimato:** La información que comparta será estrictamente confidencial y se utilizará únicamente para los fines de esta investigación. Las únicas personas que tendrán acceso a los datos de investigación seremos yo y mi supervisora. Sus respuestas a las preguntas abiertas podrán ser utilizadas literalmente en presentaciones y publicaciones, pero ni usted ni sus hijos podrán ser identificados. Para minimizar el riesgo de difusión de datos y para ayudar a garantizar su confidencialidad, le recomendamos que utilice medidas de seguridad estándar, como cerrar la sesión de su cuenta, cerrar el navegador y bloquear la pantalla o dispositivo cuando ya no lo esté usando/cuando haya completado el estudio.

Los resultados se publicarán en formato combinado (agregado). El anonimato está totalmente garantizado, ya que no se le solicita que proporcione su nombre ni ninguna información personal. Si desea que le contactemos para la segunda parte del estudio en aproximadamente un mes, solamente yo y mi supervisora sabremos su nombre e información de contacto, siempre y cuando decida proporcionarlos. Si decide participar en la segunda parte, se le proporcionará un formulario de aceptación adicional con la información correspondiente en dicho momento.

**Conservación de datos:** Las encuestas se guardarán en un archivador con acceso restringido en la oficina de mi supervisora de tesis en la University of Ottawa por un período de 7 años, momento en el cual se procederá a su destrucción.

**Participación voluntaria:** Usted no tiene la obligación de participar, y si decide participar, puede negarse a responder cualquier pregunta que no considere oportuna.

**Información sobre los resultados del estudio:** Los resultados de la investigación estarán disponibles para los participantes una vez que se haya completado el estudio (en julio de 2022, aproximadamente). Para obtener una copia electrónica del estudio, o si necesita más

información o aclaración sobre este estudio, puede contactarme por correo electrónico:  
XXXX@uottawa.ca.

Si tiene alguna pregunta respecto a la conducta ética de este estudio, puede contactar el  
Office for Ethics in Research, University of Ottawa, Tabaret Hall, 550 Cumberland Street,  
Room 154, Ottawa, ON K1N 6N5, tel.: (613) 562-5387 o ethics@uottawa.ca.

Saludos cordiales,

Joselyn Brooksbank, M.A.  
Department of Modern Languages and Literatures  
University of Ottawa  
XXXX@uottawa.ca

Dra. Elena Valenzuela.  
Associate Professor, Department of Modern Languages and Literatures  
University of Ottawa  
XXXX@uottawa.ca

## Appendix E: Consent Form in Portuguese

### Formulário de Consentimento

Esta pesquisa faz parte da tese de doutorado realizada pela pesquisadora Joselyn Brooksbank e tem a orientação da Dra. Elena Valenzuela, da University of Ottawa.

Antes de concordar em participar desta pesquisa e aceitar os termos deste Formulário de Consentimento, por favor, leia com atenção as informações fornecidas abaixo. Caso você tenha alguma pergunta, você poderá fazê-la à Pesquisadora Principal, ou aos outros membros da Equipe de Pesquisa, que poderão explicar qualquer ponto que não esteja claro.

Você não é obrigado a participar deste estudo e sua participação é totalmente voluntária. Você também pode encerrar o questionário online a qualquer momento e você é livre para responder a todas as perguntas que considerar apropriadas ou deixar em branco aquelas que você não quiser / não puder responder.

Se você preencher a pesquisa a seguir, este ato será interpretado como uma aceitação de participação.

**Objetivo do estudo:** O objetivo principal desta pesquisa é conhecer a visão dos pais de língua portuguesa sobre o uso e a manutenção do português em casa e na escola em áreas bilíngues do Canadá. Este estudo é concentrado nas práticas que os pais lusófonos utilizam para o desenvolvimento do português, francês e/ou inglês e irá analisar as relações entre a visão e atitude dos pais na manutenção destas línguas.

**Benefícios:** As principais contribuições e benefícios potenciais desta pesquisa são (i) uma maior compreensão de como os pais transmitem e mantêm sua língua minoritária em comunidades com várias línguas majoritárias, (ii) o papel da visão e das práticas dos pais no desempenho dessa manutenção, e (iii) e como a visão dos pais influenciam o processo decisório sobre a educação formal e informal dos seus filhos.

**Confidencialidade e anonimato:** as informações que você compartilha serão estritamente confidenciais e serão usadas apenas para os fins desta pesquisa. As únicas pessoas que terão acesso aos dados deste questionário serão a Pesquisadora Principal e a supervisora. Suas respostas às perguntas abertas podem ser usadas em apresentações e publicações, mas nem você nem seus filhos poderão ser identificados. Para minimizar o risco de divulgação de dados e ajudar a garantir sua confidencialidade, recomendamos que você use medidas de segurança padrão, como sair da sua conta, fechar o navegador e bloquear a tela ou o dispositivo quando não estiver mais usando/quando concluir o estudo.

Os resultados serão publicados apenas de forma agregada. O anonimato é totalmente garantido, pois você não é obrigado a fornecer seu nome ou qualquer informação pessoal. Se desejar que entremos em contato com você para a segunda parte do estudo em cerca de um mês, apenas a Pesquisadora Principal e a supervisora terão acesso ao seu nome e informações de contato, desde que você decida fornecê-los. Se você decidir participar da segunda parte, receberá um formulário de aceitação adicional com as informações correspondentes.

**Retenção de dados:** os dados desta pesquisa serão mantidos em um arquivo com acesso restrito no escritório da orientadora deste projeto na University of Ottawa por um período de 7 anos, quando então serão destruídas.

Participação voluntária: Você não é obrigado a participar e, se decidir participar, pode se recusar a responder a quaisquer perguntas que não considere adequadas.

Informações sobre os resultados do estudo: Os resultados da pesquisa estarão disponíveis aos participantes assim que o estudo for concluído (aproximadamente em julho de 2022). Para obter uma cópia eletrônica do estudo, ou se precisar de mais informações ou esclarecimentos sobre este estudo, você pode entrar em contato com a Pesquisadora Principal pelo e-mail: XXXX@uottawa.ca.

Se você tiver alguma dúvida sobre a conduta ética deste estudo, pode entrar em contato com o Office for Ethics in Research, University of Ottawa, Tabaret Hall, 550 Cumberland Street, Ottawa, ON K1N 6N5, tel: (613) 562- 5387 ou ethics@uottawa.ca.

Atenciosamente,

Joselyn Brooksbank, Pesquisadora Principal  
Departamento de Línguas e Literaturas Modernas  
University of Ottawa  
XXXX@uottawa.ca

Supervisora:  
Dra. Elena Valenzuela.  
Professora Associada, Departamento de Línguas e Literaturas Modernas  
University of Ottawa  
XXXX@uottawa.ca



## Appendix F: Questionnaire in Spanish

¡Hola!

La siguiente encuesta le preguntará acerca del uso del español, francés e inglés en su hogar y en la escuela o guardería de su hijo/hija.

También le preguntará acerca de las creencias de usted sobre la importancia de desarrollar y mantener estas lenguas en Canadá con su hijo/hija **entre 2 y 16 años de edad**.

Si tiene más de un/una hijo/hija en esta franja de edad, por favor, piense en sus hábitos con su hijo/hija mayor.

Le tomará aproximadamente 15 minutos completar la encuesta.

### Aceptación de participación

*Acepto*

*No acepto*

1. ¿Cuántos años ha vivido en Canadá?

*Menos de 2 años*

*Entre 2 y 5 años*

*Entre 5 y 7 años*

*Entre 7 y 10 años*

*Má de 10 años*

2. ¿Cuál es la lengua principal que se usa en la comunidad donde vive?

*Francés*

*Principalmente francés, algo de inglés*

*Tanto francés como inglés*

*Principalmente inglés, algo de francés*

*Inglés*

3. ¿Cuál de las siguientes lenguas **habla** usted y con qué nivel?

<i>Español</i>	<i>Francés</i>	<i>Inglés</i>
<i>No hablo nada</i>	<i>No hablo nada</i>	<i>No hablo nada</i>
<i>Hablo un poco</i>	<i>Hablo un poco</i>	<i>Hablo un poco</i>
<i>Hablo más o menos bien</i>	<i>Hablo más o menos bien</i>	<i>Hablo más o menos bien</i>
<i>Hablo muy bien</i>	<i>Hablo muy bien</i>	<i>Hablo muy bien</i>
<i>Hablo perfectamente (o soy hablante nativo/a)</i>	<i>Hablo perfectamente (o soy hablante nativo/a)</i>	<i>Hablo perfectamente (o soy hablante nativo/a)</i>

4. ¿Cuál de las siguientes lenguas **entiende** usted y con qué nivel?

<i>Español</i>	<i>Francés</i>	<i>Inglés</i>
<i>No entiendo nada</i> <i>Entiendo un poco</i> <i>Entiendo más o menos</i> <i>bien</i> <i>Entiendo muy bien</i> <i>Entiendo perfectamente (o soy hablante nativo/a)</i>	<i>No entiendo nada</i> <i>Entiendo un poco</i> <i>Entiendo más o menos</i> <i>bien</i> <i>Entiendo muy bien</i> <i>Entiendo perfectamente (o soy hablante nativo/a)</i>	<i>No entiendo nada</i> <i>Entiendo un poco</i> <i>Entiendo más o menos</i> <i>bien</i> <i>Entiendo muy bien</i> <i>Entiendo perfectamente (o soy hablante nativo/a)</i>

**Las siguientes preguntas le preguntarán sobre el uso de las distintas lenguas en su casa con su hijo/hija. Si tiene más de un/una hijo/hija entre 2 y 16 años de edad, por favor, piense en sus hábitos con su hijo/hija mayor.**

5. ¿Cuántos años tiene su hijo/hija?

[Texto abierto, número]

6. ¿Cuántos años tenía su hijo/hija cuando emigraron a Canadá? Si nació en Canadá, por favor, escriba "0".

[Texto abierto, número]

7. ¿Cuál de las siguientes lenguas **habla** su hijo/hija y con qué nivel (**en relación a su edad**)? Seleccione todas las que correspondan. Si es muy joven y todavía no habla, por favor, seleccione "Todavía no habla ninguna lengua".

<i>Todavía no habla ninguna lengua</i> <i>No habla nada</i> <i>Habla un poco</i> <i>Habla más o menos bien</i> <i>Habla muy bien</i> <i>Habla perfectamente</i>	<i>Todavía no habla ninguna lengua</i> <i>No habla nada</i> <i>Habla un poco</i> <i>Habla más o menos bien</i> <i>Habla muy bien</i> <i>Habla perfectamente</i>	<i>Todavía no habla ninguna lengua</i> <i>No habla nada</i> <i>Habla un poco</i> <i>Habla más o menos bien</i> <i>Habla muy bien</i> <i>Habla perfectamente</i>
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8. ¿Cuál de las siguientes lenguas **entiende** su hijo/hija y con qué nivel (**en relación a su edad**)?

<i>Español</i>	<i>Francés</i>	<i>Inglés</i>
<i>No entiende nada</i> <i>Entiende un poco</i> <i>Entiende más o menos bien</i> <i>Entiende muy bien</i> <i>Entiende perfectamente</i>	<i>No entiende nada</i> <i>Entiende un poco</i> <i>Entiende más o menos bien</i> <i>Entiende muy bien</i> <i>Entiende perfectamente</i>	<i>No entiende nada</i> <i>Entiende un poco</i> <i>Entiende más o menos bien</i> <i>Entiende muy bien</i> <i>Entiende perfectamente</i>

9. En general, ¿en qué lenguas le habla **usted a su hijo/hija** y con qué frecuencia? Si no usa una lengua porque usted no lo conoce, por favor, seleccione “N/A”.

<i>Español</i>	<i>Francés</i>	<i>Inglés</i>
<i>N/A</i> <i>Nunca</i> <i>De vez en cuando</i> <i>A veces</i> <i>La mayoría de las veces</i> <i>Siempre</i>	<i>N/A</i> <i>Nunca</i> <i>De vez en cuando</i> <i>A veces</i> <i>La mayoría de las veces</i> <i>Siempre</i>	<i>N/A</i> <i>Nunca</i> <i>De vez en cuando</i> <i>A veces</i> <i>La mayoría de las veces</i> <i>Siempre</i>

10. En general, ¿en qué lenguas le habla/contesta **su hijo/hija a usted** y con qué frecuencia? Si su hijo/hija no usa una lengua porque no lo conoce, por favor, seleccione “N/A”.

<i>Español</i>	<i>Francés</i>	<i>Inglés</i>
<i>N/A</i> <i>Nunca</i> <i>De vez en cuando</i> <i>A veces</i> <i>La mayoría de las veces</i> <i>Siempre</i>	<i>N/A</i> <i>Siempre</i> <i>La mayoría de las veces</i> <i>A veces</i> <i>De vez en cuando</i> <i>Nunca</i>	<i>N/A</i> <i>Siempre</i> <i>La mayoría de las veces</i> <i>A veces</i> <i>De vez en cuando</i> <i>Nunca</i>

11. ¿Tiene su hijo/hija otro padre (o cuidador/cuidadora) en casa?

*No*  
*Sí*

12. ¿Cuál de las siguientes lenguas **habla** el otro padre y aproximadamente con qué nivel?

<i>Español</i>	<i>Francés</i>	<i>Inglés</i>
<i>No habla nada</i> <i>Habla un poco</i> <i>Habla más o menos bien</i> <i>Habla muy bien</i> <i>Habla perfectamente (o es hablante nativo/a)</i>	<i>No habla nada</i> <i>Habla un poco</i> <i>Habla más o menos bien</i> <i>Habla muy bien</i> <i>Habla perfectamente (o es hablante nativo/a)</i>	<i>No habla nada</i> <i>Habla un poco</i> <i>Habla más o menos bien</i> <i>Habla muy bien</i> <i>Habla perfectamente (o es hablante nativo/a)</i>

13. ¿Cuál de las siguientes lenguas **entiende** el otro padre y aproximadamente con qué nivel?

<i>Español</i>	<i>Francés</i>	<i>Inglés</i>
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<i>No entiende nada</i> <i>Entiende un poco</i> <i>Entiende más o menos bien</i> <i>Entiende muy bien</i> <i>Entiende perfectamente (o es hablante nativo/a)</i>	<i>No entiende nada</i> <i>Entiende un poco</i> <i>Entiende más o menos bien</i> <i>Entiende muy bien</i> <i>Entiende perfectamente (o es hablante nativo/a)</i>	<i>No entiende nada</i> <i>Entiende un poco</i> <i>Entiende más o menos bien</i> <i>Entiende muy bien</i> <i>Entiende perfectamente (o es hablante nativo/a)</i>
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14. En general, ¿en qué lenguas le habla **el otro padre a su hijo/hija** y con qué frecuencia? Si no usa una lengua porque no lo conoce, por favor, seleccione “N/A”.

<i>Español</i>	<i>Francés</i>	<i>Inglés</i>
<i>N/A</i> <i>Nunca</i> <i>De vez en cuando</i> <i>A veces</i> <i>La mayoría de las veces</i> <i>Siempre</i>	<i>N/A</i> <i>Nunca</i> <i>De vez en cuando</i> <i>A veces</i> <i>La mayoría de las veces</i> <i>Siempre</i>	<i>N/A</i> <i>Nunca</i> <i>De vez en cuando</i> <i>A veces</i> <i>La mayoría de las veces</i> <i>Siempre</i>

15. En general, ¿en qué lenguas le habla/contesta **su hijo/hija al otro padre** y con qué frecuencia? Si su hijo/hija no usa una lengua porque no lo conoce, por favor, seleccione “N/A”.

<i>Español</i>	<i>Francés</i>	<i>Inglés</i>
<i>N/A</i> <i>Nunca</i> <i>De vez en cuando</i> <i>A veces</i> <i>La mayoría de las veces</i> <i>Siempre</i>	<i>N/A</i> <i>Nunca</i> <i>De vez en cuando</i> <i>A veces</i> <i>La mayoría de las veces</i> <i>Siempre</i>	<i>N/A</i> <i>Nunca</i> <i>De vez en cuando</i> <i>A veces</i> <i>La mayoría de las veces</i> <i>Siempre</i>

16. En general, ¿en qué lenguas hablan **entre usted y el otro padre** y aproximadamente con qué frecuencia? Si no usan una lengua porque no lo conocen, por favor, seleccione “N/A”.

<i>Español</i>	<i>Francés</i>	<i>Inglés</i>
<i>N/A</i> <i>Nunca</i> <i>De vez en cuando</i> <i>A veces</i> <i>La mayoría de las veces</i> <i>Siempre</i>	<i>N/A</i> <i>Nunca</i> <i>De vez en cuando</i> <i>A veces</i> <i>La mayoría de las veces</i> <i>Siempre</i>	<i>N/A</i> <i>Nunca</i> <i>De vez en cuando</i> <i>A veces</i> <i>La mayoría de las veces</i> <i>Siempre</i>

17. ¿Corrige usted [o el otro padre] su hijo/hija si comete un error gramatical o de pronunciación en español? Si es muy joven y todavía no habla, seleccione “*Todavía no habla*”. Si no habla nada de español, seleccione “*No habla español*”.

*Todavía no habla*

*No habla español*

*Nunca*

*Solo si cambia el significado de la palabra o de la oración*

*A veces*

*La mayoría de las veces*

*Siempre*

18. ¿Hay algunas reglas (formales o informales) sobre el uso de las lenguas en su casa? Seleccione todas las que correspondan.

*No hay ninguna norma ni regla*

*Solamente le hablo a mi hijo/hija en español*

*Solamente le contesto a mi hijo/hija si me habla en español*

*Solamente le hablo a mi hijo/hija en español y el otro padre le habla solamente en francés y/o inglés (o viceversa)*

*Hablo a mi hijo/hija en español en nuestra casa y en francés y/o inglés en la calle*

*Está prohibido hablar en francés y/o inglés en nuestra casa*

*Otra (siguiente pregunta)*

19. ¿Cuáles son las otras reglas sobre el uso de las lenguas en su casa? \*Respuesta no obligatoria.

*[Texto abierto]*

20. ¿Han cambiado estas reglas con el tiempo? Por ejemplo, cuando él/ella empezó la escuela/guardería, con la adición de más niños en la familia, una y/o con otras circunstancias.

*No*

*Sí (siguiente pregunta)*

21. ¿Cómo y por qué? \*Respuesta no obligatoria.

*[Texto abierto]*

22. Si usted [o el otro padre] le habla a su hijo/hija en **español** y le responde en francés/inglés, ¿qué suele hacer usted [o el otro padre]? Seleccione todas las que correspondan.

*Le ignoro hasta que me responda en español.*

*Finjo que no entiendo y le pido que lo repita en español.*

*Aclaro lo que dije en español.*

*Insisto en que me responda en español.*

*Repito lo que dijo en español pero no insisto en que lo diga.*

*Sigo hablando en español y le dejo hablar en la lengua que quiera.*

*También empiezo a hablar en francés/inglés (o una mezcla de francés/inglés y español).*

*Otro (siguiente pregunta)*

23. ¿Qué más suele hacer usted [o el otro padre] en estas situaciones? \*Respuesta no obligatoria.

*[Texto abierto]*

24. ¿Se escucha música, la radio y/o podcasts en español en su casa?

*No, nunca*  
*Sí, pero raramente*  
*Sí a veces*  
*Sí, a menudo*  
*Sí, todos los días*

25. ¿Se ve programas de televisión, películas o videos en español en su casa?

*No, nunca*  
*Sí, pero raramente*  
*Sí a veces*  
*Sí, a menudo*  
*Sí, todos los días*

26. ¿Le lee usted libros, periódicos o revistas **en español** a su hijo/hija? O ¿lee su hijo/hija libros, periódicos o revistas **en español**?

*No, nunca*  
*Sí, pero raramente*  
*Sí a veces*  
*Sí, a menudo*  
*Sí, todos los días*

27. ¿Con qué frecuencia está su hijo/hija en contacto con otros hablantes de español?

*Nunca*  
*Raramente*  
*A veces*  
*A menudo*  
*Todos los días*

**Las siguientes preguntas le preguntarán su opinión sobre las lenguas en Canadá.**

28. Es importante que mi hijo/hija...  
 a. ... hable español y entienda el **español** hablado.

*Totalmente en desacuerdo*  
*En desacuerdo*  
*Neutral*  
*De acuerdo*  
*Completamente de acuerdo*

b. ... escriba y lea en **español**.

*Totalmente en desacuerdo*

*En desacuerdo*

*Neutral*

*De acuerdo*

*Completamente de acuerdo*

c. ... hable español y entienda el **francés** hablado.

*Totalmente en desacuerdo*

*En desacuerdo*

*Neutral*

*De acuerdo*

*Completamente de acuerdo*

d. ... escriba y lea en **francés**.

*Totalmente en desacuerdo*

*En desacuerdo*

*Neutral*

*De acuerdo*

*Completamente de acuerdo*

e. ... hable español y entienda el **inglés** hablado.

*Totalmente en desacuerdo*

*En desacuerdo*

*Neutral*

*De acuerdo*

*Completamente de acuerdo*

f. ... escriba y lea en **inglés**.

*Totalmente en desacuerdo*

*En desacuerdo*

*Neutral*

*De acuerdo*

*Completamente de acuerdo*

29. Saber **español** ayudará a mi hijo/hija a tener éxito en su futuro.

*Totalmente en desacuerdo*

*En desacuerdo*

*Neutral*

*De acuerdo*

*Completamente de acuerdo*

30. Saber **francés** ayudará a mi hijo/hija a tener éxito en su futuro.

*Totalmente en desacuerdo*

*En desacuerdo*

*Neutral*

*De acuerdo*

*Completamente de acuerdo*

31. Saber **inglés** ayudará a mi hijo/hija a tener éxito en su futuro.

*Totalmente en desacuerdo*

*En desacuerdo*

*Neutral*

*De acuerdo*

*Completamente de acuerdo*

32. ¿Cree usted que es importante conservar el español en Canadá?

*Nada importante*

*Poco importante*

*Neutral*

*Importante*

*Muy importante*

33. ¿Cree usted que el uso del español es importante para conservar la identidad cultural de su hijo/hija?

*Nada importante*

*Poco importante*

*Neutral*

*Importante*

*Muy importante*

34. ¿Cree usted que es importante que su hijo/hija asista a los eventos sociales (festivales de su país, celebraciones de su cultura, etc.) de su comunidad y/o de otras comunidades hispanohablantes?

*Nada importante*

*Poco importante*

*Neutral*

*Importante*

*Muy importante*

**Las siguientes preguntas le preguntarán sobre la educación (la escuela/guardería) de su hijo/hija.**



35. ¿Qué porcentaje de la educación formal/reglada de su hijo/hija es en **español**?

[Escala 0% - 100%]

36. ¿Qué porcentaje de la educación formal/reglada de su hijo/hija es en **francés**?

[Escala 0% - 100%]

37. ¿Qué porcentaje de la educación formal/reglada de su hijo/hija es en **inglés**?

[Escala 0% - 100%]

38. ¿Por qué escogió usted este tipo de educación formal/reglada para su hijo/hija?  
 Seleccione todas las respuestas que correspondan.

*Es obligatoria en la provincia/el área donde vivimos*

*No hay más opciones donde vivimos*

*Para desarrollar sus habilidades en francés*

*Para desarrollar sus habilidades en inglés*

*Para desarrollar sus habilidades en **francés e inglés***

*Para desarrollar sus habilidades multilingües en **español, francés e inglés***

*Otra (siguiente pregunta)*

39. ¿Qué otras razones? \*Respuesta no obligatoria.

[Texto abierto]

40. ¿Le gustaría que su hijo/hija tomara **clases de español** (de gramática, pronunciación, etc.) como parte de su educación (ahora y/o en el futuro)?

*No, no me gustaría nada*

*No, no me gustaría*

*Neutral*

*Sí, me gustaría*

*Sí, me gustaría mucho*

*Ya toma clases de español en la escuela*

41. ¿Le gustaría que su hijo/hija tomara **cursos** (de matemáticas, ciencias, geografía, etc.) **dados en español** como parte de su educación (ahora y/o en el futuro)?

*No, no me gustaría nada*

*No, no me gustaría*

*Neutral*

*Sí, me gustaría*

*Sí, me gustaría mucho*

*Ya toma cursos dados en español en la escuela*

42. ¿Su hijo/hija toma algunas clases de **español** (de gramática o comunicación) fuera de la escuela (clases particulares, clases en línea, *Saturday School*, etc.)?

*No porque es muy joven todavía*

*No*

*Sí, entre 1 y 2 horas a la semana*

*Sí, entre 2 y 5 horas a la semana*

*Sí, más de 5 horas a la semana*

43. ¿Su hijo/hija toma algunas clases de **francés** (de gramática y/o comunicación) **fuera de la escuela** (clases particulares, clases en línea, etc.)?

*No porque es muy joven todavía*

*No*

*Sí, entre 1 y 2 horas a la semana*

*Sí, entre 2 y 5 horas a la semana*

*Sí, más de 5 horas a la semana*

44. ¿Su hijo/hija toma algunas clases de **inglés** (de gramática y/o comunicación) **fuera de la escuela** (clases particulares, clases en línea, etc.)?

*No porque es muy joven todavía*

*No*

*Sí, entre 1 y 2 horas a la semana*

*Sí, entre 2 y 5 horas a la semana*

*Sí, más de 5 horas a la semana*

45. ¿Ha hecho algo más para ayudar a su hijo/hija a retener el español? \*Respuesta no obligatoria.

*[Texto abierto]*

46. ¿Hay algo más que le gustaría decir sobre el uso del español en su casa, las decisiones que ha tomado acerca del uso de las lenguas o cualquier otra cosa relacionada con este estudio? \*Respuesta no obligatoria.

*[Texto abierto]*

***¡Ha llegado al final de esta encuesta!***

***¡Muchas gracias por colaborar!***

## Appendix G: Questionnaire in Portuguese

Olá!

No questionário a seguir, você será convidado a responder perguntas sobre o uso do português, francês e/ou inglês em sua casa e na escola ou creche de seu(sua) filho(a).

Você também será convidado a responder perguntas sobre a sua visão sobre a manutenção e o desenvolvimento dessas línguas no Canadá com seu(sua) filho(a) **de 2 a 16 anos**.

Se você tem mais de um(a) filho(a) nesta faixa etária, por favor, pense sobre seus hábitos com seu(sua) filho(a) mais velho(a).

A conclusão do questionário levará aproximadamente 15 minutos.

### Formulário de Consentimento

*Aceito*

*Não aceito*

1. Há quantos anos você mora no Canadá?

*Menos de 2 anos*

*Entre 2 e 5 anos*

*Entre 5 e 7 anos*

*Entre 7 e 10 anos*

*Mais de 10 anos*

2. Qual é a língua principal da comunidade onde você mora?

*Francês*

*Principalmente francês, um pouco de inglês*

*Tanto francês como inglês*

*Principalmente inglês, um pouco de francês*

*Inglês*

3. Quais das seguintes línguas você **fala** e em que nível?

<i>Português</i>	<i>Francês</i>	<i>Inglês</i>
<i>Eu não falo nada</i>	<i>Eu não falo nada</i>	<i>Eu não falo nada</i>
<i>Eu falo um pouco</i>	<i>Eu falo um pouco</i>	<i>Eu falo um pouco</i>
<i>Eu falo mais ou menos bem</i>	<i>Eu falo mais ou menos bem</i>	<i>Eu falo mais ou menos bem</i>
<i>Eu falo bem</i>	<i>Eu falo bem</i>	<i>Eu falo bem</i>
<i>Eu falo perfeitamente [ou eu sou falante nativo(a)]</i>	<i>Eu falo perfeitamente [ou eu sou falante nativo(a)]</i>	<i>Eu falo perfeitamente [ou eu sou falante nativo(a)]</i>

4. Quais das seguintes línguas você **entende** e em que nível?

<i>Português</i>	<i>Francês</i>	<i>Inglês</i>
<i>Eu não entendo nada</i>	<i>Eu não entendo nada</i>	<i>Eu não entendo nada</i>
<i>Eu entendo um pouco</i>	<i>Eu entendo um pouco</i>	<i>Eu entendo um pouco</i>
<i>Eu entendo mais ou menos</i>	<i>Eu entendo mais ou menos</i>	<i>Eu entendo mais ou menos</i>
<i>bem</i>	<i>bem</i>	<i>bem</i>
<i>Eu entendo bem</i>	<i>Eu entendo bem</i>	<i>Eu entendo bem</i>
<i>Eu entendo perfeitamente</i>	<i>Eu entendo perfeitamente</i>	<i>Eu entendo perfeitamente</i>
<i>[ou eu sou falante nativo(a)]</i>	<i>[ou eu sou falante nativo(a)]</i>	<i>[ou eu sou falante nativo(a)]</i>

**As perguntas a seguir são sobre o uso de diferentes línguas em sua casa com seu(sua) filho(a). Se você tem mais de um(a) filho(a) de 2 a 16 anos, por favor, pense sobre seus hábitos com seu(sua) filho(a) mais velho(a).**

5. Que idade tem seu(sua) filho(a)?

*[Texto aberto, número]*

6. Qual era a idade do seu(sua) filho(a) quando você chegou no Canadá? Se ele(a) nasceu no Canadá, escreva “0”.

*[Texto aberto, número]*

7. Quais das seguintes línguas seu(sua) filho(a) **fala** e em que nível [**em relação à idade**]? Se o ele(a) é muito pequeno(a) e ainda não fala, selecione “*Ele(a) ainda não fala nenhuma língua*”.

<i>Português</i>	<i>Francês</i>	<i>Inglês</i>
<i>Ele(a) ainda não fala nenhuma língua</i>	<i>Ele(a) ainda não fala nenhuma língua</i>	<i>Ele(a) ainda não fala nenhuma língua</i>
<i>Ele(a) não fala nada</i>	<i>Ele(a) não fala nada</i>	<i>Ele(a) não fala nada</i>
<i>Ele(a) fala um pouco</i>	<i>Ele(a) fala um pouco</i>	<i>Ele(a) fala um pouco</i>
<i>Ele(a) fala mais ou menos</i>	<i>Ele(a) fala mais ou menos</i>	<i>Ele(a) fala mais ou menos</i>
<i>bem</i>	<i>bem</i>	<i>bem</i>
<i>Ele(a) fala bem</i>	<i>Ele(a) fala bem</i>	<i>Ele(a) fala bem</i>
<i>Ele(a) fala perfeitamente</i>	<i>Ele(a) fala perfeitamente</i>	<i>Ele(a) fala perfeitamente</i>

8. Quais das seguintes línguas seu(sua) filho(a) **entende** e em que nível [**em relação à idade**]?

<i>Português</i>	<i>Francês</i>	<i>Inglês</i>
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<i>Ele(a) não entende nada</i> <i>Ele(a) entende um pouco</i> <i>Ele(a) entende mais ou menos bem</i> <i>Ele(a) entende bem</i> <i>Ele(a) entende perfeitamente</i>	<i>Ele(a) não entende nada</i> <i>Ele(a) entende um pouco</i> <i>Ele(a) entende mais ou menos bem</i> <i>Ele(a) entende bem</i> <i>Ele(a) entende perfeitamente</i>	<i>Ele(a) não entende nada</i> <i>Ele(a) entende um pouco</i> <i>Ele(a) entende mais ou menos bem</i> <i>Ele(a) entende bem</i> <i>Ele(a) entende perfeitamente</i>
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9. Em geral, que línguas  **você fala com seu(sua) filho(a)**  e com que frequência? Se você não usa uma língua porque você não a conhece, selecione “N/A”

<i>Português</i>	<i>Francês</i>	<i>Inglês</i>
<i>N/A</i> <i>Nunca</i> <i>De vez em quando</i> <i>Às vezes</i> <i>A maioria das vezes</i> <i>Sempre</i>	<i>N/A</i> <i>Nunca</i> <i>De vez em quando</i> <i>Às vezes</i> <i>A maioria das vezes</i> <i>Sempre</i>	<i>N/A</i> <i>Nunca</i> <i>De vez em quando</i> <i>Às vezes</i> <i>A maioria das vezes</i> <i>Sempre</i>

10. Em geral, que línguas  **seu(sua) filho(a) responde/fala com você**  e com que frequência? Se seu(sua) filho(a) não usa uma língua porque ele/ela não a conhece, selecione “N/A”

<i>Português</i>	<i>Francês</i>	<i>Inglês</i>
<i>N/A</i> <i>Nunca</i> <i>De vez em quando</i> <i>Às vezes</i> <i>A maioria das vezes</i> <i>Sempre</i>	<i>N/A</i> <i>Nunca</i> <i>De vez em quando</i> <i>Às vezes</i> <i>A maioria das vezes</i> <i>Sempre</i>	<i>N/A</i> <i>Nunca</i> <i>De vez em quando</i> <i>Às vezes</i> <i>A maioria das vezes</i> <i>Sempre</i>

11. O(a) seu(sua) filho(a) tem outro pai/mãe [ou responsável] em casa?

*Não*

*Sim (seguinte pergunta)*

12. Quais das seguintes línguas o outro pai/mãe **fala** e aproximadamente em que nível?

<i>Português</i>	<i>Francês</i>	<i>Inglês</i>
<i>Ele(a) não fala nada</i> <i>Ele(a) fala um pouco</i> <i>Ele(a) fala mais ou menos bem</i>	<i>Ele(a) não fala nada</i> <i>Ele(a) fala um pouco</i> <i>Ele(a) fala mais ou menos bem</i>	<i>Ele(a) não fala nada</i> <i>Ele(a) fala um pouco</i> <i>Ele(a) fala mais ou menos bem</i>

<i>Ele(a) fala bem</i> <i>Ele(a) fala perfeitamente</i> <i>[ou ele(a) é falante nativo(a)]</i>	<i>Ele(a) fala bem</i> <i>Ele(a) fala perfeitamente</i> <i>[ou ele(a) é falante nativo(a)]</i>	<i>Ele(a) fala bem</i> <i>Ele(a) fala perfeitamente</i> <i>[ou ele(a) é falante nativo(a)]</i>
--	--	--

13. Quais das seguintes línguas o outro pai/mãe **entende** e aproximadamente em que nível?

<i>Português</i>	<i>Francês</i>	<i>Inglês</i>
<i>Ele(a) não entende nada</i> <i>Ele(a) entende um pouco</i> <i>Ele(a) entende mais ou menos bem</i> <i>Ele(a) entende bem</i> <i>Ele(a) entende perfeitamente</i> <i>[ou ele(a) é falante nativo(a)]</i>	<i>Ele(a) não entende nada</i> <i>Ele(a) entende um pouco</i> <i>Ele(a) entende mais ou menos bem</i> <i>Ele(a) entende bem</i> <i>Ele(a) entende perfeitamente</i> <i>[ou ele(a) é falante nativo(a)]</i>	<i>Ele(a) não entende nada</i> <i>Ele(a) entende um pouco</i> <i>Ele(a) entende mais ou menos bem</i> <i>Ele(a) entende bem</i> <i>Ele(a) entende perfeitamente</i> <i>[ou ele(a) é falante nativo(a)]</i>

14. Em geral, que línguas **o outro pai/mãe fala com seu(sua) filho(a)** e com que frequência? Se o pai/responsável não usa uma língua porque não a conhece, selecione "N/A".

<i>Português</i>	<i>Francês</i>	<i>Inglês</i>
<i>N/A</i> <i>Nunca</i> <i>De vez em quando</i> <i>Às vezes</i> <i>A maioria das vezes</i> <i>Sempre</i>	<i>N/A</i> <i>Nunca</i> <i>De vez em quando</i> <i>Às vezes</i> <i>A maioria das vezes</i> <i>Sempre</i>	<i>N/A</i> <i>Nunca</i> <i>De vez em quando</i> <i>Às vezes</i> <i>A maioria das vezes</i> <i>Sempre</i>

15. Em geral, que línguas **seu(sua) filho(a) responde/fala com o outro pai/mãe** com que frequência? Se seu(sua) filho(a) não usa uma língua porque não a conhece, selecione "N/A".

<i>Português</i>	<i>Francês</i>	<i>Inglês</i>
<i>N/A</i> <i>Nunca</i> <i>De vez em quando</i> <i>Às vezes</i> <i>A maioria das vezes</i> <i>Sempre</i>	<i>N/A</i> <i>Nunca</i> <i>De vez em quando</i> <i>Às vezes</i> <i>A maioria das vezes</i> <i>Sempre</i>	<i>N/A</i> <i>Nunca</i> <i>De vez em quando</i> <i>Às vezes</i> <i>A maioria das vezes</i> <i>Sempre</i>

16. Em geral, que línguas **você e o outro pai/mãe** falam entre si e com que frequência? Se vocês não usam uma língua porque não a conhecem, selecione “N/A”.

<i>Português</i>	<i>Francês</i>	<i>Inglês</i>
<i>N/A</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>N/A</i>
<i>Nunca</i>	<i>Nunca</i>	<i>Nunca</i>
<i>De vez em quando</i>	<i>De vez em quando</i>	<i>De vez em quando</i>
<i>Às vezes</i>	<i>Às vezes</i>	<i>Às vezes</i>
<i>A maioria das vezes</i>	<i>A maioria das vezes</i>	<i>A maioria das vezes</i>
<i>Sempre</i>	<i>Sempre</i>	<i>Sempre</i>

17. Você [ou o outro pai/mãe] corrige seu(sua) filho(a) se ele(a) cometer um erro gramatical ou de pronúncia do português? \*Se o ele(a) é muito pequeno(a) e ainda não fala, selecione “*Ele(a) ainda não fala*”. Se ele(a) não fala nada do português, selecione “*Ele(a) não fala nada do português*”.

*Ele(a) ainda não fala*  
*Ele(a) não fala nada do português*  
*Nunca*  
*Somente se o significado da palavra ou frase mudar*  
*Às vezes*  
*A maioria das vezes*  
*Sempre*

18. Existem regras (formais ou informais) sobre o uso das línguas em sua casa? Selecione tudo que se aplica.

*Não existe nenhuma regra*  
*Eu só falo com meu(minha) filho(a) em português*  
*Eu só respondo ao meu(minha) filho(a) se ele(a) falar comigo em português*  
*Eu só falo com meu(minha) filho(a) em português e o outro pai só fala com ele(a) em francês e/ou inglês (ou vice-versa)*  
*Falo com meu(minha) filho(a) em português em casa e em francês e/ou inglês na rua*  
*É proibido falar em francês e/ou inglês em casa*  
*Outra (seguinte pergunta)*

19. Quais são as outras regras sobre o uso das línguas em sua casa? \*Resposta não obrigatória.

[*Texto aberto*]

20. Essas regras mudaram com o tempo? Por exemplo, quando ele(a) começou a escola/creche, com o acréscimo de mais filhos na família, e/ou com outras circunstâncias?

*Não*  
*Sim (seguinte pergunta)*

21. Como e por quê? \*Resposta não obrigatória.

*[Texto aberto]*

22. Se você [ou o outro pai/mãe] fala com seu(sua) filho(a) em **português** e ele(a) responde em **francês/inglês**, o que você costuma fazer? Selecione tudo o que se aplica.

*Eu o(a) ignoro até que ele(a) me responda em português.*

*Finjo que não entendo e peço que ele(a) repita em português.*

*Eu esclareço em português.*

*Eu insisto que ele(a) me responda em português.*

*Repito o que ele(a) disse em português, mas não insisto que ele(a) o diga.*

*Continuo falando em português e deixo ele(a) falar na língua que ele(a) quiser.*

*Também começo a falar em francês/inglês (ou uma mistura de francês/inglês e português).*

*Outro (seguinte pergunta)*

23. O que mais você [ou o outro pai] faz nessas situações? \*Resposta não obrigatória.

*[Texto aberto]*

24. Ouve-se música, rádio ou podcasts em português em sua casa?

*Não, nunca*

*Sim, mas raramente*

*Sim, às vezes*

*Sim, frequentemente*

*Sim, todos os dias*

25. Assiste-se programas de TV, filmes ou vídeos em português em sua casa?

*Não, nunca*

*Sim, mas raramente*

*Sim, às vezes*

*Sim, frequentemente*

*Sim, todos os dias*

26. Você lê livros, jornais ou revistas **em português** para seu(sua) filho(a)? Ou seu(sua) filho(a) lê livros, jornais ou revistas **em português**?

*Não, nunca*

*Sim, mas raramente*

*Sim, às vezes*

*Sim, frequentemente*

*Sim, todos os dias*

27. Com que frequência seu(sua) filho(a) está em contato com outros falantes de português?

*Nunca*

*Raramente*

*Ocasionalmente*



*Frequentemente*  
*Todos os dias*

**As perguntas a seguir são sobre sua opinião sobre as línguas no Canadá.**

28. É importante que meu(minha) filho(a)...

a. ... fale português e entenda o **português** falado.

*Discordo totalmente*

*Discordo*

*Não concordo nem discordo*

*Concordo*

*Concordo totalmente*

b. ... escreva e leia em **português**.

*Discordo totalmente*

*Discordo*

*Não concordo nem discordo*

*Concordo*

*Concordo totalmente*

c. ... fale francês e entenda o **francês** falado.

*Discordo totalmente*

*Discordo*

*Não concordo nem discordo*

*Concordo*

*Concordo totalmente*

d. ... escreva e leia em **francês**.

*Discordo totalmente*

*Discordo*

*Não concordo nem discordo*

*Concordo*

*Concordo totalmente*

e. ... fale inglês e entenda o **inglês** falado.

*Discordo totalmente*

*Discordo*

*Não concordo nem discordo*

*Concordo*

*Concordo totalmente*

f. ... escreva e leia em **inglês**.

*Discordo totalmente*

*Discordo*

*Não concordo nem discordo*

*Concordo*

*Concordo totalmente*

29. Saber **português** ajudará meu(minha) filho(a) a ter sucesso no futuro.

*Discordo totalmente*

*Discordo*

*Não concordo nem discordo*

*Concordo*

*Concordo totalmente*

30. Saber **francês** ajudará meu(minha) filho(a) a ter sucesso no futuro.

*Discordo totalmente*

*Discordo*

*Não concordo nem discordo*

*Concordo*

*Concordo totalmente*

31. Saber **inglês** ajudará meu(minha) filho(a) a ter sucesso no futuro.

*Discordo totalmente*

*Discordo*

*Não concordo nem discordo*

*Concordo*

*Concordo totalmente*

32. Você acha é importante manter o português no Canadá?

*Não importante*

*Pouco importante*

*Neutro*

*Importante*

*Muito importante*

33. Você acha que o uso do português é importante para preservar a identidade cultural de sua(sua) filho(a)?

*Não importante*

*Pouco importante*

*Neutro*

*Importante*

*Muito importante*

34. Você acha importante que seu(sua) filho(a) participe de eventos sociais (festivais de seu país, celebrações de sua cultura, etc.) em sua comunidade e/ou outras comunidades de língua portuguesa?

*Não importante*

*Pouco importante*

*Neutro*

*Importante*

*Muito importante*

**As perguntas a seguir são sobre a educação (a escola/creche) do seu(sua) filho(a).**

35. Qual é a porcentagem da escola/creche de seu(sua) filho(a) em **português**?

*[Escala 0% - 100%]*

36. Qual é a porcentagem da escola/creche de seu(sua) filho(a) em **francês**?

*[Escala 0% - 100%]*

37. Qual é a porcentagem da escola/creche de seu(sua) filho(a) em **inglês**?

*[Escala 0% - 100%]*

38. Por que você escolheu este tipo de educação formal ou regulamentada para seu(sua) filho(a)? Selecione tudo que se aplica.

*É obrigatório na província / área onde vivemos*

*Não há mais opções onde vivemos*

*Para desenvolver suas habilidades em francês*

*Para desenvolver suas habilidades em inglês*

*Para desenvolver suas habilidades em **francês e inglês***

*Para desenvolver suas habilidades multilíngues em **português, francês e inglês***

*Outra razões (seguinte pergunta)*

39. Que outras razões? \*Resposta não obrigatória.

*[Texto aberto]*

40. Você gostaria que seu(sua) filho(a) tivesse **aulas de português** (gramática, pronúncia, redação, etc.) como parte de sua educação (agora e/ou no futuro)?

*Não, eu não gostaria nada*

*Não, eu não gostaria*

*Neutro*

*Sim eu gostaria*

*Sim, eu gostaria muito*

*Já tem aulas de português na escola*

41. Você gostaria que seu(sua) filho(a) tivesse  **cursos** (matemática, ciências, geografia, etc.) **ministrados em português** como parte de sua educação (agora e/ou no futuro)?

*Não, eu não gostaria nada*

*Não, eu não gostaria*

*Neutro*

*Sim eu gostaria*

*Sim, eu gostaria muito*

*Já tem cursos ministrados em português na escola*

42. O(a) seu(sua) filho(a) tem aulas de **português** (gramática, pronúncia, redação, etc.) **fora da escola** tal como aulas particulares, aulas online, escola aos sábados, etc.?

*Não porque ele(a) é muito jovem*

*Não*

*Sim - aprox. 1 ou 2 horas por semana*

*Sim - entre 2 e 5 horas por semana*

*Sim - mais de 5 horas por semana*

43. O(a) seu(sua) filho(a) tem aulas de **francês** (gramática, pronúncia, etc.) **fora da escola** tal como aulas particulares, aulas online, etc.?

*Não porque ele(a) é muito jovem*

*Não*

*Sim - aprox. 1 ou 2 horas por semana*

*Sim - entre 2 e 5 horas por semana*

*Sim - mais de 5 horas por semana*

44. O(a) seu(sua) filho(a) tem aulas de **inglês** (gramática, pronúncia, etc.) **fora da escola** tal como aulas particulares, aulas online, etc.?

*Não porque ele(a) é muito jovem*

*Não*

*Sim - aprox. 1 ou 2 horas por semana*

*Sim - entre 2 e 5 horas por semana*

*Sim - mais de 5 horas por semana*

45. Você fez alguma coisa para ajudar seu(sua) filho(a) a manter o português? \*Resposta não obrigatória.

*[Texto aberto]*

46. Gostaria de dizer mais alguma coisa sobre o uso do português em casa, sobre as decisões que você tomou sobre o uso das línguas ou qualquer outra coisa relacionada com este estudo? \*Resposta não obrigatória.

*[Texto aberto]*

**Você chegou ao final deste questionário.  
Muito obrigada pela sua colaboração!**

## Appendix H: Questions by Topic and Related to Each Research Aim

**Table H1**

*Questionnaire Questions by Topic*

Topic	Examples	Questions
Demographic & Language	Time in Canada, ages of children, perceived linguistic environment, language abilities and frequency of use, etc.	#1 - #16
Family Language Practices	Family language use norms, additional HL exposure, etc.	#17 - #27 (3 open-ended)
Beliefs	Overall importance of the HLs and OLs, language maintenance, etc.	#28 - #34
Education	Education in the HLs and OLs, reasons and desire for additional education, etc.	#35 - #44 (1 open-ended)
General	Any additional thoughts/comments on HL maintenance in Canada, their experiences, etc.	#45 - #46 (2 open-ended)

**Table H2***Questions Related to Each Research Aim*

Aim	Variables	Question
Parental Attitudes Towards the HL	(i) oral communication skills the HL (ii) written communication skills the HL (iii) importance of knowing the HL for their child's future (iv) importance of knowing the HL to conserve their cultural identity (v) importance of conserving the HL in Canada (vi) the importance of attending events in the HL (vii) desire for their child to take HL classes (viii) desire for their child to take courses taught in the HL	#28a #28b #29 #32 #33 #34 #40 #41
Parental Attitudes Towards French	(i) oral communication skills in French (ii) written communication skills in French (iii) importance of knowing French for their child's future	#28c #28d #30
Parental Attitudes Towards English	(i) oral communication skills in English (ii) written communication skills in English (iii) importance of knowing English for their child's future	#28c #28d #31