Language Choices and Experiences of Parents Raising Bilingual or Multilingual Children in Canada

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April 2019

A thesis submitted to McGill University in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree Master of Science in Communication Sciences and Disorders – Speech-Language Pathology

Table of contents

Abstract

The present study investigates parent perspectives of raising bilingual/multilingual children in Canada as part of an international project run by members of COST Action IS1406 Working Group 3 under the direction of Elin Thordardottir. The goal of this study was to obtain a better understanding of parent experiences to help guide clinical practices. A total of 34 parents from across the country participated in semi-structured interviews of approximately 30 minutes, which used questions from a previous study on bilingual children with Down syndrome (Elin Thordardottir, 2002). Data were analysed quantitatively using frequency counts, as well as qualitatively using a qualitative content analysis approach with a categorization matrix agreed upon by the working group. Responses were categorized into three main categories: Actions and decisions (what parents did and why), proficiency outcomes (desired and actual) and advice (advice received and advice they would give to others). It was shown that parents varied extensively in their strategies, language decisions, beliefs about bilingualism and values, as well as their expectations for their child's proficiency level. Overall experiences, although positive for many, were also seen as stressful or difficult. Experiences may also be linked to language status (majority versus minority) and the location of the families (city with one or two majority languages). Most parents mentioned that exposure was important for their children's language development. The lack of exposure opportunities was also the most mentioned perceived challenge. The advice they received was generally favourable to bilingualism, as was the advice parents would give. Clinicians working with bilingual children therefore must take into consideration the beliefs and needs of each family when making recommendation and should tailor these recommendations accordingly.

Résumé

La présente étude examine les perspectives de parents élevant des enfants bilingues/multilingues au Canada, et fait partie d'un projet international mené par des membres de l'équipe de travail 3 de l'action COST IS1406, sous la direction de Elin Thordardottir. Elle cherche à mieux comprendre les expériences parentales pour guider les pratiques orthophoniques. En tout, 34 parents ont participé à des entrevues semi-structurées par téléphone ou en personne d'environ 30 minutes. Les questions posées provenaient d'une étude précédente sur les enfants atteints de trisomie 21 (Elin Thordardottir, 2002). Les réponses obtenues ont été analysées de façon quantitative avec le compte de la fréquence des réponses obtenues, et qualitative en utilisant l'approche de l'analyse du contenu. Le système de catégorisation créé inclus trois catégories globales : actions et décisions (que font les parents et pourquoi), compétences langagières de l'enfant (actuelles ou voulues), et les conseils (donnés ou que les parents donneraient à d'autres). Les résultats démontrent une grande variété de réponses pour les stratégies utilisées, les choix de langue, les croyances et valeurs liées au bilinguisme, ainsi que les attentes face aux compétences langagières. Bien que de nombreux parents perçoivent leur expérience positivement, plusieurs la voient comme stressante ou difficile. Les expériences décrites semblent être en partie liées au statut des langues parlées (majoritaire ou minoritaire) ou à la ville où réside la famille (une ou deux langues majoritaires). La majorité des parents ont mentionné l'exposition aux langues comme étant importante, avec le manque d'exposition étant aussi l'obstacle le plus souvent nommé. Les conseils donnés aux parents sont surtout favorables au bilinguisme, comme le sont aussi les conseils qui seraient donnés. Les orthophonistes travaillant avec des enfants bilingues doivent donc considérer les croyances et besoins de chaque famille pour arriver à des recommandations appropriées.

Acknowledgements

This specific study is part of an international project run by members of the European Cooperation in Science and Technology (COST), IS1406 Working Group 3 (WG3) under the direction of Elin Thordardottir. I contributed to this research by recruiting the participants, conducting and transcribing the interviews, participating in the development of the categorization matrix with all researchers of the WG3 participating in this study, and coding the transcribed interviews. The questions asked during the interviews were written by Elin Thordardottir as part of a previous study and the study protocol was designed by her and by members of WG3. I wrote the thesis independently with guidance from Elin Thordardottir.

Many thanks to Elin Thordardottir for her constant support and guidance throughout this project, and to Rena Lyons for her helpful input as committee member. I am also very thankful to all those who participated in the development of the coding method (Elin Thordardottir, Rena Lyons, Nouhad Abou Melhem, Isabel de los Reyes Rodriguez Ortiz, and Krisztina Zajdo) from the COST project. I would also like to thank Martine Gendron from the CRIR/IURDPM for her help finding a suitable recording device for the interviews.

I am very grateful to COST for the opportunity to participate in this project and in a working meeting in Budapest where I interacted with an international team of researchers. I received funding to work on this project from start-up funds awarded to Elin Thordardottir from the CRIR (Centre de recherche interdisciplinaire en réadaptation du Montréal métropolitain).

Finally, I would also like to thank all parents who took time out of their busy schedules to participate, even though the majority of the calls were conducted during the “back-to-school” time of the year. I am also very appreciative to all friends, family and acquaintances who helped with recruiting, with a special thanks to participants who also helped recruit other parents.

Introduction

The aim of this study is to gain a better understanding of parent experiences of raising bilingual/multilingual children in order to guide speech-language pathology practices. Current best practices with regards to bilingualism suggest that clinicians should encourage parents to use both languages with their children (Fredman, 2006). However, in practice, this advice is not always given to parent (Elin Thordardottir & Topbas, 2019). It is therefore unclear if what is considered best practice is in fact what is best for the children and parents.

This study uses semi-structured interviews to explore, using both quantitative and qualitative analyses, parents' actions and what motivates them, expectations, and received advice. To ensure a wide range of experiences, a maximum variation sampling was used, where parents of school-aged children of different backgrounds across Canada were recruited. These responses were analysed to determine if parent experiences reflect what is encouraged in clinical practices, and to see if improvements to clinical practices can be brought forth.

Literature Review

Up until the 1960's, bilingualism was often regarded negatively, with studies reporting that exposure to two or more languages was linked to lower intelligence test scores and language delays, and was deemed a handicap (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). However, these studies were found to have many methodological weaknesses including a lack of proper controls for social class and degree of fluency in each language. Once these factors were controlled for, it was found that children fluent in two languages did not show lower scores. On the contrary, they outperformed their monolingual peers on certain tasks demanding higher cognitive flexibility (Peal & Lambert, 1962). Researchers then began presenting bilingualism more positively, stating that it brought cognitive benefits and could allow for more enriching experiences from the

exposure to multiple cultures (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). These findings from the early 1960's brought forth a more positive view of bilingualism, with later research on the topic identifying many "bilingual advantages" such as better cognitive control (Bialystok, 2001). This has motivated many parents to encourage their children to learn multiple languages (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). However, there has been little research investigating how parents go about raising bilingual or multilingual children. In this thesis, the term "bilingualism" refers to the learning of two languages, and "multilingualism" refers to the learning of three or more languages, regardless of the level of fluency the child has achieved in each language.

Clinical Implications of Bilingualism. When working with bilingual/multilingual children, current best practices for speech-language pathologists (S-LPs), according to the International Association of Logopedics and Phoniatrics (IALP), suggest that the S-LP should assess a child in all languages to which the child is exposed (Fredman, 2006). This is because children have different amounts of exposure in each language, depending on what the parents choose to speak at home, and what languages are spoken at the children's school or during the activities in which the children are involved (Fredman, 2006). Intervention should be done in both languages as well (Fredman, 2006), which sometimes entails that the parent must be involved to provide S-LP treatment in the second language. To ensure that parents can reproduce the therapy in their native language however, activities and guidelines must be culturally appropriate (van Kleek, 1994). The American Speech-Language-Hearing Association (ASHA) has less specific guidelines, stating instead that assessments and interventions should be culturally appropriate (ASHA, n.d.)

In practice, parent involvement may lead to different outcomes to those planned. When comparing monolingual and bilingual interventions of children with specific language

impairment (SLI) speaking French and a minority heritage language (HL), Elin Thordardottir, Cloutier, Ménard, Pelland-Blais and Rvachew (2015) randomly assigned families to either the monolingual or the bilingual treatment block, and also included a delayed treatment group. For bilingual treatment, S-LPs trained the parents to provide therapy in the minority language by including parents in the treatment sessions. The delayed treatment group was given the choice between monolingual or bilingual treatments. The majority chose the bilingual treatment. Although the authors believed this was because parents wanted to ensure their children could also improve in their heritage language, this was not the case. In fact, parents said in interviews at the end of the study that they chose this option to be better trained to provide French treatment at home despite being encouraged to use the HL (Elin Thordardottir et al., 2015).

This finding was surprising, as parents are generally encouraged to use their native language at home by S-LPs, since the HL is assumed to be their dominant language and therefore the language with which they are most comfortable (Fredman, 2006). This in turn should provide the child with the best language model. This suggestion is also seen to show respect for the family's culture and heritage (van Kleek, 1994). That being said, some professionals still suggest the use of only one language, both in intervention (c.f. Kohnert, 2010) and at home (c.f. Bruno, Balottin, Berlincioni & Moro, 2016) when a child has a language impairment.

Another study looking at perspectives on bilingualism of parents of children with Down syndrome living in Montreal found that these parents were encouraged to only use one language, but many disregarded this, claiming that speaking only one language in a bilingual city would add another barrier for their child (Elin Thordardottir, 2002). Parents in this study therefore saw bilingualism as a useful tool for their children, and their actions are in line with the recommendations for best clinical practices.

Therefore, although current best practices encourage bilingual interventions and assessments, they may not always align with what parents perceive as being in the child's best interest. Furthermore, not all clinicians seem to agree that bilingualism should always be encouraged when treating children from bilingual households (c.f. Bruno, Balottin, Berlincioni & Moro, 2016)

Factors Contributing to Heritage Language Acquisition. The acquisition of more than one language requires a large amount of support. Children must have a high degree of exposure to each language (40-60%) to be comparable to monolingual peers on different verbal tasks (Elin Thordardottir, 2011, 2015). This type of support is difficult to maintain if there are no practice opportunities outside of the home. For this reason, many studies conducted in the United States have demonstrated that an immigrant family's HL is typically lost by the third generation, with the exception of Spanish-speaking families, as they represent a very large minority group in the country (Alba, Logan, Lutz & Stults, 2002). HL loss can also be due to parental decisions and expectations which favour the mainstream language. While striving for better integration in their new country, some parents opt to use the mainstream language in the hopes that their children will better perform in school and in their career if they have a better mastery of the host language (Alba & Nee, 2009).

Other factors also play a role in the acquisition and maintenance of an HL. Studies focused on first- or second-generation immigrant children have identified certain characteristics of either the parents or the children which favour HL maintenance. Some are related to demographics, others are related to family cohesion and emotional connection. Dekeyser and Stevens (2018) asked 312 children in the Netherlands either born in Morocco or having at least one parent born in Morocco to complete a survey involving demographics questions and

questions on language proficiency. They found that children's proficiency in an HL was related to the importance the parents gave to acquiring the HL, the amount of brokering the children did (translating for the children's parents), the age of arrival of the child, sibling order (first-borns mastered the HL better), and school policy (if use of HL is allowed). Proficiency in Dutch was most related to whether Dutch was spoken between siblings (Dekeyser & Stevens, 2018). This could go both ways however, since the siblings may be speaking Dutch amongst themselves because their proficiency in Dutch is now stronger. Family characteristics and emotional ties were also identified as playing a role in heritage language maintenance. For example, Tannenbaum and Howie (2010) tested 40 9-12-year-old children from Chinese-speaking immigrant families living in Australia to determine if any emotional or familial factors influenced HL maintenance and found that language use and language maintenance were correlated. Self-reliance and negative family relationships were both inversely related to language maintenance. Lastly, the children who were more attached to their family had higher rates of language maintenance (Tannenbaum & Howie, 2010). These two studies demonstrate that for HL maintenance in children specifically, many factors are at play. However, these may change over time.

In this regard, other studies have been conducted with young adults who either immigrated before school-age or whose parents immigrated before they were born, and therefore grew up with their HL being a minority language. For instance, by analysing linguistic autobiographies of Asian-American students, Hinton (1999) found that HL maintenance was most likely when speaking the HL at home was imposed, and fluency was only achieved when there were multiple practice contexts (i.e. opportunities to use the language outside of the home). When English was introduced in the home, HL attrition, the diminution of HL use, occurred. To

help counter this, parents used a variety of strategies including using the one parent/ one language method (each parent uses a different language with the child), making return trips to the heritage country, or going to "Saturday language schools". Hinton (1999) also found that many of his students had rejected the HL, not seeing its use, with some finding a new interest in it once they started college. This was thought to be because their heritage language/culture could now be part of their curriculum as well as their social circle with the help of cultural student clubs.

Environmental and economical factors must also be accounted for when looking at heritage language maintenance. Portes and Rumbaut (2006) tried to summarize these using a model to determine how fluently bilingual immigrants' children will become. They argued that the parent's occupation, the location of the family home (whether they are within areas of ethnic "density"), and the availability of resources tied to the ethnic community, together serve to enable or inhibit the acquisition of HL (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). For instance, parents with professional occupations living in a suburban neighbourhood with no other speakers of their HL are more likely to master the mainstream language as their occupation requires it. This makes the use of the HL less necessary at home, as the parents understand both languages. Also, their neighbourhood will offer very few practice opportunities for the HL outside of the home. Because of this, the children are more likely to be monolingual mainstream language speakers or have a very weak mastery of their HL (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006).

Little is known about what parents do at home to ensure HL maintenance despite the social, emotional and environmental challenges. Furthermore, these studies have mainly focused on typically developing children, and it is unclear if the above-mentioned findings and model are applicable to children with language impairments. With almost 1 in 5 Canadians speaking at least two languages at home (Statistics Canada, 2016/2017a), it is imperative that S-LPs be well-

equipped to advise parents of bilingual or multilingual children on how to best support their child's language acquisition. To do so, S-LPs have to be aware of what informs the decisions parents make with regards to the language practices of their children. To that end, parent perspectives on bilingualism and their experiences raising bilingual children must be considered.

Parent Perspectives Regarding Bilingualism. Only a handful of studies have investigated the parent experience of raising bilingual children. Some have focused on typically developing children, whilst others have focused on parents of children with a variety of developmental disorders (e.g. autism, Down syndrome, language impairment). Most have used a qualitative approach for data collection, allowing for several common ideas and topics to be identified, with many needing further investigation. The qualitative aspect of this research also necessitates a smaller sample size. Both the findings and samples are discussed below.

Findings. The studies on parent perspectives discussed similar topics. These included a) benefits of bilingualism, b) negative aspects, c) advice given by others, d) barriers to language acquisition, e) strategies used, and f) expectations parents have about language acquisition and the actual outcomes. Each of these topics are briefly discussed below:

a) Benefits of bilingualism: Parents generally mention benefits to bilingualism as a concept which includes cognitive, academic and economic advantages, (e.g., Lee et al., 2015) as well as gaining new perspectives (Nesteruk, 2010). Parents also mention specific benefits to knowing the HL, which include family cohesion, forming one's ethnic identity, passing down the heritage culture, and facilitating communication with the extended family (e.g., Mejía, 2016). These benefits were echoed by young adults who immigrated at a young age and second-generation adults (Cho, 2000; Hinton, 1999). Lastly, parents mention the importance of the mainstream language typically for success in school and integration (Lee et al., 2015), as well as

sometimes helping parents (Lee et al., 2015) or younger siblings in acquiring the language (Worthy & Galindo, 2006).

b) Negative aspects of bilingualism: Some parents worry that the use of the HL will negatively affect the acquisition of the mainstream language (Velázquez, 2009). Others still believe that the use of two languages at once may cause confusion or delays (Lee et al., 2015).

c) Advice given by others: When interviewing parents of children with language disorders or other developmental disorders in Italy, Bruno et al. (2015) found that parents typically reported being encouraged to use only the mainstream language by professionals as well as family/friends. This is in sharp contrast with a recent clinician survey completed by S-LPs across the European Union showing that more clinicians encouraged parents to use their native language rather than the mainstream language (Elin Thordardottir & Topbas, 2019). Yet more than half of these clinicians reported that they only recommended the use of the native language sometimes, or most of the time, but not always, which demonstrates that recommendations may differ based on the family's unique situation (Elin Thordardottir & Topbas, 2019). Actual clinical practices therefore seem to be different from what is considered best clinical practice.

Parents of children who are typically developing were also often given the advice to focus on the mainstream language by family and friends so as to not confuse the children, but complained of pressure to ensure fluency in the HL (Worthy & Galindo, 2006). Some complained that there was little accessible information on the topic (Lee et al., 2015). None spoke of professional advice, including doctors, S-LPs and teachers. This may be because no concerns had been reported to these professionals, or it may not have been a topic discussed during the interviews.

Although the advice given to parents has been examined, no study of parents of typically developing children has asked this specific question thus far. It is however an important question, as it may give insight into what parents themselves have identified as factors that have helped, hindered or made no difference to the children's language acquisition experience.

d) Challenges and barriers to language acquisition: A lack of practice opportunities in the HL was cited as a barrier to HL acquisition (Guardado, 2002). Long work hours were also cited, as parents felt they had less time to expose their children to the language (Nesteruk, 2010). These work hours were sometimes tied to lower socioeconomic status (SES) (Guardado, 2002). The number of children is also in some way a barrier, as siblings tend to speak with each other in the mainstream language, allowing for less practice of the HL (Nesteruk, 2010). The number of practice opportunities is important as it has been found to be a determining factor in later HL maintenance of young adults (Hinton, 1999).

Parents have also complained that because schooling is done in the mainstream language, children often only know the vocabulary in that language, and it becomes very difficult for parents and children to speak to each other about school-related events in the HL (Nesteruk, 2010). The frustration this causes, especially with teenagers, leads some parents to use the mainstream language in an effort to maintain open communication with their children (Nesteruk, 2010). It is possible that many other barriers exist that have not been identified in these studies.

e) Strategies: All studies report the language(s) spoken at home, but only some go deeper into the strategies parents use to ensure HL maintenance. The strategies mentioned include reading books, attending weekend language schools, television, interacting with extended family and visiting the heritage country (Meintel & Khan, 1998; Nesteruk, 2010; Lao,

2010). Few details are provided in any study, making it difficult to suggest specific actions parents can take to help language development.

f) Desired versus actual outcomes: Parents in all studies typically wished for their child to know the HL and saw it as their responsibility as parents to teach them (e.g., Velázquez, 2009). However, many children do not seem to achieve this, leading some parents to change their expectations over time (Nesteruk, 2010).

Interestingly, no study seems to have focused on the responsibility parents give to schools and whether they believe the schools should support and/or promote the development of the family's HL by offering language classes or any other activities. Through surveys and in-depth interviews of teachers in the US, Lee and Oxelson (2006) collected the teacher's perspectives on bilingualism and HL maintenance. They found that positive attitudes towards bilingualism and practices encouraging HL maintenance within the classroom were linked to two characteristics: fluency in a language other than English, and specific teacher training in English as a second language teacher (ESL) as well as Bilingual Cross-cultural Language and Academic Development credentials (BCLAD) (Lee & Oxelson, 2006). Monolingual teachers and teachers without these credentials were more likely to consider bilingualism as an either/or phenomenon, where better proficiency in one language means weaker proficiency in the other. Past experiences with immigrants and multilingualism also affected parent-teacher relationships with immigrant parents in Montreal (Beauregard & Grenier, 2017). However, the importance of the inclusion of the child's linguistic and cultural heritage in the classroom from the parents' perspective has not yet been explored.

It is clear that although some topics have been looked at in depth, such as the advantages of bilingualism, others should be looked at in more detail, such as the specific strategies parents

use to help their children develop their different languages and the advice parents would give to others, which could lead to better clinical recommendations for S-LPs.

Samples included in studies. As of yet, studies have typically included a small sample from specific groups, whether it be restricted to an ethnic group, geographical location, language or developmental delays/disorders. This is not atypical of qualitative research. Generally, qualitative studies include fewer participants than quantitative studies, but gain richer descriptions (Levitt, Bamberg, Creswell, Frost, Josselson & Suárez-Orozco, 2018). Most qualitative studies focusing on parent perspectives included 16 participants or less, with the exception of two studies: Nesteruk (2010) with 50 families, and Hampton et al. (2017) with 35 families. The samples have generally consisted of people within specific communities, whether they be restricted to a culture or geographic region, parents of children with or without impairments, or language status,

a) Cultures and geographical location: As previously discussed, HL maintenance is dependent on a large variety of factors including the location of the child (near or away from an ethnic community) (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006), and the size of the ethnic community within the country (Alba et al., 2002).

Studies interviewing parents of typically developing children have mainly focused on one ethnic group and/or geographical location. For instance, Spanish-English bilinguals were interviewed in studies done in different Texan cities (Lee, Shetgri, Barina, Tillitski & Flores, 2015; Velázquez, 2009; Worthy & Galindo, 2006), in Vancouver, Canada (Guardado, 2002), and in Australia (Mejía, 2016). Park and Sarkar (2007) interviewed Korean immigrant parents in Montreal. Nesteruk (2010) interviewed parents who immigrated from Eastern Europe living in various areas in the United States. Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe (2009) interviewed parents from

two Chinese communities in Philadelphia, while Lao (2010) created a questionnaire for parents of children attending a bilingual Chinese-English preschool in San Francisco. One study did interview parents from a variety of heritage cultures (Meintel & Khan, 1998), but all parents lived in Montreal, Canada, and this study's focus was the maintenance of heritage culture as a whole, not heritage language, and therefore only briefly discussed this topic.

Some of these studies attempted to compare families living in different situations. For instance, when Nesteruk (2010) interviewed families in the U.S. from several Eastern European countries, it was found that the families with the most fluently bilingual children came from countries with larger ethnic communities in the U.S. (e.g. Russia). This allowed for better support and more practice opportunities. Guardado (2002) compared Latino families in Vancouver whose children either lost their HL or had maintained it and proposed that higher parental education and social economic status (SES) were both related to HL maintenance, amongst other factors. Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe (2009) compared Chinese parents living either in Chinatown or in the suburbs of Philadelphia. Families living in Chinatown tended to have lower SES and spoke Fujianese, a dialect of lower social status, and parents living in the suburbs tended to be of higher SES and spoke Mandarin, the language of higher status. The maintenance of Chinese was important for both groups. However, it was considered essential for the Fujianese-speaking parents since they had a lower mastery of English. Interestingly, these same parents were more insistent on their children acquiring Mandarin, not Fujianese, as they believed this language would provide more opportunities (Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). As these studies each focused on one linguistic community, it would be interesting to see if the experiences shared are similar to those of other communities.

b) Language skills and disorders: All of the above-mentioned studies on parent perspectives focus primarily on parents of typically developing children. Some studies have interviewed parents of children with Down syndrome or Autism (Hampton et al., 2017; Elin Thordardottir, 2002; Yu, 2013). Children in these groups have language impairments that can most often be explained by their disorders. However, the cause of language concerns for children who are otherwise typically developing is not as clear since they cannot be explained by a disorder. It is therefore possible that bilingualism is seen by some as a cause of the impairments. Only one study has looked at perspectives of parents of bilingual children with language concerns (Bruno et al., 2015). This study included multiple HLs, but only focused on couples of mixed unions (one native Italian parent, one immigrant parent), with both parents being fluent in the mainstream language, Italian. This therefore does not account for the experience of many immigrant families where parents share the same ethnic background. Nevertheless, it was found that most of the ten families participating stopped using their HL after the diagnosis of a speech and language disorder, and that this was encouraged by both professionals and friends/family. The mixed union status also gave rise to an interesting finding on the relationship between the parents. The immigrant parent was often blamed by the other parent and/or the other parent's family for causing or aggravating the disorder by introducing another language. This blame along with the halt of the child's HL acquisition in turn created an asymmetrical relationship between the two parents, which favoured the Italian parent, and intensified the foreign parent's "feelings of loss and separation" (Bruno et al., 2015). A look into the perspectives of parents sharing the same ethnic background may show different results, as it may be more difficult for parents speaking only the HL at home to consider speaking the mainstream language if they were encouraged to do so.

Other developmental disorders have also been studied qualitatively. For instance, interviews with parents of children with Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD) were conducted in two studies (Hampton, Rabagliati, Sorace & Fletcher-Watson, 2017; Yu, 2013). Both studies found that parents of children with ASD valued English because it helped with integration and helped form the child's identity. English was also valued because it was often the only language of intervention. The parents saw advantages to bilingualism, mentioning cognitive, emotional and social benefits that were both general and specific to ASD (e.g., information processing). This being said, parents in both studies were still concerned about the acquisition of multiple languages causing more confusion and delays. Also, the majority of parents were given professional advice to only speak one language. Interestingly, one study found that a key factor to raising their child with ASD bilingual or monolingual was the child's verbal ability, not the ASD diagnosis itself (Hampton et al., 2017).

Elin Thordardottir (2002) interviewed parents of children with Down Syndrome in Montreal. As previously mentioned, although most of these parents had been advised to speak only one language with their child, many preferred raising their child bilingually stating that, given that Montreal is itself a bilingual city, it would help ensure their child's well-being and safety. Parents who chose to speak only one language with their child reported that this added stress for the family. Since the family normally spoke two languages, it was difficult for them to only speak one when the child with Down syndrome was present. Nesteruk (2010) included two Eastern European families with children with special needs in her study, and both chose to adopt English only at home because they felt it was easier for the child. The study did not however discuss if this was following professional advice.

These studies suggest that although some parents of children with developmental disorders are worried about possible negative aspects of bilingualism, others encourage, or even depend on it. However, some professional advice and intervention are still encouraging parents to raise their children to be monolinguals, different from what is considered to be current best practices (Fredman, 2006). This may be explained in part by the previously mentioned findings of Elin Thordardottir and Topbas (2019), where clinicians have reported sometimes favouring a monolingual approach possibly depending on the family's situation.

c) Language status: All studies exploring parent perspectives have focused on HL maintenance and the mainstream language(s) acquisition (e.g., Mejía, 2016). However, none have included parents of bilingual children speaking only two majority languages. Canada has two official languages: French and English. It is possible that the status of these languages makes their acquisition easier for children, since there are more practice opportunities, with specific instruction of these languages in schools for example. Parents raising bilingual French-English children in Montreal may present a unique perspective, since at least 55% of Montrealers have good mastery of both languages (Statistics Canada, 2016/2017b), meaning that practice opportunities and support in either language may be most common in this city when compared to other Canadian cities (e.g., Elin Thordardottir, 2011).

The dual-language context of Montreal may also present other hardships as well as benefits. Park and Sarkar (2007) found when interviewing Korean parents in Montreal that this linguistic context was perceived as a burden by some parents because of higher homework demands, and as an advantage by others, who believed children would understand the importance of multilingualism and therefore have increased motivation to learn Korean. This may imply that it is easier to raise bilingual or multilingual children in cities like Montreal

because children are able to see the value of knowing multiple languages by constantly having to communicate in more than one language.

As such, some experiences may differ between parents of children learning majority languages only versus parents of children learning both HL(s) and majority languages, as well as parents living in Montreal versus parents living outside of Montreal. Thus, although a small collection of studies has researched the topic of parent perspectives regarding bilingualism, there is still a need for further examination of the topics discussed.

Aim and Objectives

This study explores the different experiences of parents of bilingual/multilingual children, with the specific aim of evaluating our current clinical recommendations. The objectives are to obtain, by conducting semi-structured interviews of 34 parents and categorizing their responses, clear examples of (a) what steps parents take (e.g. what language(s) they speak at home, what strategies they use), (b) why they take these steps (e.g. what is their understanding is of bilingualism and how to achieve it, how important is bilingualism to them), (c) what are their expectations/priorities with regards to their children's fluency levels, and (d) what advice they have received and if they agree with it (includes parents of typically developing children and children with language concerns).

Current clinical recommendations strongly encourage S-LPs to counsel parents to use their own language in the home. However, research shows that there are variations in how much S-LPs follow this, and there are variations in the choices parents make surrounding their children's language acquisition. The best recommendations for parents are therefore unclear (are we correct to always recommend the use of the HL? If we are, how can we better counsel the

parents in a way that makes sense to them?). For this reason, the study employed specific questions designed to address particular issues relevant to these recommendations.

This study also differentiates itself from previous studies in the following three ways:

1- Sampling strategy:

This study used maximum variation sampling to ensure a broad representation of different perspectives. By allowing for more cultural and geographical variety from interviewing parents across Canada, the inclusion of parents with different degrees/levels of community support, higher and lower SES, as well as parents living in areas with higher or lower ethnic density is possible. This allows for comparisons between different parent experiences, by assessing if there are differences in beliefs and support depending on the parents' situations. Furthermore, this study is part of a larger international study, which will allow for similar comparisons between countries, including Lebanon, Spain and Bulgaria – countries with distinct types of bilingual contexts. Lastly, by including both parents of children who are bilingual in two majority languages or children who speak at least one minority languages, comparisons can be made to determine if language status is in some way related to parent experiences. Thus, using maximum variation sampling allows for a broader range of responses from parents living in different situations.

2- Larger sample size and use of both quantitative and qualitative information:

This study includes 34 parents. The aim was to recruit at least 30 participants. This baseline was chosen because it includes enough participants to allow for some quantitative data collection and varied perspectives, while the sample size is still small enough to ensure that the analysis provides rich and detailed descriptions as are typically found in qualitative studies given

the resources available. The two types of information are included in this study to allow for a rich description of experiences while also looking at the frequency of responses.

3- Expansion on findings already discussed in previous research

The current study therefore aims to deepen our understanding of parental views and experiences with the specific purpose of informing speech-language pathologists on how counsel parents of bilingual or multilingual children. For instance, strategies used to develop languages at home are given greater importance through specific questions so as to provide more detailed clinical recommendations. Additionally, parent evaluations of their own strategies as well as evaluations of school responsibility towards children's language acquisition are explored to examine what parents identify as being important for HL maintenance, and how this can be accommodated.

Methods

This study, using a qualitative design with phone interviews developed by Elin Thordardottir (2002), is part of a larger study being conducted by members of Working Group 3 of COST Action IS1406, (Enhancing children's oral language skills across Europe and beyond - a collaboration focusing on interventions for children with difficulties learning their first language), under the direction of Elin Thordardottir. This study, therefore, addresses language choices by parents in Canada specifically, and is also part of an international study. Ethics approval from the McGill University Faculty of Medicine Institutional Review Board was received in November 2017.

A qualitative approach was used to obtain a detailed and contextualized description of parent experiences (Levitt et al, 2018). The approach of this study followed the interpretivist/constructivist approach, whereby the intention is to understand experiences and

realities from the participants' point of view (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006). To analyse the data while following this approach, a content analysis methodology was used, where the data are organized into categories and sub-categories to describe a phenomenon (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). Following this approach and methodology therefore allowed for a more detailed and complete understanding of parents' perspectives.

Participants.

Parents. Participants were 34 parents of children being raised in bilingual or multilingual contexts (29 mothers, 5 fathers), recruited through word of mouth with the help of personal contacts of the author and snowball sampling. The protocol specifically targeted parents of bilingual or multilingual children ranging in age from 5 to 8 years, in order to target young school-age children. The reason for this choice was that the linguistic environments of many bilingual children change at school entrance. Maximum variation sampling was used to allow for a more heterogeneous sample to examine different experiences. A sample of 34 participants was therefore required to help ensure a better representation of perspectives (Saldana, 2011). Background information for both the parents and the children were collected in this study. This information is summarized in Table 1.

Parents lived in six Canadian cities or their surrounding areas: Montreal, Quebec (N=21), Quebec City, Quebec (N=1), Toronto, Ontario (N=7), Ottawa, Ontario (N=3), Halifax, Nova Scotia (N=1) and Kamloops, British Colombia (N=1). Parents were between the ages of 31 and 50 years and had between one and six children (median of 2 children). Parents outside of the province of Quebec reported that their community language was English (with some also mentioning a minority language). The parent from Quebec City said that the community

language was French, and parents from Montreal responded that it was either French, English or both.

All except one parent considered themselves to be at least functionally bilingual. Twelve native languages were identified (Arabic, Armenian, Cantonese, Czech, Dutch, English, French, Farsi, Italian, Korean, Russian & Spanish). A total of 20 parents were born in Canada. The other 14 had immigrated between 3 and 38 years ago. The participants interviewed worked in a variety of domains, the most represented being health care and business and education, but many other fields were also represented (communication, design, clerical, hospitality, engineering, etc.). Seven parents either were employed as speech-language pathologists or had a job closely related to the field (e.g., audiologist, professor working with S-LP students). All parents had completed at least some form of post-secondary education. Parents were fluent or had at least basic knowledge of up to 6 languages other than their mother tongue.

Children. The parents participating in this study were parents to a total of 75 children, with all parents having at least one child currently enrolled in elementary school (N=55). This study focused specifically on that subset of these children (those currently enrolled in elementary school). This subset included children between the ages of 4 and 11 years old, 29 girls and 26 boys. These children were all born in Canada except three. Together, children were learning a total of 18 languages. All children were instructed in either French or English, but even children instructed in French were learning English in some setting. Twenty children had or had had communication difficulties which included dyslexia, apraxia of speech, written comprehension, language development, syntax, vocabulary, stuttering, and pronunciation.

Table 1: Summary of participant information

Parent	Phone/ in person	City/Area	Age	Gender	Occupation	Education level	Native language	Other languages spoken	Do you consider yourself bilingual	Number of children in the family	LOR	Children	Age	Gender	LOR	Language Concerns	Languages high-low
1	Phone	Montreal	45	F	Risk and insurance manager	University certificates	Armenian	English, French	Trilingual	2	-		11	F	-	-	French, English, Armenian
													7	F	-	-	French, English, Armenian
2	Phone	Montreal	30	F	Student*	Completing Master	English, French	Spanish	Yes	2	-		5	F	-	language	Equal English and Polish,
3	Phone	Montreal	36	F	Dental Hygenist	DEP	English	French, Spanish,	Yes	2	-		5	F	-	-	English, French
4	Phone	Halifax	50	F	Homemaker	2 years University, college diploma	Arabic	English, German (some)	Yes	6	38 years		8	M	-	-	English, French, Arabic
5	Phone	Montreal	42	F	S-LP*	Master's	Czech	English, French, Spanish, Italian, German (functional), Russian (functional)	Multilingual	2	23 years		9	F	-	-	English, French, Italian, Czech
													7	F	-	-	English, French, Italian, Czech
6	In person	Montreal	37	F	Coordinator of rehab	Bachelor's	English, French		Yes	2	-		9	M	-	-	French, English
													7	F	-	-	English, French but pretty equal
7	In person	Montreal	46	F	S-LP, just completed PhD*	PhD	English	Some Spanish	No	1	6 years		6	F	6	-	English, French
8	Phone	Toronto	40	F	Veteranarian and researcher	Completing PhD	English	No	No	2	-		9	M	-	Speech	English, French
													5	F	-	Speech	English. French
9	In person	Montreal	51	M	Physiotherapist	Undergrad	English	French	Functionally	2	-		10	M	-	Language	French, English
													8	F	-	-	French, English
													6	F	-	-	Equal French, English
10	Phone	Montreal	46	F	Self-emplyed Hotel consultant	BA	English, French	Spanish, Italian	Yes	2	-		11	M	-	-	French, English
													5	F	-	-	English, French
11	Phone	Montreal	38	F	High school teacher	Bachelor's	English	French	No	2	-		6	M	-	-	English, French
12	Phone	Montreal	39	M	Director of marketing	Master's	Italian	French, English, a bit of Spanish	Trilingual	2	-		11	F	-	Written comprehension	French, English, Italian
													8	M	-	-	French, English, Italian
13	Phone	Ottawa	34	F	Pharmacy assistant	Community college	Arabic	English, some French	Yes	2	-		8	F	-	-	English, French, Arabic
14	In person	Montreal	41	F	S-LP and clinical education associate*	Bachelor's and Master's equivalent	Dutch	German, French, English, Dutch	Quadrilingual	1	14 years		7	F	-	-	English, French
15	In person	Montreal	39	F	University professor*	PhD	English	Fench, German, some Spanish	Trilingual	2	-		6	F	-	-	English, equal French and
16	Phone	Montreal	42	F	Elementary school teacher	2 BAs	English	French, some Dutch	Yes	2	-		8	M	-	Apraxia of speech	English, French, Dutch
													6	M	-	3 sets of tubes with little hearing for 8 months	English, equal Dutch and French
17	Phone and email	Montreal	40	F	Strategy manager	Master's	Russian	English, some French	Yes	2	20 years		8	M	-	-	English, French, Russian
18	Phone	Toronto	38	F	Sales assistant for an investment fund	Bachelor's	English	Cantonese, Mandarin, French-not	Trilingual	2	38 years		7	F	-	-	English, Cantonese,
													5	M	-	slow language development	English, Cantonese

*Occupation is related to communication disorders/ language acquisition

Table 1 (continued): Summary of participant information

Parent	Phone/in person	City/Area	Age	Gender	Occupation	Education level	Native language	Other languages spoken	Do you consider yourself bilingual	Number of children in the family	LOR	Children	Age	Gender	LOR	Language Concerns	Languages high-low
19	Phone	Montreal	37	F	Special Education Technician*	College	English	French, mix of ASL and QSL	Yes	3	-		8	M	-	-	English, French
													6	M	-	Speech	English, French
20	Phone	Montreal	40	F	Athletic therapist and Osteopath	Bachelor & diploma	English, French	Hebrew, Yiddish	Trilingual	3	-		11	M	-	-	English, French, Hebrew, Yiddish
													8	M	-	-	English, French, Hebrew, Yiddish
21	Phone	Ottawa	30	F	Secretary	College	Arabic	English	Yes	3	14 years		7	M	-	-	English, Arabic, French
													5	F	-	-	English, Arabic, French
22	phone	Toronto	35	M	Student	BA. Completing college	Farsi	English	Yes	1	3 years		7	M	3	-	English, Farsi
23	Phone	Toronto	38	F	Analyst	Bach and college diploma	Cantonese	English, Mandarin, Some French, Some Japanese, understands Czech	Trilingual	2	33 years		7	F	-	-	English, Cantonese, Czech, Mandarin
													5	M	-	-	English, Cantonese,
24	Phone	Montreal	35	F	Audiologist*	PhD	Arabic	French, English	Trilingual	3	15 years		7	F	7	slow language development	Arabic, English, French
													5	M	-	Language	Arabic, English, French
25	Phone	Montreal	35	F	Was a nurse, now part-time MA student in cinema and works for non-profit distributor of	Bachelor's, Completing Master's	English, French	basic knowledge of Spanish	Yes	3	-		10	M	-	Speech	Equal French-English
													7	F	-	-	English, French
													5	F	-	-	English, French
26	Phone	Toronto	36	F	Project coordinator	College	English	Spanish, some	Yes	1	-		5	M	-	-	English, Spanish
27	Phone	Ottawa	35	F	Finance	Bachelor's	Spanish	English, French, Italian	No	2	8 years		7	F	-	Stuttering	Spanish, French, English,
													5	M	-	slow language development	Spanish, French, English,
28	Phone	Quebec city	42	F	Edimaster	Master's	French	English	Yes	3	-		9	M	-	Language (past concerns)	Equal French English
													7	M	-		English, French
29	Phone	Toronto	35	F	Customer care specialist	Bachelor's	Korean	English	Yes	1	20 years		4	M	-	-	English, Korean
30	Phone	Montreal	42	F	Graphic designer	Bachelor's	Spanish	English, French	Trilingual	2	15 years		5	F	-	Language	All three equal (Spanish, English, French)
31	Phone	Toronto	38	M	Professor in Communications and literary studies	PhD	Spanish	English, French, some German	Plurilingual	2	10 years		5	F	-	Language	Equal Spanish and English, French
32	Phone	Montreal	50	F	Homemaker, was a recreation therapist	Bachelor's	French	English	Yes	2	-		8	F	-	Language (past concerns)	French, English
													8	M	-	Language (past concerns)	French, English
33	Phone	Montreal	46	F	Organizational Psychologist	Master's	French	English	Yes	1	-		7	F	-	-	French, English
34	Phone	BC	43	M	Civil Engineer	Bachelor's	French	English, Spanish	Trilingual	3	-		9	F	-	Dyslexia, English took longer to develop	English, French
													6	F	-	-	English, French

*Occupation is related to communication disorders/ language acquisition

Data collection.

Parents participated in interviews of approximately 30 minutes each. Interviews were semi-structured, using the same questions as were used in a previous study with parents of bilingual children with Down Syndrome (Elin Thordardottir, 2002). These questions, listed in Table 2, addressed the main issues of what language choices parents make with their children, why they make these choices, whether they use particular activities or strategies to address the language goals they have for their children, what advice they may have sought or been given, and what advice they would give to other parents. The first questions are very broad, in an attempt to allow the parent to express the issues most important to them in their own words, without the interviewer providing direction. Subsequent questions addressed the specific questions if the parent had not already answered them when expressing their views in their own words. Questions could be close- or open-ended, with some being a mix of both. For instance, question 4 (Do you or people in the family use specific strategies related to your child´s learning of two languages?) is phrased as a close-ended question (yes/no), but all parents responding yes listed the strategies they used. The interviews were conducted in either French or English according to the parent's preferences. Each interview was audio recorded and transcribed verbatim. Interviews were mostly conducted by phone (N=29), with five conducted in person as per the participants' request. After the interviews, two parents also added extra clarifications to their answers via email or text messages.

Table 2: Interview Questions (Elin Thordardottir, 2002)

#	Question	Open- or close-ended
1	What have your experiences been raising a bilingual child?	Open
2	How many languages does your child speak? What languages are they. Which of these languages does your child master the best?	Close

3	Do you think it's different raising a child who speaks 2 languages than one who speaks one?	Close, Open
4	Do you or people in the family use specific strategies related to your child´s learning of two languages?	Close, Open
5	If so, do you do that consciously, or does it just come up as situations arise? Can you give some examples?	Close
6	How important is it to you that the child learns a) [language 1] b) [language 2]? Why? What do you see as the consequences of speaking or not speaking these languages?	Open
7	If it were only possible for your child to learn one language, which one would you choose, and why?	Close
8	What language do you speak to your child and why?	Open
9	a) Have you been given any advice by professionals on how to handle the bilingualism of your child? What professionals have given you advice (e.g. teachers, health care staff...). b) Have friends or family members given you any advice?	Close Open
10	Have you asked professionals for advice or have they volunteered it?	Close
11	Do you agree with the advice you have been given? If no, why not? Do you follow the advice?	Close, Open
12	Do you think that parents of bilingual children should focus more on the first language with their child or focus more on helping them with the second language? Why?	Open
13	Have you had concerns about your child´s language? If yes, would these concerns have been different if your child were not learning two languages?	Close
14	If you were to advise parents of bilingual children on which language to use with their child, what would you advise them and why?	Open
15	What do you see as the most important language needs for these children and what is the best way to achieve those goals in your opinion?	Open
16	What do you think schools should do to help bilingual children? What would work the best?	Open

Using interviews for data collection has its advantages and disadvantages. Disadvantages include length of time the interviews can take and susceptibility of bias, both from the participant (e.g. wanting to please the researcher or create a good impression) and the researcher (e.g. influence responses because of their own personal views) (Doody & Noonan, 2013). However,

advantages include allowing researchers to seek further clarifications, while also allowing participants to seek clarifications for questions (especially important in this case if the participants do not consider themselves fluent in the language in which the interview is conducted), obtain more detailed responses, and allow for more complex questions (Doody & Noonan, 2013). Given that this study sought to obtain a deeper and more detailed understanding of parent perspectives, interviews were therefore deemed a good method of data collection. Efforts were made to reduce bias related to interviewing. For instance, the interviewer showed interest in the parents' views, but avoided voicing an opinion. Favouring telephone interviews also helped reduce the time needed to collect data by avoiding travel time. The telephone interviews had other advantages as well. Unlike face-to-face interviews, telephone interviews allow for a larger geographical access and sometimes allow participants to feel more comfortable sharing sensitive information that they would not share face-to-face (Opendakker, 2006). Furthermore, although interviewers cannot observe participants' body language, they can still pick up social cues such as intonation, voice (Opendakker, 2006).

Data analysis.

This study is part of an international study made possible by the COST Action, IS1406 Working Group 3, and is directed within that context by Elin Thordardottir. In that study, answers of parents in different countries will be compared. The categorization matrix used in this thesis, was developed with direct participation by Elin Thordardottir, Alexandra Barbeau-Morrison, Nouhad Abou Melhem, Isabel Rodriguez Ortiz, Krisztina Zajdo, and Rena Lyons.

Data were analyzed in two ways. Firstly, a qualitative analysis was performed by using a categorization matrix, where data was analysed and divided into categories (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). To ensure the creation of an agreed upon categorization matrix, multiple meetings took

place in person and over Skype with researchers from different countries. A mix of inductive and deductive content analysis method approaches (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008) was used, where the texts were divided and classified into smaller categories/subcategories using two main steps: preparation and organizing. In the preparation phase, the researchers familiarize themselves with the data (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). This step was completed in the first meeting (in person) where all members read together a small number of transcripts from different countries and shared their first impressions and their initial analyses while reading.

In the organizing phase, researchers typically start initial coding, then categorize their codes and finally abstract the categories formed (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). This began in the first meeting as well, where responses were initially categorized in line with the research questions and previously identified categories as detailed in the COST Action WG3 protocol (Elin Thordardottir, 2016) (e.g. the professional advice received), which is a deductive process (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). Researchers also identified new codes in the text, which follows an inductive process (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). These codes were then categorized. The process of both open coding and categorization was continued, as researchers from each country with data then worked independently on a small number of samples to identify new codes if needed and categorize them, and a Skype meeting was held with many WG3 researchers to discuss and amalgamate the different codes/categories. Lastly, abstraction was performed, which further organizes the identified categories by grouping smaller categories together when deemed appropriate. This thus creates three levels of categories: main categories, sub-categories and codes (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). As such, categories were rearranged and simplified to be better aligned with the original research questions (e.g. all parents' actions were grouped together). The abstraction portion was mainly conducted by the director of the COST Action (Elin

Thordardottir) with input from this thesis author. Thus, a categorization matrix was created which encompasses the ideas of all parents interviewed in each country and shared with all participants of WG3 (see Figure 1). Microsoft Excel was used for all steps included in creating the categorization matrix, where units of meaning were copy-pasted into the document. All interviews in this study were then categorized using this categorization matrix on Microsoft Excel.

Particular aspects of the answers were also designed to be analysed quantitatively by providing frequency counts (Elin Thordardottir, 2002). Specifically, answers to some questions and background information allowed for dichotomous categorizations of participants (e.g., how many parents use their heritage language at home, how many parents were advised to only use the mainstream language by professionals, how many parents seek advice). This quantitative scoring information is much more superficial than that afforded by the qualitative analysis but provides an idea of the frequency of particular choices that parents make.

The frequency counts provided were also used to explore the range of responses within subgroups (e.g. parents living in Montreal, parents living outside of Montreal), in order to notice if any major differences were apparent. This was only exploratory, and was not statistically analysed so as to draw statistical conclusions as would be the case in a purely quantitative study.

Rigour

Many steps were taken to ensure rigour in this study. Rigour includes richness of data, face validity, and careful data collection and analysis (Tracy, 2010). The use semi-structured interviews and the inclusion of mostly open-ended questions allowed the researcher to ask for clarifications and ensure detailed descriptions, allowing for richer data. Face validity was

improved by using a large sample size of 34 participants and using a maximum variation matrix to ensure that as many different perspectives were included as possible.

Data collection was carefully carried out through recruitment, interviewing, and transcribing. Although recruitment was done solely through word of mouth and snowball sampling, strict criteria were used throughout the recruitment process (i.e. child's age). The data collection was also carefully done during the interviews, with the researcher avoiding to share her own views, and reflecting on potential biases and how to reduce them before the interview process began (see reflexivity below). Interviews were transcribed verbatim to ensure that responses were categorized as presented by the participants. Data analysis was carefully performed by ensuring that the responses of all parents to each question was accounted for in the categorization matrix. That is, no response to any question by any parent was omitted, as partially reflected by the inclusion of the frequency counts. Furthermore, the use of Microsoft Excel throughout the creation of the categorization matrix allows for the categorization process to be traceable, enhancing the dependability of the data. Also, many researchers were included in all aspects of creating the categorization matrix, as previously described, and negative cases (interviews where participants shared drastically different views) were read by the group together to ensure the inclusion of all ideas. Thus, the categorization matrix was agreed upon by many researchers familiar with the topic before its use.

Reflexivity. As stated earlier, a disadvantage of using interviews for data collection is that the researchers' own biases could affect data collection and interpretation in the context of this study so that these biases can be managed. Thus, it is important to reflect on this issue to attempt to reduce bias. The author of this thesis, who also conducted all interviews included in this study, is a bilingual French-English speaker from Montreal completing a Master's in

Speech-Language Pathology. This background could bias the author into expecting more positive responses from parents on bilingualism, as it reflects her own experience. The sampling strategy of using word of mouth and snowball sampling meant that six participants were known to the author, with all others being a maximum of three degrees of separation (e.g. a friend of a friend of a friend). The personal connections and personal experiences made it easier to build initial rapport with participants but could inadvertently sway response types. To help reduce this bias, the interviewer took care to avoid sharing her own views during the interview while showing interest in the parents' comments without evaluating their appropriateness, as stated earlier.

Results

Quantitative analysis

Parent responses to certain questions and background information were analysed quantitatively to get a general idea of the types of responses provided. A summary of this analysis can be found in Table 3, with questions organized by research objective.

Table 3: Quantitative information from parent responses, divided by objective

	N	%
(a) What do parents do?		
1. Languages spoken at home		
Parents use the same L1 (HL)	7	21
Parents use the same L1 which is the community language	4	12
Parents use different L1s (HLs)	1	3
Parents use different L1s, with one of them being a community language and one being a HL	5	15
Parents speak 2 L1s, both are community languages	6	18
Parents use both their L1 (HL) and community language(s)	10	29
Parents multiple languages (if response is different)	1	3
2. Do you use any specific strategies?		
Yes	32	94
No	2	6
When strategies are used (N=32 parents)		
Used Consciously	23	68

Used Unconsciously	9	26
(b) What motivates parents' actions?		
3. Do you think it's different raising a child who speaks 2 languages		
Yes	27	79
No	8	24
4. Have you had concerns about you child's language related to bilingualism		
Yes - concerns related to bilingualism	17	50
Yes - concerns not related to bilingualism	7	21
No	14	41
(c) What are parents' desired outcomes?/ What are their priorities?		
5. Which language would you choose for your child if could only choose one		
Arabic	1	3
French	2	6
English	31	91
(d) What advice have parents received, and do they agree?		
6. Have you received professional advice about child's bilingualism		
Yes	15	44
No	19	56
Was the advice sought or volunteered?		
Sought	8	53
Volunteered	7	47
Do you agree with the advice?		
Yes	13	87
No	2	13
Do you follow the advice?		
Yes	14	93
No	2	13

Qualitative analysis

The identified ideas were grouped into three main categories regarding the language(s) the parents chose to use with their children: actions/choices, outcomes, and advice. The complete breakdown is shown in Figure 1. The following report of findings is organized according to the categories reported in Figure 1.

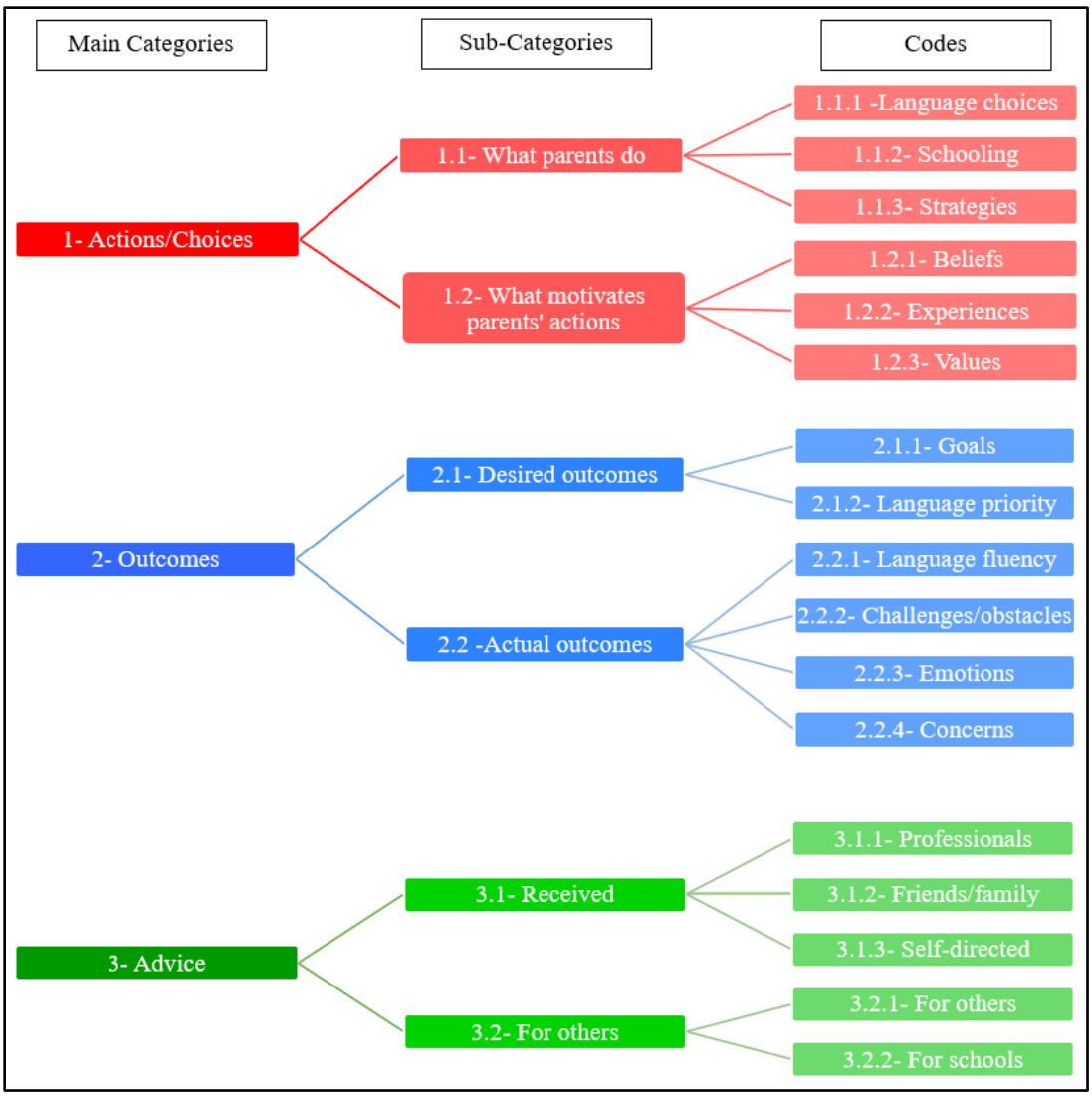

Figure 1: Coding categorization breakdown.

While conducting the qualitative analysis, differences between sub-groups were also explored (Montreal versus other Canadian cities, majority language only speakers versus minority language speakers, and parents with children presenting with language concerns versus parents of typically developing children). This was done to see if parents shared similar experiences within or between groups.

1- Actions/Choices

1.1 What parents do to help their children learn languages.

1.1.1 Language choices at home. Language practices differed greatly between families. Eleven families with both parents speaking the same L1 only spoke that one language with their children, whether it was a community language (N=4) or a heritage language (N=7). Ten families chose to speak both the L1 and the community language(s). Other families where each parent had a different L1 spoke both languages at home. In some cases, these were two heritage languages (N=1), two community languages (N=6) or a mix of both (N=5). Lastly, one family living in a bilingual French-English community spoke one parent's L1, French, and English at home. The other parent's L1, Dutch was no longer spoken.

Four families changed their language practices from when the child was a toddler, with three families speaking only their heritage language(s) and later introducing English when the children reached school age or started preschool. Similarly, one family who spoke English and Dutch at home also incorporated French starting when their children began French immersion. One family from Montreal already speaking English and French stated that the use of French at home had increased since their children started French school. Parent 4 from Nova Scotia mentioned that the focus shifted from the heritage language to English as the family grew in number because the siblings preferred speaking English to each other:

> "And then when there were more kids there was more English, and they would speak together in English. I guess it kinda became more dominant, because among themselves and in school it became more the language that's spoken more than the mother tongue." (P4).

In one case where the parents, from Montreal, were exposing the child to both community languages (French and English) and a heritage language (Dutch), the mother, parent 14, who was at first speaking Dutch to the child, noticed that ensuring enough exposure in Dutch was becoming stressful and impossible once she returned to work, and the family decided to stop focusing on Dutch in favour of the other two languages.

Another parent from Montreal, Parent 25, spoke both English and French at home as did her husband, with more focus on English. However, concerned about their second child starting French school at the age of 4 years, she temporarily increased the exposure to French:

> "And um, so to prepare her for kindergarten, I was speaking to them – so the 6 months leading up to kindergarten, I spoke French to them in the afternoon." (P25).

Fourteen families mentioned also depending on friends or extended family (e.g. grandparents) to help increase exposure in a particular language. Parent 23, from Toronto whose children were learning English, Czech, Cantonese and Mandarin, was highly dependent on her parents for the acquisition of Cantonese and took advantage of school holidays to have her children spend time with their grandparents:

> "They do spend a lot of time with my parents, uh, and my parents try to speak to them pretty much all in Chinese [Cantonese], so… They see my parents every other week, but, March break um… In the summertime, I try to have them spend maybe like 2-3 weeks of their summer vacation with my parents, and we kinda noticed they, starting from last year, that you know, the first day, they may not be so fluent, but at the end of the week, they come back fluent." (P23).

The view that grandparents could help with language development was also shared by Parent 18 from Toronto who does not have this kind of support:

> "If your family has like grandparents where they only speak one language, then it's easier for the children to learn that language, because there's no choice but to speak with the grandparents in that language. But in our case, we don't – or the… um… they go to a before and after-school program, so like their grandparents aren't taking care of them so we don't have that situation. And also because my in-laws, my parents, they speak English as well, so when the kids don't understand, they switch to English very quickly." (P18).

Therefore, it seems that grandparents can be a great asset if they are able to ensure that the child has enough exposure to the target language when they are taking care of the child.

From this data, it is apparent that choices are varied and depend on many factors such as convenience, support and opportunity as well as education needs.

1.1.2: Schooling. Eight parents sent their children to the L1 school, which was either French or English. In this case, L1 refers to the interviewed parent's L1, meaning that in some instances, this was not the L1 of the other parent. Twelve sent their children to an L2 school (French or English), and two parents chose a private school that included the HL in the curriculum (one school with Armenian, one with Hebrew and Yiddish). Ten families chose to send their children to a French immersion school, and two sent their children to a French-English bilingual school. It is important to mention that parents' choices could be constrained by provincial laws and/or school constraints. For instance, in the province of Quebec, it is required that children attending public or subsidised private schools be instructed in French until completion of secondary education unless the children fulfill specific requirements that allow them to attend English school (Ministère de l'éducation et de l'enseignement supérieur, n.d.). Only one parent, who lived in Quebec City, specifically mentioned that because of this law she

had to enroll her children in French school, which she found unfortunate because the English instruction received at this school was too easy for her sons.

Nine parents mentioned that their children were or had been enrolled in weekend language schools or after-school language classes. Most of these were for the children's HL, but 3 parents chose to enrol their children in classes for an additional language that the children were not exposed to in any other setting (Spanish or Mandarin).

Parent 17 specifically chose to not send their child to a weekend school for Russian, saying:

> "A lot of my Russian friends, they bring their children every Saturday to the Russian school. They have them in Montreal, so it takes a lot of investment of time and energy to do the homework and what not, and when your kids are learning the second language which is French, you want to concentrate on that and also give them time to relax and play and enjoy themselves so they can function properly and have down time." (P17).

As with the choice of languages at home, the choice of the language(s) of education is highly varied, with some parents choosing to supplement their children's education with week-end school in an HL.

1.1.3: Strategies. Other than sending their children to language classes or increasing language exposure with the help of family and friends, parents mentioned many other specific strategies. These could be organized further into five groups described in Table 4: Language choices (when specifically mentioned as a strategy), homework-specific strategies, teaching/teaching activities, interest in the language, and exposure. 31 parents said that they used at least some of the strategies they mentioned.

Table 4: strategies mentioned by parents

Strategies	Number of participants
Language choices	
• Parent makes effort to speak L1	1
• Parent makes effort to speak L2 (parent's L1 is English and child is learning French)	2
• One parent/one language	9
• Parent pretends not to understand unless the child speaks L1	4
• Choice of language influenced/modified based on child's ability (e.g. gives instructions in the language the child understands best)	4
• Parent follows the child's lead	1
• Consistently speaking L1 even if the child responds in another language	3
• Choice of language varies on situation or topic	7
Homework-specific strategies	
• Parent switches language when helping with homework	4
• Parent gets a tutor to speak language while doing homework	2
• Use of Google translate during homework	2
Explicit teaching/teaching activities	
• Parent repeats the words/provides models	1
• Explicit translation when the child does not understand	6
• Identifying objects with post-its in L2	1
• Play naming games	4
• Use writing books	1
• Parent corrects the child when the child code-switches	1
• Parent insists on use of full sentences/correct language	1
Interest in the language(s)	
• Parent shows the child that they too are interested in the language	1
• Parent makes language learning appealing	2
Exposure opportunities	
• Visiting heritage country	4
• Parent tries to find peers speaking the same language	5
• Video calling (Skype/Facetime) with relatives	3
• Language choice rotated based on a schedule	2
• Exposure through media (TV, movies, music, etc)	20
• Reading in a particular language(s)	23
• Continuous speaking in a particular language	6
• Provide exposure in real contexts	2
• Parent encourages siblings to speak a particular language to each other	1

Reading and exposure to languages through media were the most commonly mentioned strategies, with 23 and 20 parents naming these strategies respectively. Other popular responses included using the one parent/one language strategy (N=9), changing language based on the situation, conversation partners or topic (N=7), using explicit translations (N=6), continuously speaking in one language (N=6), and switching languages or hiring a tutor to speak the language when working on homework (N=6).

It is apparent when investigating language choices at home and at school, as well as strategies used that parents vary considerably in their decisions and actions with regards to bilingualism. However, some commonalities are found within the strategies used, where media and reading are cited by the majority of parents interviewed.

1.2: Factors Motivating Parents' Actions/Decisions. The decisions parents make to help develop their children's language could be organized into three sub-categories: the beliefs parents have about language development and parenting bilingual children, their own experience, and their values.

1.2.1: Beliefs. When asked if they believed that raising bi/multilingual children was different to raising monolingual children, only eight parents said no. The rest stated that it often was more difficult or required extra effort. Some parents also mentioned that it involved more decision making, especially when choosing in what language the children would be instructed.

Throughout the interviews, parents shared many other beliefs they had about bi/multilingualism and language development. These different beliefs were first identified in the group meetings to develop the categorization matrix. These beliefs could be separated into five categories, shown in Table 5: beliefs about what influences the level of fluency attained in each language, importance of exposure, advantages of bilingualism, disadvantages of bilingualism,

individual differences, individual differences, emotions/attachment to languages, community versus heritage language, factors and tools that help language development.

Table 5: Parental beliefs about bilingualism

Beliefs	Number of participants
Level of fluency	
• Trade-off. Being good at one language means being less good at the other	2
• Children can be highly (perfectly) proficient in many languages [e.g. "I think that yeah they're very capable of learning and understanding all three" (P1).]	1
• It is normal to code-switch when you speak 2 languages	1
• Fluency does not guarantee academic success: academic language fluency is different	1
Importance of exposure	
• Amount of exposure related to performance. Children learn what they hear most [e.g. "I think the strategies I use for my mother tongue was to make sure that she had a lot of exposure to English" (7).]	24
• Children need exposure in multiple contexts	2
• Interaction is key	4
• Children should hear correct language to learn appropriately	6
• Children can learn from peers/ siblings	6
• Children lose languages that are not supported	1
• Child learns best when immersed	7
Advantages to bilingualism	
• Bilingualism has social and cognitive benefits [e.g. "I think it's uh it's good to have uh more than one language, uh, for your brain flexibility." (P24).]	20
• Knowing multiple languages facilitates all further learning. Skills are transferable	5
• Exposing a child to multiple languages is not detrimental	1
• The languages spoken influence how you perceive the world	1
• Multilingualism makes you more understanding and accepting of others	1
Disadvantages to bilingualism	
• Learning more than one language can be confusing for the child [e.g. "I think that it's just maybe a little more confusing for them at times, just trying to work out like I said what word goes with what language." (P3).]	9
• Learning multiple languages affects vocabulary size in each language	2
Individual differences/ characteristics	

• Languages are inherently differentially difficult to learn	8
• Younger children learn language better/more easily/quickly [e.g. "And I think also that the sooner you start, the easier it is for kids to learn. The younger they are… they're just like sponges, right?" (P6).]	12
• Boys have more difficulty with language than girls	1
• Some people are naturals at language learning –others not	2
• Bi/multilingual children may take longer but eventually learn all the languages	3
• Children need to want to learn the language - need to be motivated	4
• Individual differences influence strategies used and outcomes	1
Community vs heritage language	
• Children will acquire the community language easily [e.g. "They're going to learn the community language, um, regardless. It's one thing that we know the kids will always learn the community language" (P15).]	7
• Some children refuse to speak the heritage language in favour of the community language	1
• Children will acquire English easily	1
Factors/tools to help the language development	
• Children need a good vocabulary and/or grammar base in a language to succeed	3
• Reading helps language development/ reading is important	2
• If children have a good base in one language, learning other languages is easier [e.g . "Je pense que le système qu'y'apprennent une autre langue en 4e année c'est correct parce qu'y'ont déjà la base pour euh apprendre la langue qu'ils maîtrisaient, que ce soit l'anglais ou le français."/ *I think that the system where they learn another language in grade 4 is ok because they already have a base to learn the language they speak, whether it be English or French.* (P34).]	7
Attachment/Emotions	
• Children will develop an emotional attachment to languages learned at a young age	1
• Children later appreciate having been taught the L1 [e.g. "Uh, it's something that they're going to cherish for all their lives, and uh, it's an asset for when they're adults." (P30).]	2

The beliefs most often cited by parents were that bilingualism leads to social and cognitive benefits (N=20), that the amount of exposure is related to performance (N=24), and that younger children learn language better/ more easily/quickly (N=12), with many parents using the expression "children are like sponges".

As is evident in Table 4, parental beliefs vary greatly, with many beliefs contradicting each other. These beliefs could be examined in further detail. However, this is beyond the scope of this thesis.

1.2.2: Experiences. Past experiences were often mentioned by parents as factors that influenced the choices they made surrounding their children's language development. Nine parents mentioned their own experience during childhood, either saying that they were raised in a similar way by their parents or speaking of their experience learning languages in school. Two spoke of their experience from raising older children or seeing the language development of nieces and nephews and modifying or creating their language practices based on what gave the best outcomes. For example, when sharing their beliefs about multilingualism helping children be more accepting of others, parent 31 spoke of the attitudes of his monolingual nieces and nephews towards others as a motivator to ensure that his children would learn multiple languages:

> "How we educate our children is that opening up to speaking and learning different languages also allows you to be more uh sympathetic to other people's struggles and, more understanding and willing to explore new things and accept others. And that is a super important part of I guess my mission, as a parent, to raise understanding and good citizens, because what I notice sometimes with my uh monolingual nieces or nephews is that they are not very open to new experiences, and they just uh sometimes ditch anyone that has a different accent or and- and I feel bad. I feel bad about that. And I think it's really sad." (P31).

Parents with a background in teaching or in communication disorders mentioned during the interview using their background to guide them in their decision-making or to reinforce their

beliefs. One particular parent, Parent 23, spoke about how she used her experience as a second language teacher:

> "I used to teach English in Taiwan for a few years, so there's a lot of things I learned from teaching young children and how they- how they can pick up a language. So I try to incorporate some of the things that I learned from my previous experience into the house." (P23).

Lastly, Parent 22, originally from Iran mentioned that their experience as an immigrant motivated them to ensure their child had a good mastery of English:

> "You know, for me, you know English is my second language, and I started when I was a teenager, you know, with some difficulties in a non-English-speaking country. When I came here to Canada, and I had some friends who are native Canadians, sometimes I don't understand them, you know? I don't want him to be in the same place as I am right now. So, I prefer he knows English like a native Canadian." (P22).

Many parents therefore base their decisions at least in part on their experiences, which could either be personal or professional. Personal experiences included how the parents themselves were raised, how they or those close to them raised other children, or how their language fluency impacted their social integration. Professional experiences often stemmed from parents either having a teaching or communication disorder background on which they could rely.

1.2.3: Values. Parents mentioned throughout the interview different values they have that are tied to their children's language development. When asked how important learning each language was, 15 said that learning language was tied to the transmission of their culture or

identity. For instance, Parent 4 mentioned that transmitting the culture impacted more than just her children:

> "Well, you do wanna keep, you know, the tradition of the mother tongue. I feel it's important. It's uh, you know, um it's very important to do it. And um, if they lose it, then the next generation will also lose it." (P4).

A total of 31 parents mentioned integration and/or academic and career opportunities. Parent 27 cited her son's dream job as a reason why bilingualism is paramount:

"Canada c'est un pays bilingue. Alors (fils), il veut être premier ministre, alors il n'a pas le choix de parler français pis anglais." - *Canada is a bilingual country. So, [my son], he wants to be Prime Minister, so he has no choice but to speak French and English.* (P27).

Being able to interact with extended family or others living in the heritage country was mentioned by 16 parents. Religion was also mentioned by two parents who wanted their children to be able to fully participate in their respective religions (Islam and Judaism).

As with many other topics previously discussed, parents had a variety of values related to language fluency. Language could be seen playing a role in a child's social, professional, personal and religious development. The importance parents placed on these values could impact the decisions they made around their children's language development.

2- Language Outcomes. Parents mentioned a multitude of both desired and actual outcomes during the interview. These are described below.

2.1: Desired outcomes. The desired outcomes were mentioned both as overall goals parents had for their children as well as their language priorities (i.e. which language was most important to them).

2.1.1: Goals. Although not asked directly, 19 parents mentioned how fluent they wanted their children to be in their languages. Parents had different desired outcomes. Six parents wanted their children to be completely bi/multilingual, whereas six parents cared more that their children be proficient in at least English, or the language that was the community/school language(s), with other languages being less important. Six parents simply said that they hoped their children would be proficient in more than one language.

In terms of the HL specifically, some parents felt like fluency in the HL was less important than fluency in the mainstream languages, with some saying that if their child at least understood the language, or was interested in learning the language, that was enough because they could improve later. However, other parents wanted their children to be fluent in their HL, such as Parent 31, who spoke of the opportunities Spanish would provide:

> "There's a whole world that exists out there that she has to uh become aware of that functions in Spanish. Uh, and we like, we have that, right? So why not give her that as a gift since we uh already have the tools to give her that. So for us, that is super important." (P31).

Fluency goals therefore differ between parents. Although some desire very strongly for their children to be perfectly bilingual, there are others that are more concerned about fluency in one language only.

2.1.2: Language priority. Parents were asked which language they would pick for their children to learn if they could only choose one and why. This question was asked to see if parents, when pushed, would reveal the most important factor influencing their decisions. A total of 31 parents said English. When asked why, these parents gave one of, or a combination of four answers. Twenty-four said they valued it higher because of its universal usefulness, 7 stated that

it was because it was also the language that they spoke, 6 mentioned that it was because they lived in Canada, or it was the main language in their community, and therefore would offer more opportunity. Lastly, one parent with bilingual French-English children stated that it was also an easier language to write than French.

Of the remaining three parents, two chose French because it was the language of their community, and one chose their mother tongue, Arabic both because it is the language they use to communicate with their children, and because of its religious importance for the family.

English was therefore chosen by the majority of parents. The reasons motivating this decision were most often related to utility. French and Arabic were the other languages selected.

2.2: Actual outcomes. Parents spoke both about the outcomes for both the level of fluency their children had in each of their languages, and also the challenges they've faced and emotions they've had that were related to their children's language development.

2.2.1: Language fluency. When parents spoke of the language fluency of their children, a variety of answers were given. Fourteen parents said their school-aged children were more fluent in the community/school language than the parent's L1, and nine said the children spoke the L1 best. Nine said their children were proficiently bi/multilingual. Two parents said their children were stronger in different areas for each language they spoke. Interestingly, while speaking of their children's proficiency, eight parents expressed their concern, or simply their observation, that their children often code-switched while talking. The different levels of fluency of the children demonstrates again that there is a large variety in the responses collected.

2.2.2: Challenges. When first asked about their experience raising bi/multilingual children, 11 parents mentioned that it was overall difficult. Many other parents also identified specific challenges they had had.

One main challenge involved exposure, or trying to ensure enough exposure, with parents saying that time, the number of languages, and the parent's lack of proficiency and/or the child's lack of proficiency made it difficult to provide enough exposure, especially in the HL. Even if the parents spoke an HL as a first language, for some, language dominance had shifted with time, with parents now preferring the community language(s). This made it more difficult for the parent themselves to favour using the HL with their children. Some try or tried to speak their L2 to increase exposure but complained that it was unnatural. Also, when the child was not proficient enough to hold a conversation in the HL, some parents said they often reverted back to the community language. Two parents also mentioned that their children's motivation to learn the HL was low, or that they preferred the community language because they spoke it more regularly. This made it more difficult for parents to convince their children to speak the HL. Two parents also mentioned that the lack of community speaking the HL made it more difficult to ensure enough exposure to the language.

Other challenges have to do with the languages spoken by different family members. For one family, the child mastered French before English, but the extended family of one parent only spoke English, which made interactions difficult at first. Other obstacles were encountered when one parent didn't speak the others' L1. Parent 2 spoke of feeling left out of conversations:

> "So I speak to them in English and my husband speaks to them in Polish, but I don't speak Polish. So, um it can be challenging sometimes because, it's kind of like, conversation between my husband and my children will be Polish, and I'm not included that much in that - sometimes a little bit if I catch on to what they're saying. But, for the most part, like, that language is separate for them, whereas English is the one where we can be more involved together, but Polish is important to us too. So we

> kind of have the challenge of balancing both languages and including everybody." (P2).

The parent who does not speak the other's HL can also be unable to provide exposure to the language if the other parent is away. For Parent 16's family, this has caused one child to be more fluent in the HL than the other:

> "English kind of took over as their mother-tongue, because my husband does travel, and so I'm the parent at home and my parents speak English and French, not Dutch. […] So far it seems fine. His Dutch is not as strong – as well developed. Um, my eldest has – my husband wasn't travelling for the first two years of his life, so he has a lot more exposure to the language early on. But by the time we had my second, my husband was travelling three out of four weeks. So he had less exposure, so his language acquisition I find is less." (P16).

Education poses its own challenges. Some parents reported not being fluent in a language their children were learning, making it more difficult for homework. In one parent's case, this made it more difficult to be involved in school and communicate with teachers. Lastly, one parent said that the lack of information made it difficult for them to make decisions that would ensure the best outcomes for her children. This parent said she wished the schools could provide more information on the subject to help guide parents, with more information on what is considered normal in terms of error patterns and the overall speed of language development, both oral and written.

Exposure, lack of information and lack of fluency in one of the languages the child is learning are therefore the main challenges parents mentioned throughout the interviews. The consequences of these challenges sometimes affected children's fluency in one or more

languages, and at other times affected the parent, diminishing their involvement at school, or limiting their participation in family conversations if they were not fluent in a language.

2.2.3: Emotions. When asked what their experience had been raising bilingual/multilingual children, many parents mentioned different emotions. A total of 17 parents mentioned positive emotions. For instance, Parent 3 stated:

> "I guess it's been good so far. I find they get confused sometimes about what word gets used in what language, but it's been positive." (P3).

Five spoke about raising bilingual children as a stressful situation, and six expressed regret or guilt. For instance, Parent 4 spoke about her adult children's experience and how she focused less and less on the Arabic over time:

> "I think like from the experience, from the way the children have complained because they did lose a little bit of the first language, like the mother tongue language, and I wish I had spoken more [Arabic] with them […] Like, I find the English language is very easy compared to the Arabic, so I wish I had spoken more mother tongue, like the Arabic, at the beginning. But, of course, you can't… I dunno if maybe that would've caused more problems with them when it came to school and, yeah, I dunno that's how I feel. […] You know, my kids they complain that "you never taught us enough [Arabic], you didn't push us hard to do the Arabic." I wish I had done more. Like, I did with the older, but I think with more kids, you give up, right?" (P4).

Raising children in a bilingual or multilingual setting can therefore be associated to many positive feelings. However, it is important to acknowledge that for many parents, the experience also lead to some negative emotions such as stress, regret or guilt.

2.2.4: Concerns. When asked if they had any concerns about their children's language development, 11 parents stated that they had had no concerns whereas 23 had either past or present concerns. When asked if they believed bilingualism played a role, 16 said yes, six said no, and one parent wasn't sure.

For instance, Parent 11, an anglophone parent whose child was going into grade 2 was concerned about her child's performance in a French immersion program when compared to his cousins following an English curriculum:

> "The ones who are learning in English, they, you know, they're way ahead. The stuff that they're doing, I look at my niece, it's like oh my goodness they're like writing books. You know, where [child] is, it's like a couple of sentences in French, you know? So… yeah I think there's a big gap. I'm hoping it connects pretty soon, but now there is, especially finishing grade 1, there does seem, in terms of literacy and I do find there's a big gap." (P11).

Interestingly, four parents also mentioned that the number of languages their children were learning was a concern or could be if their children started learning more. However, the number of languages differed from parent to parent, from one parent saying that two languages was confusing for the child, to another parent, Parent 23 going up to four:

> "But we decided to not put her in French immersion, cuz I think five would be just way too many languages. […] So, I think three is really, three is good. Four is kinda pushing it. Um so, but I think you know as they get a little bit older, we'll need to kind of decide you know, which three we want to focus on." (P23).

Although not all parents were concerned about their children's language development, those who did at times related those concerns to the children being raised in a bilingual and

multilingual environment, whereas others did not. Parents also differed in their beliefs about how many languages children could develop at a time, with their main concern being that if the child was exposed to too many languages, fluency in each language may not be achieved.

3- Advice. During the interview, parents were asked about both any advice they had received as well as the advice they would give to other parents. They were also asked about any recommendations they would have for schools to better serve bilingual/multilingual children and their families.

3.1: Advice received. When asked if they had ever sought or received any advice on how to raise bilingual/multilingual children, 11 said that they had received no advice.

For all other parents, the advice received came from three sources: professionals, family/friends, and advice they found themselves through reading articles or searching on the internet (self-directed).

3.1.1: Professionals. A total of 13 parents had received professional advice specifically about bilingualism. These professionals were either preschool educators, teachers, school principals, or S-LPs. Some were given specific advice, whereas others were more general. Six parents said that they specifically sought this advice, whereas seven said the information was voluntarily given to them. Of those seven, three said that the advice they got was from the school and was given as general advice to all parents of children who spoke more than one language, where parents encouraged learning multiple languages and the use of another language at home. The advice given included the following:

- The child should have a good base in L1 before starting L2
- Parents should teach/focus on the heritage language when talking to their children
- Exposure is important

- General - teacher includes specific instructions for parents to follow when helping with French homework
- The school encouraged hiring a tutor since the parent is not fluent in that language
- Learning more than one language at once will not cause problems [e.g. “We were assured though by our SLP that that second language was not the reason why his language was suffering. And then when he was diagnosed with apraxia it made it easy to understand.” (Parent 16)]

All parents agreed and followed the advice given, with the exception of one parent, Parent 26, who felt as though the advice to only speak the HL (Spanish) was not the best thing for her child:

> “I don’t agree 100%. Because I also fear that it may not be as easy to pick up. Because I also think that every child’s different. So that’s - I understand people say they’re sponges, and they’ll pick up, but I also understand that everyone’s an individual.” (P26).

3.1.2: Friends/family. Twelve parents received advice from friends or family. Five had sought advice, whereas seven said the advice was voluntarily shared with them. Only half the parents agreed with the advice that was given, and again only half the parents followed the advice that was given. Some agreed with the advice to a certain extent but did not feel as though it worked in their situation, as was explained by Parent 25 whose parents had used the one parent/one language strategy for French and English:

> “I think it worked for them. Uh I think I’m not as disciplined as they were, so… It didn’t work so well for me.” (P25).

The parent explained that her parents had been very strict to never switch language, even when defining a word, but this was not what this parent judged was best for her children

> "I'll – I'll try to explain – if my kid asks about a word, I'll try to explain it [in French]. And then I'll just give them the English word so that – cuz I think their mind already works kind of like that, so…" (P25).

The other advice given by friends and family is listed below:

- If in French immersion, the child will prefer English because it's easier and will not speak French
- Find people children can interact with in that language (peers, family friends, etc)
- Exposure to multiple languages should be limited
- Children should learn more than one language
- Expose children to media in heritage language
- Visit heritage country
- General advice about weekend schools (cost, location, etc)
- Each parent should speak their L1
- Parents should teach/focus on the heritage language to children
- The use of the heritage language only should be enforced at home
- One parent/one language is best (and not doing so may cause language impairment)
- Exposure from parents is important
- Use language learning books and post-its for vocab
- Correct the child and encourage using full sentences in each language

3.1.3: Self-directed. Five parents mentioned finding advice from reading articles, blogs, or finding other information on the internet. One of these parents also mentioned advice they had gathered from their educational background (the other parent is a psychologist).

- The use of the heritage language only should be enforced at home

- One parent/one language is best
- Expose children to many languages when they are young

Three parents agreed and followed the advice given/researched. One parent, Parent 27, agreed but did not follow the advice. This parent had read on the use of the one parent/one language with French and English. However, because the mother, who would have been the parent speaking French, found it much more natural to speak English with her children, this strategy was not a success. Another parent followed the advice given, which was to enforce only the heritage language at home, but now regrets following this advice, saying that doing so has made her child say that she would have preferred if each parent spoke the language they mastered best:

> "Maintenant, mes enfants, ils parlent français, mais pas très bien. Je vois des amis que le père parle français pis la mère c'est l'espagnol, alors les enfants ils peuvent communiquer dans les deux langues. Euh, pis tandis que moi, leur espagnol est très très avancé, mais son français ya un petit peu euh, son vocabulaire n'est pas si développé comme dans l'espagnol. J'aurais voulu que les enfants – papa il parle en français et maman l'espagnol. " – *Now, my children speak French, but not very well. I see friends where the father speaks French and the mother speaks Spanish, so the children can communicate in both languages. And in my case, their Spanish is very, very advanced, but his French is a little, his vocabulary isn't as developed as it is in Spanish. I would have wanted for the kids – dad speaks French and mom, Spanish.* (P27).

In general, the advice seems to center on exposure and favours bilingualism/multilingualism. Just over a third of participants received advice from professionals,

but many still received advice either from family and friends, or from their own research. Generally, the advice given by professionals, or researched by the parents themselves was followed, whereas the advice given by family and friends was only followed about half of the time.

3.2: Advice for Others.

3.2.1: Advice for parents. When asked what advice they had for other parents, parents gave different suggestions as to which language should be focused on. The most popular answers were that parents focus on both languages (N=11), that they focus on the language that's easiest for the parent (N=7), or that they focus on the language that receives the least amount of exposure (N=5). Eighteen parents mentioned that it was important for the parent to speak the mother tongue, regardless of whether they were focusing on just the one language or focusing on more than one.

Many other suggestions were given, with some contradicting each other. These include that parents should find immersion or exposure opportunities, focus on what their goal is for their children, focus on the language that gives the most advantages, focus on the easiest language for the child, focus on the most difficult language, use the one parent/one language method, focus on L1 and then shift to L2, focus on the L1, focus on L2 if the L1 is English, not focus on a language the parent does not master, drop the focus on the L1 if the parent is the only one who speaks it within the community, focus on school language temporarily before school starts, make language learning appealing and avoid direct teaching,.

Parents also mentioned that the focus may change if language difficulties are observed, by for instance focusing on the mainstream language if this language seems compromised.

Four parents offered advice that was different from how they raised their own children. For three parents, their suggestion was to focus less on English than they had. The other parent who was previously mentioned for regretting that she followed the advice received. made the opposite suggestion, where she felt like solely focusing on Spanish at home had had a negative effect on her children's fluency in French.

3.2.2: Advice for schools. When asked what they believed schools should do to help bilingual children, parents gave a large variety of answers. In terms of supporting heritage languages, seven parents believed the responsibility should not be on the school and that schools should not be expected to address every child's mother tongue. Other parents disagreed, offering different suggestions on how to support the children: exposing children to multiple languages early, finding more opportunities for contact with native speakers of the second language, offering more resources/more support for children just starting to learn a second language, including hiring staff speaking different minority languages, incorporating more cultural events, sharing more information with parents on bilingual language development, offering a larger variety of second language classes/ immersion programs, being more patient with children who do not yet know the language of instruction, and placing new immigrant students in regular classes when they arrive, not welcoming classes, to help them integrate and have access to good language models early.

Parents also had many suggestions about the English and French curricula in Canada, including immersion programs. The most common suggestion was that French schools or French immersion programs should enhance their English curriculum, which ten parents suggested. The specific improvements for French schools were (a) that the children have more hours per week of English classes and (b) that schools offer more advanced English classes for the children who are

already proficient in English. For French immersion schools, the suggestions were that (a) education be half in French and half in English, (b) that teachers of immersion programs should each only speak one language (no back and forth between the languages), and (c) that there should be total immersion, which is quite different from the previously-mentioned half-and-half French-English suggestion. One parent said that immersion programs should be more accessible, since many schools use a lottery system to decide which child can be enrolled.

Other suggestions included that schools should make language learning interesting and that parents and schools should regularly communicate to keep track of the child's progress. Lastly, two parents stated that they were content with their school systems with regards to language development and had no further suggestions.

Thus, parents varied in both the advice they would give to others and the advice they would give to schools. Parents did not agree on which language(s) others should focus their efforts, neither on what strategies would work best. Some also advised to do differently than what they had done to help their children develop their languages. In terms of advice for schools, some parents believed that schools did not have to improve, while others had concrete suggestions for either the development of heritage languages, or the development of the national languages (French and English), which were also somewhat dependent on the language of instruction (i.e. whether it was a French, English, immersion or bilingual curricula). Thus, it seems like the advice given is dependent on many factors, which includes experiences both at home and in school.

Group differences. Lastly, the range of responses of different subgroups were explored to see if any experiences were shared among those in the subgroups and if any were very different from other subgroups. Subgroups explored and compared were parents from Montreal

and parents from other Canadian cities, families speaking only majority languages and families speaking at least one HL. Also explored were the specific experiences of families with children presenting with language concerns. This type of analysis exploring differences between subgroups is not typical of qualitative studies, as these studies generally assume that there are differences both across and within groups (Levitt, Bamberg, Creswell, Frost, Josselson & Suárez-Orozco, 2018). As such, differences found should not be interpreted as statistically significant.

Montreal versus other Canadian cities. The responses given by parents were analysed to see if parents living in the Montreal area (N=21) had different experiences to those living in other areas of Canada (N=13). This was to see if living in a city with two majority languages had an impact on parent experiences.

The responses were generally similar, but a few differences stood out and are worth noting: When asked what their experience had been raising a bilingual child, many parents brought up different emotions. Positive emotions were mentioned by 13/21 parents from Montreal (62%) versus only 4/13 parents from other cities (31%). However, stress-related emotions were explicitly mentioned by five parents from Montreal (24%) versus no parents living in other cities. This only includes the parents that used stress-related terms, and not parents that for example spoke of difficulties encountered, which was proportionately equal in both groups. For instance, parent 25 from Montreal, who spoke mainly English at home was anxious about her children starting French school:

> "Um, so, our kids, uh, we speak English at home, and we send them to French school. So, um, so our experience has been that there's quite a lot of uh anxiety leading up to

> the transition to French kindergarten. Um, it's been pretty uh – across the board with all three." (P25).

Nine parents from Montreal (43%) mentioned that their child was proficiently or perfectly bilingual, which was not mentioned explicitly by any parents in other cities. When parents with concerns about their children's language were asked if they thought bilingualism played a role, eight parents from Montreal (38%) and nine parents from other cities (69%) said yes, whereas seven parents from Montreal (33%) and zero parents from other cities said no.

Another issue explored was if parents felt more supported in a city with two majority languages. Two parents gave a response that specifically targeted this question. Parent 28, from Quebec City, where French is the majority language, said when asked if they received any advice from professionals on how to handle the bilingualism of their children:

> "Non, du tout. On dirait que… Pas qu'on est une denrée rare, mais quasiment. C'est bizarre… Parce que je me dis bon, mon Dieu, à Montréal il n'y aurait pas - ce ne serait pas du tout pareil. Et puis là, on dirait que c'est comme on est dans les exceptionnelles, là, tu sais? [Que vous parlez le français et l'anglais?] Ouais. Ils ne savent pas trop comment faire. " – *No not at all. It's as if – not that we're a rare breed, but almost. It's strange… because I tell myself, my God, in Montreal there wouldn't be – it wouldn't be the same at all. And now, it's as if we're part of the exceptional families, you know? [That you speak French and English?] Yeah. They don't quite know how to go about it."* (P28).

Access to professionals who know how to treat bilingual children with language difficulties may therefore be affected by the majority language status.

In contrast, Parent 25, who mentioned having anxiety before the children started school, talked about how easy it was for her children to learn French because of the teachers' experience with children speaking English:

> "But, uh, already, you know, so, the youngest is 5 and she just started kindergarten uh I guess 2 weeks ago. And um already it's a non-issue. They're – we live in a um I think it makes a big difference that we live in a city that is bilingual and so, a lot of the families do – even the anglophone families – send their kids to French school. So, um, they end up being, you know, I think our school is about 47% French. So um, the teachers are really used to having Anglo kids in the class, and, um, by Christmas, everyone is speaking both English and French. And if not, you know, whatever, they also- they have at home, in terms of languages. So it's been kind of smooth sailing." (P25).

According to this parent, Montreal's bilingual environment is directly related to the teachers' experience, and therefore the children's success.

The differences found were solely recorded as exploratory findings when analysing the range of responses from different sub-groups and are not meant to be interpreted as significant conclusions as one might expect from a purely quantitative study. However, based on the experiences shared by the parents interviewed, there do seem to be some differences between families living in Montreal, with two majority languages, and parents living elsewhere in Canada, where there is one majority language. For Montrealers, experiences seem to be both more positive and more stressful, language concerns are not thought to be directly related to bilingualism as often, good proficiency in two or more languages language is achieved

Majority versus minority languages. Responses were also analysed to see if parents of children who only spoke the two national languages of Canada, French and English (Fr-En group) (N=13), had different experiences than parents of children who spoke at least one heritage language (HL group) (N=21). Again, several differences are worth noting.

Parents of the Fr-En group were more likely to bring up both positive emotions (62% versus 43%) as well as emotions surrounding stress (23% versus 5%) or guilt (15% versus 0%). Parents of the HL group on the other hand were less likely to have concerns for their children's language development (52%) than parents in the Fr-En group (23%).

The desired and actual outcomes differed as well, with more parents of the Fr-En group mentioning that they wanted their children to be completely bilingual (31%) than parents of the HL group (14%). A total of 19% of the parents in the HL group also said that proficiency in their HL is not as important. More parents of the Fr-En group said that their children mastered the parent's L1 best (54% versus 10%). When speaking of the challenges encountered, parents in the HL were generally more likely to mention barriers to ensuring enough exposure.

In terms of strategies, more parents in the Fr-En group reported using the one parent/one language technique (46%) than the HL group (14%). Parents from the HL group were more likely than the Fr-En group to use one language continuously (29% versus 0%), or to modify their choice of language based on the topic or situation (29% versus 8%) or the child's ability (19% versus 0%). When asked if the strategies they used were used consciously, parents from the Fr-En group were more likely to say yes (85%) than the parents of the HL group (57%).

While more parents of the HL group mentioned valuing the transmission of the culture/language/identity as an important motivator to learn languages (62%) than did parents of the Fr-En group (15%), proportionally more parents of the Fr-En group valued the career and

academic opportunities bilingualism would bring (92% versus 57%). More parents in the Fr-En group mentioned that learning more than one language could be confusing for the child (46% versus 14%). Parents of the HL group were more likely to use advice that they obtained independently from books, articles, etc. (8% versus 29%), and to mention that the child's motivation to learn a language played a part in their success (19% versus 0).

Lastly, in terms of advice or recommendations to give to others, parents of the Fr-En group were more likely to recommend to other parents to focus on both languages (38% versus 5%), whereas parents from the Hl group were more likely to recommend that parents speak their mother tongue (67% versus 31%).

As with the experiences of parents living in Montreal and parents living in other Canadian cities, these findings were solely exploratory, and statistical conclusions should not be drawn from the findings. However, some differences in this sample between parents of children speaking two majority languages and parents of children who spoke at least one minority language were noticed. Parents in the Fr-En group mentioned both more positive and negative emotions and were more likely to want their children to be proficiently bilingual. They were also more likely to recommend focusing on both languages. However, they were also more likely to worry that learning multiple languages could cause confusion for the child, demonstrating that despite the advantages to bilingualism they notice, some of these parents may have some concerns.

Language concerns. Although many parents did mention having been concerned about their children's speech and language development, four parents had language-specific concerns that required consulting an S-LP (three families consulted for overall language delays, one consulted for possible vocabulary development delays). Their experiences were analysed

separately to see if language concerns were linked to different language choices and beliefs, specifically if parents were less favourable to bilingualism. This was not the case. All parents used more than one language at home and used a wide variety of strategies. They all mentioned that exposure was important and three would advise parents to use both languages, with the other parent advising that the parents speak the language that is easiest for them, in her case the HL. Only one parent did not believe that the concerns would be different or nonexistent if their child had been monolingual. That being said, the professional advice received by all parents was favourable to bilingualism. Therefore, language concerns overall did not greatly affect the actions, decisions and beliefs of parents.

Discussion

This study aimed to better understand parent experiences of raising bilingual/multilingual children to help guide clinical recommendation. Specifically, this study explored what parents did to help their children acquire languages and what motivated those decisions, how fluent parents wanted their children to be in each language, and what advice parents received from professionals or others. Semi-structured interviews were used for data collection. It was found that parents vary greatly in terms of the language and education choices they make for their children as well as their choices for language use within the home. They also use a wide range of strategies to help their children develop their many languages. This large variety may be explained at least in part by the fact that the goals, priorities, beliefs, experiences and values parents have are different from parent to parent. Expectations with regards to the proficiency levels they wished their children to achieve also varied, with some parents wishing perfect fluency in all languages, and others only seeking comprehension of a language. Lastly, advice parents received, as well as advice they would give, generally favour bilingualism even when the

child presents with language concerns, but some also received advice encouraging focusing primarily on one language in specific circumstances. Experiences seem to be somewhat linked to the location of the family and the status of the languages spoken. Below is a discussion of how these findings relate to previous studies as well as their clinical implications.

Findings Related to Previous Studies

When looking at other studies focusing on parent perspectives, some parent responses in this study echo those of parents included in previous studies, such as the advantages and disadvantages parents perceived regarding bilingualism. Some of the responses however were very different from previous studies, as is the case for the advice parents received. Some responses also offer new information, such as the detailed list of strategies parents used. Another finding was the link of environmental factors to parent experiences.

Differences in the advice received. In terms of the advice parents received, advice coming from professionals encouraged bilingualism even for children with language concerns, which is different from the findings of Bruno et al. (2015) looking at children with language impairment and Elin Thordardottir (2002) looking at children with Down Syndrome. It more closely resembles the clinician responses of Elin Thordardottir and Topbas (2019), which generally favoured recommending that parents continue to use both languages even when the child had speech and/or language difficulties. This could demonstrate that current best practice recommendations are better followed. The findings also demonstrate that these practices are perhaps being shared with other professionals (i.e. teachers and principals), since parents of typically developing children also reported having been given professional advice in this study, unlike previous studies, although it largely came from schools. Still, only 13 of the 34 parents received professional advice, likely because most parents had typically developing children

despite some concerns they have had over the years, and it is possible that they never spoke to professionals about bilingualism specifically. Given that schools were key for parents to obtain advice and information on bilingualism/multilingualism, schools may need to revaluate their responsibility in language development. Many parents believed that schools should play a more active role in the bilingualism of their children and offered different ways to achieve this.

As in previous studies, parents spoke about the advice they had received from family and friends. Most of the advice favoured bilingualism and/or the use of the HL, which is different from the advice found in previous studies, where parents were often encouraged to focus on the community language (e.g. Worthy & Galindo, 2006). Thus, views on bilingualism seem to be shifting towards a more positive stance.

New strategies. One of the objectives of this study was to identify specific strategies parents were using to guide clinical counseling, which had not been greatly discussed in previous studies. Almost 30 strategies were identified. The strategies related to seeking or creating opportunities for language exposure were the most commonly cited. Many strategies contradicted each other (e.g., focus on the L1 versus focus on the L2), which demonstrates the importance of the parents' goals for their children, as parents will use strategies that best fit with what they want their children to achieve. Interestingly, three parents mentioned using Skype or Facetime to communicate with family members regularly as a strategy to increase exposure (see Table 4). The parents interviewed by Mejía (2016) in Australia mentioned Skype for a different reason: it was seen to be an additional motivator for the parent to teach the child Spanish, as it was allowing for better communication with family members who did not speak English. Therefore, video calling seems to be a useful asset for language development in bilingual children, as it can act as both a motivator and a tool for practice and increased exposure.

Range of experiences in different subgroups. This study also sought to explore the range of experience of subgroups within the sample, to see if any factors inhibiting or enabling language acquisition could be identified as being particularly mentioned by a subgroup. This followed the idea of Portes and Rumbaut's 2006 model linking environmental and economical factors as impacting HL maintenance, as well as the findings that the bilingual environment of Montreal may offer unique support opportunities within Canada (Elin Thordardottir, 2011).

In this study, parents living in Montreal as well as parents whose children only spoke majority languages mentioned both more positive and more stress-related emotions. This interesting dichotomy can perhaps be explained by the fact that bilingualism is typical in Montreal, and bilingualism in Canada's two majority languages is also more common across the country. Because of this, bilingualism may therefore be seen very positively, but could possibly also add pressure to parents, who may feel that their children need to be bilingual to fit in.

Language status and the location of the family seemed to be linked to actual and desired proficiency outcomes, language concerns, and community support. This last point was also brought forth by Nesteruk (2010) who found that parents from countries with larger ethnic communities in the U.S. had more proficiently bilingual children.

As such, it seems that the location of the family (city with one or two majority languages) and the status of the languages spoken (minority versus majority) may themselves be linked to the experiences of families. They may both influence parents' beliefs about bilingualism while also creating different expectations of language proficiency.

This study's findings therefore mimic those of previous studies in some respects but differentiate themselves by demonstrating a favourable view of bilingualism shared by both professionals and the general population and emphasizes the importance parents put on exposure

when it comes to language acquisition. It also demonstrates the wide variety of experiences which require that clinical recommendation may have to be customized to fit the needs and beliefs of the parents.

Clinical implications

When S-LPs are working with parents of bilingual/multilingual children, they must discuss language priorities. Parents often have different desired outcomes. While some may want their children to master both of their languages (or more), others give more importance to one for reasons such as academic and career opportunities, or integration. More often than not, this language is English (which is one of the official languages of Canada). When asked about language priority in this study, utility seemed to be prioritized over cultural heritage by an overwhelming majority of parents, who chose English or French for this reason. It is therefore possible that other decisions parents make are also motivated by the utility of the languages. Because of this, when instructed to work on the heritage language at home, some parents may worry that English is not supported enough, and may choose to focus on English instead, fearing the possible consequences of not speaking English on the child's future. Care must be taken to design a treatment plan that can target the HL and English, while still considering the parent's concerns. This may help reduce any risk of non-compliance. Similarly, when counselling parents, clinicians may have to convince parents on the utility of the heritage language to encourage the child's exposure to the language and follow current best practices. It remains to be seen through the international COST project if parents would choose English if it were not a national language in their country of residence (i.e. do parents in other countries also choose English for its universal usefulness).

These interviews have also demonstrated that there are a lot of concerns and stress surrounding the process of raising bilingual children despite the many positive emotions linked to the experience. For instance, some parents expressed concern about the code-switching their children were doing even though code-switching is considered normal in bilingual children (American Speech-Language-Hearing Association, n.d.). Parents should be educated to know what language difficulties are normal for children learning multiple languages [e.g. code switching, lower vocabulary in each language (American Speech and Hearing Association, n.d., Elin Thordardottir, 2016)] to help lower anxiety. Finally, the inability to ensure enough exposure was identified as a major challenge, especially for parents of children who are learning an HL. S-LPs should discuss this with parents when creating a treatment plan. They should also discuss how exposure affects language outcomes, and work with the parent to increase language exposure. In this way, the parents may feel as though they have more control and can ensure that their child has better success developing their languages.

Lastly, the goal of identifying the previously discussed strategies was to help guide clinical counselling when clinicians need to give concrete ideas to parents as to how to help their children acquire their languages. From the vast amount of strategies identified, it is clear that there is no overall consensus on what is best, although a general idea is to focus on exposure. Thus, it may be difficult to provide consistent guidelines because of parents' very different sets of beliefs. As such, it is important that clinicians discuss parent expectations and beliefs when developing a treatment plan.

Limitations

This study's sample, although bigger than many other studies on this subject, lacked variety especially in the education level of the parents. Due to the recruitment methods (word of

mouth and snowball sampling), all parents had some form of post-secondary education, and many parents worked in areas related to communication disorders. They were therefore well-versed in current research, which may have skewed results. Education levels have often been cited as contributing to the parent's decision-making surrounding their children's language development. Lastly, only four parents were relatively recent immigrants (less than 10 years). The experiences of a recent immigrant may be very different than that of immigrants who are well established, and the low number of recent immigrants means that a smaller range of experience was obtained. Another limitation of this study was that participants were only interviewed once, and therefore were not consulted to comment on the studies findings in follow-up interviews, which could have increased the dependability of the results. Also, all data in this study was collected, transcribed and coded by the author. As such, the author's own biases could have swayed how units of meaning were interpreted, as these units could potentially be interpreted differently by another coder. Similarly, although care was taken by the author to not share her views or express opinions during the interview process, the author's own biases may have affected interview responses. It is also possible that participants gave responses that they thought left a better impression than did their actual opinions, as is sometimes a disadvantage of using interviews for data collection.

Conclusion

Currently, there is very little research focused on parent experiences of raising bilingual children. However, they are necessary to help clinicians adequately support parents of bilingual children with speech and language difficulties. The present study sought to gain perspectives of parents throughout Canada whose children were learning at least two languages. It was found that parent experiences varied greatly between parents in all categories examined

(actions/decisions and what motivates them, proficiency outcomes and advice parents have for others). Other variables such as the status of the languages spoken, and the location of the family may also affect parent experiences. Many parents thought of the experience as positive, but a large number also spoke about it being very stressful and difficult, with many parents acknowledging that a large challenge was to ensure enough exposure to each language. These results are important for clinicians to keep in mind when working with bilingual children, as parents may have very different goals for their children, and they may also require more support and guidance to reduce stress and work through the challenges they encounter. These findings also demonstrate that clinicians need to be mindful of the large variety of parents' goals and beliefs when counselling parents. That is, a consistent set of recommendations is not advisable, and following current best practice guidelines of providing services in both languages may require the clinician to work with the parents to best respect their needs.

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