MASTERARBEIT / MASTER'S THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit / Title of the Master's Thesis

„Raising children multilingually:
non-native English as part of family language policies“

verfasst von / submitted by

Tanja Hofbauer, BEd

angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Education (MEd)

Wien, 2020 / Vienna 2020

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt / degree programme code as it appears on the student record sheet:	A 199 507 525 02
Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt / degree programme as it appears on the student record sheet:	Masterstudium Lehramt Sek (AB) Lehrverbund UF Englisch Lehrverbund UF Psychologie und Philosophie Lehrverbund
Betreut von / Supervisor:	Univ.-Prof. Mag. Dr. Ute Smit
Mitbetreut von / Co-Supervisor:	

Declaration of anti-plagiarism

„Hiermit erkläre ich, die vorgelegte Arbeit selbständig verfasst und ausschließlich die angegebenen Quellen und Hilfsmittel benutzt zu haben. Alle wörtlich oder dem Sinn nach aus anderen Werken entnommenen Textpassagen und Gedankengänge sind durch genaue Angabe der Quelle in Form von Anmerkungen bzw. In-Text-Zitationen ausgewiesen. Dies gilt auch für Quellen aus dem Internet, bei denen zusätzlich URL und Zugriffsdatum angeführt sind. Mir ist bekannt, dass jeder Fall von Plagiat zur Nicht-Bewertung der gesamten Lehrveranstaltung führt und der Studienprogrammleitung gemeldet werden muss. Ferner versichere ich, diese Arbeit nicht bereits andernorts zur Beurteilung vorgelegt zu haben."

Tanja Hofbauer

Wien, am 07.09.2020

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge everyone who supported me in live and in my academic accomplishments.

First, I want to express my gratitude to my supervisor Univ.-Prof. Mag. Dr. Ute Smit, who guided me through the process of writing this master's thesis with her expertise and her greatest support during the last couple of months. Thank you also for offering phone and conferencing tool office hours in times of COVID-19, which gave me the opportunity to continue my research despite these weird circumstances.

A special thanks goes to my family, who has cared and supported me from my very first day of live. Thank you for emotionally, academically and financially supporting me and giving me the opportunity to grow beyond my capacity. Thank you to my mum Maria for always being there for me, supporting me in every situation of life and cheering me up whenever I was in need for it. Thank you to my dad Harry for pushing me beyond my scholastic limits, especially in my teen years. Thank you also to my brother Chris, who believed in me and my academic career, even in times I did not believe in myself.

Thank you also to my boyfriend Daniel, who emotionally supported me during my whole studies and for calming me down in stressful situations. I am forever grateful that you accompanied me during the whole process and guided me to where I am today.

Further, I would like to thank all my interview partners without whom my research would not have been possible. I am grateful for the time you invested and for your help in answering my research questions.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my dearest colleague Hannah, who catered as my proofreader and emotional support the last couple of semesters and throughout the whole process of writing this thesis. Thank you also to Magdalena and Conny, who proofread certain chapters of my thesis. I am further grateful to all other family members and friends, who were and are always there for me. Thank you to all of you.

Abstract

English has become the main language in worldwide communication in the last decades, making it the most important *lingua franca*. Thus, many families decide to enable their children an early introduction of English, some of them even raising their children multilingually, with non-native English as part of their family language policy (FLP), in a monolingual environment.

Multilingual child-rearing with a non-native language is a controversially discussed issue and still represents a gap in research. This master's thesis aims to contribute to narrowing this research gap by interviewing families via semi-structured interviews. Four Austrian resident families were interviewed to display possible similarities in motivation, implementation and perceived (dis-)advantages. These findings were subsequently compared to available literature.

Resembling literature, in all families, the main motivation for choosing such an FLP was the early introduction to English. Although the implementation varied between the families, the outcomes were comparable. According to all family-members, all children have a higher productive proficiency in German, whereas the receptive proficiency is perceived similar in all languages. Each family concentrates on advantages and only sees minor but not determining disadvantages in their FLP. Concerning changes in their FLP, all families would implement more native input, if they started the process again, and are also targeting to include more thereof in the future.

Further research, especially longitudinal studies, would contribute to enhancing the current status of research. Investigating children's long-term development concerning their own perception or their productive proficiency could give further insights into the success of the non-native FLPs.

Table of Contents

List of abbreviations

EFL ..... English as a foreign language
ELF ..... English as a lingua franca
FL ..... foreign language
FLP ..... Family language policy
L1 ..... First language
L2 ..... Second language
LAD ..... Language acquisition device
LP ..... Language policy
LPS ..... Language portrait silhouettes
NNFLP ..... Non-native family language policy
OPOL ..... One-person-one-language
UG ..... Universal Grammar
WW2 ..... World War two

List of figures

1 Introduction

English has become the major international lingua franca within the past decades, meaning that a large number of people is able to communicate in English and even uses it regularly. In order to create an early basis of the English language in a person's life, an increasing number of families decides to integrate English in their daily lives and to raise their children multilingually, despite the parents' non-native English language background. Since this is a rather new and potentially controversial topic, this master's thesis aims to examine positive and negative aspects of raising children multilingually, including non-native English, through a qualitative research design.

The paper at hand will first display and explain the theoretical concepts used as a basis to understand the research conducted in the course of this project. Therefore, the topic areas English as a lingua franca (ELF), family language policy (FLP), forms of and approaches to bi- and multilingualism, with a focus on non-native language implementation, and advantages and disadvantages of the thereof emerging FLP will be presented in detail. Subsequently, the nature of interviews and interviewing children will be presented and applied within this master's thesis research project.

In order to find out whether the practical implementation and outcomes of raising children non-native multilingually in Austrian resident families resemble the applied linguistic theorizing, four families were interviewed with a focus on the following research questions: "How do families resident in Austria integrate English as a non-native language in their children's bi- or multilingual upbringing?", "How do parents and children perceive the outcomes of their non-native family language policy?" and "Which aspects of their language policy would families change if they had the chance? In how far are they planning to change anything in the future?". The results of these interviews will be presented, analyzed and discussed relating to available literature.

2 Family language policy (FLP) including English as a lingua franca

Family language policy (FLP) is a relatively new linguistic sub-field which has its roots in the early 20th century in diary studies about bilingual child-rearing (King 2016: 726) and has been receiving closer attention within the last two decades (King, Fogle & Logan-Terry 2008: 907; Curdt-Christiansen 2013: 1; Higgins 2018: 306). This newly emerged sub-area of linguistics combines the fields of **language policy** (LP) and **child language**

acquisition (King & Fogle 2017: 318). As this paper focuses on English as non-native language being integrated in a family's language policy, the idea of **English as a lingua franca** (ELF) also plays a crucial role. Hence, these three fields will be briefly presented in the following, starting with English as a lingua franca, in order to create a better understanding of the basis of FLP and why English is often chosen as an additional language in FLP.

2.1 English as a lingua franca (ELF)

With around 400 million English native speakers, English is, besides Mandarin (960 million speakers) and Spanish (570 million speakers), one of the three most widely spread native languages in the world (Kristiansen, Zenner & Geeraerts 2018: 495). An even larger number of people, however, use English as a second language (Cogo & Dewey 2006: 59), meaning that non-native English is part of their daily private and professional lives. Since such a great number of people speak English despite their different mother tongues, English has become increasingly important in worldwide communication within the last decades (Holmes & Dervin 2016: 1f; Baker 2018: 27; Seidlhofer 2011: ix). This entails that a large number of English conversations does not only happen between native speakers anymore but between all speakers of English, including natives and language learners. The term that was coined for this exact phenomenon of English as a language of communication between people who do not share the same first language is **English as the international lingua franca** (ELF) (Kristiansen, Zenner & Geeraerts 2018: 494; Seidlhofer 2005: 339;).

ELF researchers often draw on Kachru's 1985 model of the three circles of World Englishes (Kristiansen, Zenner & Geeraerts 2018: 495; Seidlhofer 2011: 2; Cogo & Dewey 2006: 60; Graddol 2006: 110). Whereas the inner circle initially embodied native speakers, the outer circle represented second-language speakers and the expanding circle labelled speakers of English as a foreign language (Kristiansen, Zenner & Geeraerts 2018: 494; Graddol 2006: 110). According to this model, those ELF speakers who do not have English as their native language were located in the expanding circle (Kristiansen, Zenner & Geeraerts 2018: 495; Cogo & Dewey 2006: 60). However, already Graddol (2006: 110) highlighted the change of English within the dynamic world and referred to the fact that Kachru himself already remodeled his initial idea and finds that "the 'inner circle' is now better conceived of as the group of highly proficient speakers of English – those who have 'functional nativeness' regardless of how they learned or use the language" (Graddol

2006: 110). Hence, proficient speakers, who learnt English as a second (L2) or foreign language (FL), but can communicate effectively, which also includes ELF speakers, are nowadays seen to be part of the inner circle (Kristiansen, Zeener & Geeraerts 2018: 495).

Initial ELF research started when Jennifer Jenkins, a British English teacher, discovered that her students of English as a foreign language did not apply the rules of standard English when conversing with each other (Ishikawa & Jenkins 2019: 2). Differently to English as foreign language (EFL) in which English standard varieties are prioritized, this newly emerged concept concentrates on the sociolinguistic aspect and investigates how English usage varies between ELF speakers (Morán Panero 2019: 299). Research realized that there are shared linguistic features of ELF users, which deviate from standard English but do not inhibit understanding (e.g. omitting the 3rd person -s or phonological aspects) (Ishikawa & Jenkins 2019: 2). Nevertheless, this language variation should not be regarded as errors but rather as "sociolinguistically driven variation" (Morán Panero 2019: 297). Research has shown that the effective usage of pragmatic strategies, for example clarification questions, repeating or paraphrasing, are more important for intelligibility than the correct usage of standard varieties of English (Ishikawa & Jenkins 2019: 2). Especially when it comes to pronunciation, however, Seidlhofer (2004: 215) argues that an L1 accent is often noticeable, of course to a different degree, in spoken ELF. Differently to other linguistic features, phonology, being the "systems and patterns of speech sounds in a language" (Yule 2019: 45), is seen to be one aspect that sometimes does generate misunderstandings between ELF speakers (Jenkins 2000, cited in Seidlhofer 2004: 216).

Since English has become such an important language, the age of onset of learning English has decreased over the years. (Seidlhofer 2011: 1f). Even though ELF does not target a flawless use of standard English varieties, in order to overcome issues of possible misunderstandings when using English in worldwide communication, some parents want to give their children an even earlier start into the English language. Thus, an increasing number of parents decides to integrate English early in the lives of their children, some of them even by raising them multilingually, despite their own non-native English language background.

2.2 Language Policy (LP)

Traditional language policy (LP) research focused on organizing the national language usage and solving issues concerning language in newly emerged nations in post-colonial

times (King & Fogle 2017: 318; Spolsky 2017: 10; Macalister & Mirvahedi 2017: 1; Spolsky 2012: 3; Spolsky 2003: 4). The main issue of relevance was which language should become the national language and how this language should subsequently be standardized and spread within the nation (Macalister & Mirvahedi 2017: 1). Nowadays, it is mainly concerned with questions regarding language as part of a societal change within institutions, such as why languages are used in a certain way, how languages are influenced by people, how people are influenced by languages and what people think about language (King & Fogle 2017: 318). Taking a broader conception, language management in any kind of speech community, instead of only nations, can be labeled as being part of language policy research (Spolsky 2017: 10).

Spolsky (2003: 5) established three major constituents of language policy, namely language *practices*, *beliefs* and *management*. Similar findings by other linguists endorse the components of his concept (Macalister & Mirvahedi 2017: 5). Since these three components also play a role in FLP, they will be described in more detail in connection to family's language planning later in the paper (section 2.4). Even though one of the five domains of LP established by Fishman in 1972 was *family*, the usage of language within families was not closely researched in the field of LP, since processes within families were seen as being a private concern (Hua & Wei 2016: 655f; Macalister & Mirvahedi 2017: 3). This domain was only later researched more extensively when the field of FLP emerged and will be explained in detail in chapter 2.4.

2.3 Child language acquisition

As already mentioned, one part of FLP research is concerned with research about how people, especially children, acquire their first language(s), which is called **child language acquisition**. In order to get an overview of previous theories which form the basis of today's knowledge, the following sub-chapters will give a brief introduction by presenting early ideas and today's views on how children acquire languages and language-independent stages of language acquisition. The subsequent sub-chapter (2.3.2) will explain special characteristics of simultaneous acquisition of two or more languages.

2.3.1 Basis of child language acquisition

First language acquisition is a phenomenon which happens rather quickly within the first years of a person's life and without explicit instructions (Yule 2019: 201, 206). The first language or languages a child acquires is also sometimes referred to as mother tongue, and usually also labels the language a person speaks best or speaks at home (Stavans &

Hoffmann 2015: 41; Mahootian 2020: 25). Even though children start their lives without the capability of active production or understanding of language, "language becomes the main tool of communication for most children within the first few years of life" (Gerken 2009: 1). Nowadays, scientist know that additionally to the need of certain physical prerequisites for producing sounds and speech utterances in the first place, interaction to other human beings is crucial for language acquisition (Yule 2019: 202). An auditory system and memory in healthy people's brains are responsible for a person's "ability to store and recall the sounds of human language" (MacWhinney 2015: 246). Today's knowledge, however, roots in language acquisition research from the 20th century, which will be presented in the following.

Over the last decades, psychologists and linguists have developed various theories on how and why first languages are acquired without clear instructions. The most important theories shaping our today's knowledge were the **behaviorist theory**, the **innatist/generative theory** and the **interactional theory** (Lightbown & Spada 2013: 14f). Each of these perspectives builds on different aspects that are fundamental and mainly influencing how languages are acquired. Based on Lightbown and Spada's (2013: 15-25) overview of these perspectives, the following paragraphs should briefly introduce these theories and their most important features.

2.3.1.1 Theories on first language acquisition

The behaviorist theory, building on Skinner's **behaviorist** psychology (Lightbown & Spada 2013: 15; Gerken 2009: 16), draws on imitation, meaning that children imitate language they are hearing and actively listening to in their environment. According to this theory, so-called positive reinforcement, e.g. effective interaction or being lauded, motivates children to proceed imitating their interlocutors, which leads to a successful language acquisition (Lightbown & Spada 2013: 15; Mulyani 2019: 14). Hence, from a behavioral point of view, language learning functions solely through mimicking parents' speech and received compliments when the imitation was correct (Nor & Rashid 2018: 162). Since this is a rather simplistic view, other theorists have been criticizing the behaviorist perspective ever since it was first posed by Skinner in 1985 (Nor & Rashid 2018: 162).

Taking into considerations that children's speech often includes false starts or overgeneralization (e.g. producing the past tense of *have* as *haved*) (Gerken 2009: 16), Noam Chomsky argued that children do not learn language through imitation but that they possess a certain **innate** ability to process and learn language. Chomsky further

compared language learning to learning how to walk, which usually happens due to biological pre-conditions (Lightbown & Spada 2013: 20). The innate ability to learn and explore languages, including their rules, are usually referred to as universal grammar (UG) (Lightbown & Spada 2013: 20) or often also called language acquisition device (LAD). The LAD is supposed to support children in analyzing language, which lets them build hypotheses about language and further leads to language acquisition (Mulyani 2019: 15). Nowadays, however, the LAD is sometimes seen to be a broader concept by considering linguistic features beyond grammar, e.g. equipping children with the knowledge about learning methods (Meisel 2011: 18). One aspect that is often mentioned in connection with the innatist perspective, is the critical period hypothesis. This hypothesis claims that certain phases in life are dedicated to learning and acquiring certain skills and the lack of acquiring these skills in that certain period of time cannot be fully compensated later in someone's life. Scientists from different fields still have not agreed on whether such a critical period exists or not (Lightbown & Spada 2013: 22; cf. chapter 3.2.2).

The **interactionist**, or also called **developmental**, perspective acknowledges both aspects and proposes that a reciprocity of an innate system and the environmental input is necessary for children to develop functional language competence (Lightbown & Spada 2013: 24). According to interactionists, such as Piaget or Vygotsky (Nor & Rashid 2018: 162; Lightbown & Spada 2013: 25) the brain deals as mechanism for learning and hence children's language development is also dependent on cognitive development (Lightbown & Spada 2013: 24f). This means that certain language learning processes are dependent on whether underlying concepts are already internalized in the child's brain, e.g. knowing the meaning of the word/concept *more* before being able to use it as a word (Lightbown & Spada 2013: 25). However, the interactionist perspective sees caregivers, e.g. parents, as having a crucial role in supporting their children in language application in social interactions (Mulyani 2019: 15f). The interactionist perspective, hence, embodies the thought that "language can be used to represent knowledge that children have acquired through physical interaction with the environment" (Lightbown & Spada 2013: 25).

The Douglas Fir Group (2016: 24f), a group of scientists from different areas of expertise, also summarized several previous studies and presented language learning and language acquisition as embedded in a model of three concentric circles representing the environments shaping a person's ability to speak. The smallest unit, the micro-level,

represents the individuals with their personal, cognitive resources and their ability to converse with each other. The meso-level then comprises the social identities shaped by the closer environment, such as family, schools or neighborhood. The outermost circle is named macro-level and symbolizes wider ideological structures such as beliefs, culture and economy. These three circles are interdependent and shape a person's language development. Thus, these findings acknowledge that each abovementioned component plays a certain role in language acquisition. Similarly to this view, Yule (2019: 206) states that "children [are] actively constructing, from what is said to them and around them, possible ways of using the language. The child's linguistic production appears to be mostly a matter of trying out constructions and testing whether they work or not", which seconds that each perspective has its valid aspects.

2.3.1.2 Developmental sequences

Less controversial than the discussion about how languages are acquired is the research about the developmental stages which children pass through and "what children learn in early language development" (Lightbown & Spada 2013: 14). When acquiring a language, children pass through developmental sequences, starting with the simple sounds included in crying and ending at the capability of speaking full, grammatically accurate sentences that convey a certain meaning. Within this process, children use the innate ability to distinguish all possible sounds that can be produced in any language around, which is labelled as being a highly developed auditory discrimination (Lightbown & Spada 2013: 6; Matthews & Krajewski 2015: 390) and start to focus on the relevant sounds for the language(s) they are exposed to (Matthews & Krajewski 2015: 390). This means that babies who are exposed to English regularly will keep the ability to distinguish the sounds "pa" and "ba" whereas Arabic infants will not be able to distinguish these sounds anymore (Lightbown & Spada 2013: 6), babies growing up in an English environment will, however, quickly lose the capability of differentiating a dental /t/ from a retroflex /t/ (Matthews & Krajewski 2015: 390). Even though there are certain reference points concerning infants' age when it comes to describing the stages of language development, the age-specifications used below can vary and cannot be seen as applying to each individual child (Yule 2019: 204).

Decades of investigating child language acquisition lead to the outcome that the first sequence of producing language is the phase of crying, which is realized by uncontrolled usage of vowels (Lightbown & Spada 2013: 6). In the next stage, babies emerge from their crying phase towards a vocalizing period, in which they produce

certain long sounds using mostly only one vowel. At the approximate age of 4 months, babies are capable of producing "the velar consonants [k] and [g]" (Yule 2019: 204). This phenomenon is called, derived from the sounds the baby can produce at this stage, the **cooing** or **gooing** stage (Yule 2019: 204; MacWhinney 2015: 246).

The next stage within the language development of a child, the **babbling**-phase, starts around the age of six months (Yule 2019: 204; Matthews & Krajewski 2015: 391). The most important characteristic for this phase is the child's ability to produce a range of vowels and consonants and connect them with each other to produce sounds, such as *ba-ba* or *da-da* (Yule 2019: 204). Research has shown, that even deaf babies, who are not able to hear any language input, also start to babble in the course of playing with their mouths, which does however stop at the age of nine months (MacWhinney 2015: 246). Since babies lose the ability to distinguish sounds not relevant for their own speech production, certain studies show that the infant's babbling, when they are around ten months old, also starts to consist of mostly sounds that are representative of the language of the area in which they grow up (Matthews & Krajewski 2015: 391). Other studies, however, show that only babbling at a later stage, at around 12 months of age, slowly directs into focusing on certain sounds and excluding sounds that are irrelevant for the child's own language (MacWhinney 2015: 246). Nevertheless, in each case, later stages of babbling are characterized by variations in intonation, by the inclusion of nasal sounds and by putting together syllable constructions that include more than one consonant (Yule 2019: 204). While acquiring the ability to produce certain consonant-vowel connections, children simultaneously start to process speaking utterances they are listening to and separating them into units, which they will later assign to certain objects (Matthews & Krajewski 2015: 391).

Slightly before the age of 12 months, children may produce certain sounds that they already cognitively connect to objects or actions (MacWhinney 2015: 246). The child starts to increase the amount of words it can utter, even though they might not be fully comprehensible at first, and then also begins to assign slowly emerging understandable utterances to objects (Yule 2019: 205). Since these individual words, which might sometimes be units rather than words, are used to express more than only the word itself, this **one-word** stage is also sometimes called **holophrases** (Matthews & Krajewski 2015: 393) or **holophrastic speech** (Yule 2019: 205). During that phase, it is also possible, that children are starting to over- or undergeneralize words they have learnt. This means, respectively, that they either use one word for more than one concept (e.g. *car* for every

vehicle that drives) or use one word for only part of possible realizations of the word (e.g. *cat* for their grandparents' cat only, but not for any other cats). In order to overcome this issue, parents or caregivers should provide children with a wide range of words and use certain words in different contexts (MacWhinney 2015: 247).

The next stage, the **two-word** phase, begins when the infant is approximately 18-20 months old, which is when the child's range of words exceeds 50 (Yule 2019: 205) to 80 words (Matthews & Krajewski 2015: 394). In this phase, children need to discover "which words can meaningfully be combined with which others" (MacWhinney 2015: 247), which often results in verb + noun combinations (MacWhinney 2015: 247). Even though children can only use two-word combinations themselves in this stage, they already start to infer the function of the words by considering the context they are used in (MacWhinney 2015: 247). According to Yule (2019: 205), an important aspect in this phase is also the success of the word-combinations, which is usually deduced by the feedback they get from their interlocutors. The average child at a later stage of this phase knows and produces 200-300 words, but simultaneously is "capable of understanding five times as many" (Yule 2019: 205). Typical word-combinations for this phase are, for example, *want teddy* or *small car*.

In the child's **telegraphic speech** phase, longer word-combinations start to appear (Yule 2019: 206). Whereas word-combinations get longer here, they still lack in grammatical accuracy, which is usually realized by omitting articles, auxiliary verbs and prepositions (Lightbown & Spada 2013: 7). Easy prepositions, however, might be used in later phases of this stage (Yule 2019: 206). Moreover, children already rely on the correct word order of their language in this phase (Yule 2019: 206; MacWhinney 2015: 248; Lightbown & Spada 2013: 7), even though the word order function is not clear to them yet (Matthews & Krajewski 2015: 396). This aspect leads to the fact that meaning can be inferred by the interlocutors due to the correct word order and additionally given context (Lightbown & Spada 2013: 7). From this point in time, children's range of words is increasing fast and pronunciation also gets more intelligibly (Yule 2019: 206). After this stage, children are starting to develop morphology, syntax and semantics (Yule 2019: 208ff), which represents the stage when language development starts to differentiate depending on the exact language that is acquired. Even though certain linguistic aspects still need to be acquired at that point of time (e.g. antonymous word meaning, such as *before/after*), by the age of five, when the basics of first language are acquired, children can be considered as being "accomplished users of a first language" (Yule 2019: 2012).

2.3.2 Child language acquisition in multilingual families

Due to the fact that a large number of families raises children with more than one language simultaneously (Romanowski 2018: 144; Paradowski & Bator 2018: 647; Hua & Wei 2016: 655; Clark 2009: 336), child language acquisition also investigates characteristics of multilingual language acquisition. Bi- and multilingualism are the terms for being capable of speaking two or more than two languages, respectively. These two terms will be more closely explained in chapter 3.1. To increase the reading flow, henceforth, the term multilingualism will be used to refer to all possible realizations of using more than one language, including bilingualism. If a specification is needed or a special type of multilingualism is meant, e.g. bilingualism or trilingualism (speaking three languages), the respective term will be used. There are certain special characteristics in multilingual language acquisition, which will be briefly displayed in the following paragraphs.

The focus of research in multilingual child language acquisition lies on researching how and in how far two or more languages can co-exist in the human brain. In early multilingual language research, it was often argued that acquiring more than one language simultaneously exceeds people's brain capacity and children might not be able to distinguish the languages (Genesee 2015: 7). Moreover, it was believed that all languages the child is exposed to are stored in one unified system (Andruski, Casielles & Nathan 2014: 660). However, more recent research has shown that children can distinguish languages, based on syllable patterns or stress patterns, early in their language development, namely approximately by the age of 5 months (Clark 2009: 340). Furthermore, each language is believed to be presented in its own system within the brain (Andruski, Casielles & Nathan 2014: 660). Thus, these findings can be seen as contributing to the rejection of earlier believes that growing up with more than one language negatively influences general learning development (Mohr et al. 2018: 11). Nowadays, it is known that contrary to these early beliefs, multilinguals even have certain advantages in their cognitive development, compared to monolinguals (Mohr et al. 2018: 13).

Whether children's ability to distinguish syllables and stress patterns also influences their babbling process is a field of multilingual language acquisition research that has not been studied extensively yet. Andruski, Casielles and Nathan (2014), researched this exact phenomenon on basis of one Spanish-English bilingual child. In their study, they concluded that there is some difference in the child's babbling process;

however, "some of the differences found in this case study might be due to the type of exposure, OPOL[1] in this case, rather than to the particular languages involved" (Andruski, Casielles & Nathan 2014: 671). Hence, even though children might show differences in babbling, these differences seem to root in the input instead of the languages themselves. Since this study, however, only investigated one child, further research would be important to speak of a representative result.

One area that is often researched in multilingual language acquisition research is vocabulary. When it comes to vocabulary acquisition, it is often argued that children from monolingual families outperform multilingual children. However, if both or all languages are considered, children growing up with more than one language usually have the same amount of vocabulary knowledge as monolingual children (MacLeod et al. 2012: 133). Hence, even though multilingual children might not have the same range of vocabulary knowledge in one language than a same-aged monolingual child might have, the total range of words in a multilingual child's brain is the same.

At a later stage, when it comes to building sentences, a unified language system, hence both languages in one cognitive space, would imply a high extent of code-switching (mixing languages in production), since differentiation of languages would not be possible if they were stored in one place (Genesee 2015: 8). Children sometimes do show instances of code-switching; however, it seems to occur very rarely (3-4% of the time) and mostly does not affect the grammatical correctness of the sentence (Genesee 2015: 8). This seems to happen even less often when children grow older, which again strengthens the hypothesis of having an individual system for each language (Genesee 2015: 8). A possible explanation for early code-switching is thus that individual words might not be assigned to its correct language yet and the two systems might not be fully sorted yet (Mohr et al. 2018: 15). Hence, even though certain domains of multilingual child language acquisition are not completely explored yet, most research points towards having two individual systems that work in interaction with each other to some extent.

2.4 Family language policy

Since family language policy (FLP) is a combination of the aforementioned sub-fields of linguistics, its main research interest is also a blend of the respective fields. Merging language policy and child language acquisition, FLP research focuses on planning the language usage and language choice at home by investigating parental reasons, beliefs,

[1] One person – one language approach (cf. chapter 3.3)

motivation and aims concerning language, parenting and social interaction (King & Fogle 2017: 318; Purkarthofer 2019: 725). These elements can all be assigned to Spolsky's (2003: 5) three component model, including language *practice*, *management* and *ideology*. Practice describes the lived application of the languages; management refers to all considerations or changes of language practice and research about language ideology investigates people's beliefs about languages (Schwartz 2010: 172). A major aspect of early FLP research was concerned with "the importance of language input, parental discourse strategy and linguistic environmental conditions" (Curdt-Christiansen 2013: 2). More recent studies also investigate sociocultural, emotional and cognitive aspects, try to find out why some languages have a more positive connotation in comparison to other languages (Curdt-Christiansen 2013: 2) and also consider the children's views on languages (King 2016: 727f; Spolsky 2017: 8).

FLP research roots in the early 20th century when Ronjat, a French linguist (De Houwer 2009: 10) investigated and documented the language development of his own bilingually raised children, starting in 1913, in which a connection between bilingualism and cognitive advantages was established for the first time (King 2016: 726). The main focus of early FLP research was put on how families convey their languages to the next generations (Higgins 2018: 306). Later research of FLP built upon those early ideas and elaborated by focusing on differences and similarities in language processes between mono- and multilingual children and "the nature and role of linguistic transfer" (King 2016: 726). The next step in FLP research was already concerned with the abovementioned aspects, for which FLP is known nowadays, namely investigating families' strategies of language usage within their homes (King, Fogle & Logan-Terry 2008: 907; King 2016: 727). Moreover, parents' beliefs and ideologies as well as the community's attitude towards languages and child language development were gradually included into FLP research (De Houwer 1999: 88). However, the focus was on traditional and non-dynamic mother-father-child families and any other forms of families were not investigated in detail[2] (King 2016: 727). Recent research tries to investigate said aspects by simultaneously considering political and economic aspects of social processes that also lead to language changes within private as well as public areas (Curdt-Christansen 2013: 1). Moreover, FLP research nowadays slowly starts to include minorities, such as non-traditional families (e.g. same-sex families, single parents,

[2] The term *parents* within this paper will refer to all possible parents and first-degree interlocuters of children, including biological, as well as non-biological parents

adoptive families, etc.), changes within the family (King 2016: 727f) or around the families (Higgins 2018: 306) and the children's choices and emotions regarding their own identity and hence also language (King 2016: 727f; Spolsky 2017: 8).

Which approaches families take and why they choose certain ways to integrate selected languages in their daily routines is dependent on parents' beliefs about language, on parents' emotions towards a language (Spolsky 2017: 7) and even on the parents' social status and their level of education (Purkarthofer 2019: 736). Both parents need to display and discuss their individual opinions and reach a consensus on the language implementation (Purkarthofer 2019: 725). Important aspects of FLP research are the parents' attitudes towards their language choice and guidelines concerning that language usage and whether and how their children are affected with their choices and practices (Macalister & Mirvahedi 2017: 5). If a language connotes negative emotions or even negative attitudes of the society surrounding the speakers outside the family, parents might not use their own mother tongue when talking to their children (De Houwer 1999: 81). The opposite is the case or even enhances certain language implementations when parents and the surrounding society have positive attitudes and beliefs towards a language (De Houwer 1999: 81; Spolsky 2017: 7). This might explain why an increasing number of people decides on using English, which is seen to be a Lingua Franca used around the world (Seidlhofer 2005: 339; cf. chapter 2.1), in their families despite English being a foreign or second language to the parents.

Even though researching language implementation is mentioned to be a factor influencing parent's decision, popular literature, in e.g. magazines (Lee et al. 2015: 514) is used more often and hence given more importance than researching the topic in scientific articles (King & Fogle 2006: 703, 707; Liu & Lin 2019: 204). Concerning all necessary choices when deciding to raise children multilingually, King & Fogle (2006: 703f) see parents' personal positive and/or negative experiences with language as the most determining factor of influence. These personal experiences relate to their own multilingual upbringing, a person's own language learning process (King & Fogle 2006: 703f) or even environmental influences, such as the closer society (Purkarthofer 2019: 725) and the opinion of people in their closer society, including friends, family and pediatricians (Lee et al. 2015: 514). Parents' knowledge about multilingual upbringing, which is, hence, based on their own beliefs and experiences, greatly influences which approach is implemented in what way, which further influences the children's language outcome (Lee et al. 2015: 504).

Important factors that need to be considered and clarified between parents when planning the language usage within a family are the decision on the language(s) itself, the purposes these languages are used for and how and through which resources children are exposed to the planned languages (Macalister & Mirvahedi 2017: 4). Among all aspects that play a crucial role in FLP, language input is one of the most important factors influencing the children's language development and hence language output in the long run. Several authors highlight the aspect of language input in multilingual families and especially focus on the importance of the amount and intensity of the input of the minority language, which is a language that is spoken at home but not supported by the closer society (Paradowski & Bator 2018: 660; Ah-Young, Park & Lust 2018: 164f). All mentioned aspects and factors that influence parents' decisions about their family languages can be assigned to and rooted in the three component model by Spolsky, which was briefly mentioned above.

Even though parents often already decide on an FLP before or soon after their (first) child is born there is also the chance that changes in practice are made at some point. Liu and Lin (2019), who chose a non-native bilingual FLP of Japanese and non-native English while living in Japan, changed their FLP when they moved to Canada. Moreover, they regularly monitored their child's language development and re-considered their choice and approach throughout the process. Other papers mention that FLP might be changed due to various reasons, e.g. different contexts of speaking (Schwartz 2010: 178), the children's reluctance of speaking a language (Baker 2001: 92; Schwartz 2010: 177), disputes or issues within the family (Schwartz 2010: 177), reformation of family (King 2016: 727) or societies influence on family and language (Higgins 2019: 306). Hence, initial decisions about which languages are used in a family and how they are integrated might change over time due to various influences. Changing or temporarily adapting the FLP could also be observed in the families under investigation (cf. chapter 6 & 7).

A more detailed explanation of what parents need to consider when deciding upon a multilingual language policy in their family, and which outcomes are created by these choices can be found in chapter 3. The following chapter will, hence, display forms of and approaches to multilingualism.

3 Implementation of FLP

"Acquiring a language at home is very different from learning it at school. At home, children are in a language environment in which anything they do will be a meaningful

activity for them" (Festman, Poarch & Dewaele 2017: 50). In order to facilitate language learning by connecting it with meaningful childhood experiences, many parents decide upon including more than one language in their FLP and hence give children a head-start in languages. Besides the decision about which and how many languages are included in child-rearing, parents also need to consider how these languages are implement in their daily lives. To get an overview of possible approaches and potential results, the following subchapters will explain various theoretical concepts of bi- and multilingualism in detail.

3.1 Bilingualism and multilingualism

In diverse countries all over the world, bi- and multilingual families have been the norm for decades now, meaning that a large number of people have been growing up bi- or even multilingually (Romanowski 2018: 144; Paradowski & Bator 2018: 647; Hua & Wei 2016: 655). There is, however, not a single definition of **bilingualism** but a selection of different ranges of bilingualism. Broad conceptions label everyone who is capable of saying a few words in a foreign or second language as bilingual (Edwards 2006: 7), while rather narrow conceptions and the initial established concept of bilingualism argue that native-like proficiency in both languages is necessary to be called a bilingual (Bloomfield 1984 [1933]: 55f). Research in recent years, however, has established sub-terms referring to the different degrees of proficiency of bilingualism, which allows specification and differentiation of various concepts. These differentiations will be elaborated in chapter 3.3.1.

The ability to speak more than two languages is often referred to as **multilingualism** (Lanza 2007: 45). Multilingualism with more than two languages in families often emerges due to the parents having different nationalities and speaking different languages to the children, whereas the community language is deviating from each of the parent's first languages or by including a third party to speak a further language to the children (Paradowski & Bator 2018: 647f). The term multilingualism, however, often also includes bilingualism. Thus, as already mentioned in section 2.3.2 the term multilingualism in this paper will refer to bi- and multilingualism, and further differentiations will be specified if explicitly meant.

Besides the different ranges of multilingualism depending on the proficiency of the languages, there is also a classification based on the age when the second language is introduced and a distinction based on how the second language is introduced in a child's life. Hence, this chapter will display different forms of and various approaches to

multilingualism, which will confirm the difficulty of finding one universally valid definition of this language phenomenon. Since the implementation of a non-native language is the main focus of this paper, an extra section (chapter 3.4) will explain this phenomenon in more detail.

3.2 Forms of multilingualism

In the following, different forms of multilingualism will be presented, based on two factors: the **proficiency** of the languages, considering whether both/all languages are acquired equally well or to a different degree and the **age of onset**, being distinguished by whether the languages are acquired simultaneously or consecutively, also considering the age at which the languages are introduced.

3.2.1 Degree of multilingualism

The initial concept of multilingualism, which referred to the equal active proficiency of more than one language, is nowadays specified as **balanced multilingualism** (García Armayor 2019: 272; Edwards 2006: 9; Döpke 1992: 2). This phenomenon is also called **active multilingualism** and is characterized by the person's ability to speak all languages acquired fluently (Mahootian 2020: 15; Lee et al. 2015: 504). Hence, in this type of multilingualism, the speaker's proficiency and knowhow of each language is also equal to a monolingual's proficiency of each of the individual languages (Clark 2009: 337). Nevertheless, as the subject matters discussed in the individual languages often differ, even balanced multilinguals sometimes show issues of translating certain topics quickly and word by word, since the vocabulary knowledge and range of individual domains might not be comparable (Clark 2009: 338).

Exposing children naturally and regularly to more than one language may, however, not be sufficient to become highly proficient in all languages used (Paradowski & Michałowska 2016: 48). Hence, not all people raised with two or more languages are able to communicate fluently in all languages used within the family (Paradowski & Bator 2018: 659). In order not to be disappointed by the outcomes, a large number of families practicing multilingual upbringing already state that they do not expect their children to become fluent in all languages used (King & Fogle 2006: 707).

Another form of multilingualism is **receptive multilingualism,** in which the multilingual person has merely receptive knowledge of some of the FLP languages but is not capable of using them actively (Romaine 1995: 11; Edwards 2006: 10). This means that the multilingual person might be able to read and understand all FLP languages easily

but has certain issues when having to write or speak one or the other language without preparation (Mahootian 2020: 15). It is important that parents still acknowledge the child's receptive knowledge and stick to their FLP since the child will still be able to build upon their receptive knowledge it when growing older. If parents start to exclude the language that is only acquired receptively by the child, also the receptive knowledge might get lost over time (Romanowski 2018: 146).

Issues in understanding or producing either of the FLP languages is called **semilingualism** (Edwards 2006: 10; Romaine 1995: 6, 118). In this form, the speaker is "unable to form full thoughts or sentences in either language" (Mahootian 2020: 132). Since this term and its connotations have received criticism (Baker 2001: 9f), it is not frequently encountered in recent research and literature. Baker (2001: 10) already stated that domain-specific variations concerning proficiency, e.g. vocabulary knowledge or dominance of one skill in each language, might be rather common, since the application of the languages varies widely. Moreover, the early belief about child language acquisition, that introducing two languages simultaneously is not manageable for the brain, has been combated several times (Mohr et al. 2018: 11). Hence, nowadays it is seldom believed that semilingualism emerges as result of unsuccessful multilingualism (Mahootian 2020: 132).

Subtractive multilingualism is the phenomenon, in which the L1 is negatively influenced when one or more L2s are introduced (Mahootian 2020: 15f). In this case, a shortage of L1 input, especially if it is the minority language (Baker 2001: 92), tends to inhibit the further growth of this language (MacLeod et al. 2012: 133). This phenomenon happens mostly if the omnipresent language of the community becomes more dominant and is also perceived as more important (Mahootian 2020: 16). Moreover, according to Baker (2001: 114f), this phenomenon often happens when the second language that is introduced is forced onto the learner, which additionally negatively affects people's cultural identity.

Additive multilingualism, on the other hand, is when the added languages do not influence the first one negatively and all languages can be used without limitations (Edwards 2006: 10). In this case, the L2 is added "with little or no pressure to replace or reduce the first language" (Baker 2001: 114). As the person has sufficient exposure to all languages used, both languages can develop fine (MacLeod et al. 2012: 133). Additive multilingualism is also sometimes seen to be a chosen form of multilingualism, in which families actively decide to introduce an additional language to the children's language

repertoire (King & Fogle 2006: 695). However, children can also develop multilingualism by acquiring a new language due to contact with other peers in kindergarten or school. Hence multilingualism not introduced by the parents but through social connections without clear instructions, is also labelled as additive multilingualism, if both languages are kept (Tytus 2018: 211).

3.2.2 Onset Age and Timing

Another differentiation of multilingualism is the age at which the second language is introduced in a child's life. The phenomenon of being exposed to more than one language from birth onwards is often referred to as **simultaneous multilingualism** (Baker 2001: 87; Ah-Young, Park & Lust 2018: 164) and seen as being an "instance of multiple first language acquisition" (Meisel 2006: 95). The concept of learning a second or foreign language not from birth but from an early childhood age onwards is called **sequential multilingualism** (Kalashnikova & Mattock 2014: 112) or sometimes referred to as **successive multilingualism** (Meisel 2006: 103, 105; Ah-Young, Park & Lust 2018: 164; Tytus 2018: 211).

There is, however, a disagreement amongst researchers about the exact age of onset and the corresponding terms of simultaneous or successive multilingualism. Whereas Ah-Young, Park and Lust (2018: 164) define it rather strictly and only see children who were exposed to more languages from birth onwards as simultaneous multilinguals, Roesch and Chondrogianni (2016: 635) draw on a broader age span and see anything up to the age of 12 months as simultaneous multilingualism. Any language onset between the age of one and three is then labelled as **early** sequential multilingualism (Roesch & Chondrogianni 2016: 636) and anything after that, even learning a second language through contact with people in a new environment, e.g. upon children starting kindergarten or school, as sequential multilingualism (Ah-Young, Park & Lust 2018: 164). Other conceptions of sequential multilingualism include any kind of second language acquisition that happens, acquired through social contacts or even formally introduced in school or language courses (Baker 2001: 93). In this paper, the term simultaneous multilingualism will refer to simultaneous usage of more than one language from birth onwards and successive/sequential multilingualism will refer to the introduction of a second language at home or by social contacts outside home, e.g. attending kindergarten. Learning a second language by explicit instructions (e.g. English lessons in kindergarten or primary schools) will be referred to as early L2 learning.

Apart from lacking a generally established age-cut in order to differentiate the two terms from each other, there is also a discrepancy about the age at which a language should be introduced in order to achieve a high proficiency of a language resembling native competence. As already mentioned, there is still an ongoing discussion about the critical period hypothesis, and whether there is some truth in the claim that the earlier the age of onset, the more proficient the speaker becomes (Baker 2001: 97; Meisel 2006: 104; Hyltenstam & Abrahamsson 2000). Whereas it is believed that young children acquire new languages with a certain ease, adults seem to have more effective learning methods and hence internalize languages faster (Baker 2001: 97). Certain studies even suggest that adult language learners can still reach a proficiency resembling a native's proficiency in most linguistic areas, pronunciation being one of the exceptions (Paradowski & Bator 2018: 648). Arguing for or against this hypothesis, however, goes beyond the scope of this paper. In any case, there are more aspects that need to be considered when a balanced bilingualism is targeted, the age of onset is in neither case the only determining factor to achieve a successful development of languages.

3.3 Approaches to raising children multilingually

The approaches of multilingual upbringing of children are as diverse as the concept of multilingualism itself. Romaine (1995: 183-185), based on early findings of Harding and Riley (1986), gives an overview of different approaches to bilingualism, which are distinct in implementation of and exposure to language. Several factors determine the multilingual outcomes of children, e.g. the amount and way of input – especially when a minority language is involved – , social environment, expertise in language, collocutors, time and place of language input or even content of the conversation (Paradowski & Bator 2018: 659f; Macalister & Mirvahedi 2017: 5; Lee et al. 2015: 504; Chirsheva 2008: Introduction). Due to these influences, the approaches presented hereafter can be assigned to person-, time-, place-, message- or so-called occasional listener-oriented principles (Chirsheva 2008: Introduction). Most official approaches that are cited and explained frequently can be labelled as person-oriented approaches.

The **one person – one language approach** (OPOL) is, equally to FLP, rooted in Ronjat's bilingual upbringing of his own children in 1913 (Baker 2001: 88f; De Houwer 2009: 10). OPOL refers to the concept of one person speaking exclusively one, but a distinct, language to the child (Paradowski & Michałowska 2016: 48). Usually, in this approach one parent shares the society's dominant language (Romaine 1995: 183). This

is one of the most common approaches applied when deciding to raise children multilingually (Paradowski & Michałowska 2016: 51; Chirsheva 2008: Person-oriented principle). When applying this approach, either each parent speaks exclusively one language to the children, or parents share one language and include a third conversational partner, e.g. (native) nannies or grandparents, who speak a further language to the children (Spolsky 2017: 6; Paradowski & Bator 2018: 648).

The **non-dominant home** or **minority language approach** is used, when both parents speak the same minority language to their children (Romaine 1995: 183) – a language not spoken by the society (Hovsepian 2018: 47; Grosjean 2010: 206f) – and children acquire the community language by communicating with the society (Grosjean 2010: 206). In this approach, one of the parents switches to a language not being her/his own L1 when talking to the children, although the parent would share her/his L1 with the society. Parents usually apply this method of multilingualism to keep both languages balanced (Paradowski & Michałowska 2016: 53), since children are anyhow constantly exposed to the community language outside the home.

The concept of **non-dominant home language without community support** approach is applied when parents share a native language which deviates from the community language and use this language when speaking to the children (Romaine 1995: 184). The only difference to the approach above is that both parents use their own L1 here. In either of the latter two approaches, one of the languages of the multilingual upbringing is acquired due to social contact outside the closer home, being the society or further relatives (Baker 2001: 89; Grosjean 2010: 206). Another further option of non-dominant home language without community support is when both parents have a different L1 and converse with their children in their individual L1s and the child acquires the community language outside home. In this case, children even acquire three languages simultaneously, which is called trilingualism (Chirsheva 2008: Person-oriented principle).

The concept of **translanguaging** (Curdt-Christiansen & Lanza 2018: 124) or **mixed languages** is used when the parents switch between languages when talking to their children (Grosjean 2006: 35, 40; Romaine 1995: 185). In this case, all languages acquired are implemented actively in the language production, whereas in monolingual environments, one language might be deactivated at the time of speaking (Grosjean 2006: 40). Baker (2001: 89), however, argues that, according to past studies, mixing languages might be implemented in daily lives unconsciously in certain multilingual areas.

The issue with the usage of minority languages in all forms of multilingualism presented above is that studies have shown that being only exposed to the minority language at home might not suffice to establish a high proficiency in that language and hence might not result in a balanced multilingualism (Paradowski & Bator 2018: 659; Döpke 1992: 1). Apart from the fact that minority languages are not supported by the society and hence do not surround their speakers on a daily basis, another eventuality of why a minority language might get lost in a child's language repertoire is the children's own reluctance of using their minority L1 and simultaneously increasing the usage of the community's language in order to fit into the surrounding society (Baker 2001: 92). This language loss might lead to a form of subtractive or receptive multilingualism. To avoid the loss of the minority language, its input and implementation in daily lives need special considerations (Baker 2001: 93).

Whereas the approaches presented up to this point were dependent on the people's behavior and their implementation of languages – the so-called **person-oriented principles** – there are also approaches dependent on other factors, such as environment or timing (Chirsheva 2008: Introduction). Since these principles, however, are hardly mentioned in any articles and Chirsheva (2008) also only refers to studies conducted over 20 years ago, these approaches will be presented only briefly in the following paragraph.

The most widely spread approach of the **place-oriented principle** is using one language, usually a minority language, at home, while using the community language or the other language of the multilingual upbringing outside the house (Chirsheva 2008: Place-oriented principle). Moreover, if multilingual families live or travel between different countries, they might choose to speak the language according to the country they currently reside in (Chirsheva 2008: Place-oriented principle). Another possible option within this approach is to declare certain zones of the house or apartment in which the individual languages should be spoken. To make these zones visible, certain objects in each room/part of the house should remind the family members of the target language. For this approach, it is advised that all family members participate; however, this was not researched extensively, which results in the lack of knowledge whether this is a successful approach (Chirsheva 2008: Place-oriented principle). The **one language on certain days** (Curdt-Christiansen & Lanza 2018: 124) or **time-oriented principle** is practiced when certain periods of time (e.g. part of the day, a full day/week, etc.) are dedicated to the individual languages. Here, either one or both parents adhere to this principle. Since children do not learn the concept of time at an early age, meaning that they might not

even be able to distinguish the individual days of the week, the switch needs to be clearly indicated via an apparent sign, e.g. using the nickname of the children to address them on days with one language, while using the full name on days on which the other language is spoken (Chirsheva 2008: Time-oriented principle). Families apply the **message/subject-oriented approach** when certain topics are discussed or activities are performed in one language, whereas other topics rely on the usage of the other language. The **occasional listener-oriented principle**[3] typically happens unconsciously, when the child internalizes a language by being the by-stander and listener of parental conversations that happen in an additional language the child is not actively exposed to (Chirsheva 2008: Message/subject-oriented and "occasional listener"-oriented principles). This mostly leads to a receptive multilingualism but can also have a different outcome if it is promoted by the parents after noticing it (cf. chapter 6.1.1).

Since the language spoken between the parents also influences the children's language development (Paradowski & Michałowska 2016: 50f), in each approach presented, parents, or other involved interlocutors, should thoroughly consider the languages spoken with each other. They can decide on either the community language, one of their L1s, mixing, or using their individual L1s each (Chirsheva 2008: Person-oriented principle), the latter only being an opportunity if parents have at least receptive knowledge of the partner's L1. In each case, involved interlocuters need to consider whether – due to the extent of exposure – the languages used can be acquired to the same extent, if a balanced multilingualism is wished for (Chirsheva 2008: Person-oriented principle). Paradowski & Michałowska (2016: 51) suggest using the minority language – if it is possible – since the children then have additional language input of the minority language and chances of acquiring it to a greater extent are higher. If a family has more than one child, language usage between siblings also needs to be considered (Chirsheva 2008: Person-oriented principle; Romaine 1995: 199; Lanza 2007: 48).

One aspect that needs to be contemplated in the practice of multilingualism is that the actual practical implementation often consists of mixtures of the approaches rather than one individual approach. Examples hereof might be that even though families try to stick to an OPOL approach, sometimes they lack certain words which they then take from in a different language in order to overcome a gap within the speech or at times, the subject-oriented approach, the place-oriented principle or the occasional listener-oriented

[3] The name of this principle, suggested by Chirsheva 2008, might be misleading as it could also imply a change of languages by the parents depending on the listener. However, since this is the only source found that addresses this principle, this name will be adopted and used in this paper.

approach are implemented in other approaches. Hence, the practical implementation of multilingualism mostly only draws on certain approaches but is hardly ever without any exceptions, which can be observed in each of the FLPs analyzed at a later point in this research paper.

3.4 Non-native multilingualism – focus ELF

The form of multilingualism most important for this paper is **non-native multilingualism (NNM)**, also called **elective multilingualism** or **artificial multilingualism** (Nakamura 2015: 11). Despite still lacking research, NNM is becoming more popular, especially amongst higher social classes and amongst parents who have higher education (King & Fogle 2006: 695). NNM describes the practice of parents using a foreign (FL) or second language (L2) in their child-rearing practice (Szramek-Karecz 2016: 93; Nakamura 2015: 11; Romaine 1995: 185). NNM is rather an implementation of FLP than an own form of multilingualism since the integration of the chosen languages varies from family to family and the outcomes are also diverse. Therefore, this paper will use the term non-native FLP (NNFLP) rather than NNM.

One form of non-native language input within families was already presented above and is practiced in the non-dominant home language approach. Here, one parent uses the L1 of his/her partner, which is an L2 to him-/herself, in order to support the development of the minority language (Paradowski & Michałowska 2016: 53). Another form of non-native multilingualism is achieved, if parents share a L1 that is not the community language, but one parent decides to speak the community language with the child (Chirsheva 2008: Person-oriented principle). Even though these two approaches are a rather common form of NNFLP, this is not the concept that is usually labelled as NNM.

The term NNM (or here NNFLP) is rather used when parents decide to include a foreign or second language to both parents in their child-rearing, mostly within an OPOL setting (Nakamura 2015: 11; Chirsheva 2008: Person-oriented principle). Especially nowadays, in times in which multilingual upbringing is often connoted positively (King & Fogle 2006: 695), families usually decide on an NNFLP in order to introduce an additional language early in their children's life (Nakamura 2015: 11) in a rather natural way by integrating the language in their daily lives (Liu & Lin 2019: 205). Another reason why parents decide to raise their children with a non-native language is that parents want to broaden children's horizon and opportunities later in life, e.g. professional aspects or facilitation of creating social relations (García Armayor 2019: 267). Many forms of

NNFLP studied in literature include ELF as one of the languages, which is also the research focus of this paper (García Armayor 2019; Liu & Lin 2019; Chirsheva 2008).

In a typical NNFLP, one of the languages used, mostly the L2/FL, is not the dominant language of the society in which the family lives, which results in little language input in the target language (Szramek-Karecz 2016: 93; Romaine 1995: 185). Studies have shown that siblings raised within an NNFLP mostly stick to the community language when speaking to each other (Romaine 1995: 199), which suppresses another possible application and practice of the non-native language. Hence, children usually rely on only one conversational partner in the L2/FL, namely the parent him-/herself, and are therefore only rarely exposed to the minority language (Döpke 1992: 1). This is seen to be a controversial issue of NNFLP since this might entail certain linguistic issues and errors being passed on to the children. If parents do not feel proficient enough, they should pose themselves the question whether their expected outcomes and aims justify the idea to implement an NNFLP (Nakamura 2015: 12f). The language outcome in this form of multilingualism can be seen as being highly dependent on the parent's proficiency level. Many studies of successful outcomes also focused on researching families in which the parent using a non-native language had a high proficiency in the chosen language (García Armayor 2019: 268; Liu & Lin 2019: 195; Nakamura 2015: 11). Liu & Lin (2019: 195f; 205), on the other hand, emphasize the existence of an innate system, which helps children to explore and create correct language, despite certain errors they observe in the input they receive. Hence, the outcome is not only dependent on the parental language and children are seen to have the competence to overcome issues and errors they might internalize from parental exposure. This is especially the case – as in any other form of multilingualism – if children receive additional language input (cf. chapter 4.1).

Despite high proficiency in the language seemingly being a favorable factor of implementing an NNFLP, certain doubts also emerge in highly proficient speakers of the chosen language (Liu & Lin 2019: 204f). Hence, as already mentioned before, additional language input in all languages, but especially the minority language is crucial to support children's language development. This can be integrated in various ways, which will be explained in detail in chapter 4.1. Any native input, additionally to the parental non-native input, however, supports the child's language development (Nakamura 2015: 13).

As already mentioned, many early forms of NNFLP studied in literature include English as either of the two languages (Chirsheva 2008: Person-oriented principle) and also recent studies are mostly concerned with ELF (García Armayor 2019; Liu &

Lin 2019). However, if English is represented as the L2/FL, it cannot really be spoken of using a minority language. Since English has become the main international lingua franca, it is widely spread and represented in various ways of daily life. Hence, children have evidence that English is used outside their FLP (Romanowski 2018: 146). MacLeod et al. (2012: 133) state that successful additive multilingualism can be achieved when the context and environment allow and provide support. An important motivating factor for children to speak an L2/FL is the ability to use the language actively; thus, seeing that the language is present outside home and also used by other people increases motivation (Romanowski 2018: 146). Since English is a language that is not only used professionally or in abstract situations but also in everyday life (e.g. Anglicisms in supermarkets, coffee-shops, social media, toy names etc.), children are constantly in contact with the English language and can realize that English is indeed represented and used outside their home. There is a high amount of material that can be used as support for language input and due to globalization, also traveling – in order to support the English implementation – or hiring nannies or au pairs with the target language as mother tongue can help to overcome certain obstacles (Paradowski & Bator 2018: 648). Hence, with using English in a NNFLP, the often-raised disadvantage of children lacking in authentic language input and exposure can easily be defeated.

In order to overcome certain doubts and issues on the parental side, it is also important that parents keep their dedication to the language (Zurer Pearson 2008: 123, cited in Paradowski & Michałowska 2016: 48) and their level of proficiency on a level that feels sufficient for them (Romanowski 2018: 147). This should be done by engaging with the language on different levels, similar to language input that is advised for children, namely e.g. books, TV, learning idioms and interactions with native speakers (Romanowski 2018: 147). From their own experience with a non-native FLP, two Japanese researchers concluded the above-mentioned aspect with the words that the

> home environment that mimics the naturalistic context of first language acquisition […] has the advantage of spontaneity and effortlessness in the acquisition process in comparison with foreign language school education. […] However, successful bilingual parenting in a foreign language demands high levels of parental dedication, time investment, and a spirit of life-long continuous learning […]. In addition, emotional roller-coasters and self-doubts might be normal aspects of this practice for parents, despite the assurance of harmlessness suggested by research evidence (Liu & Lin 2019: 205).

Moreover, if parents research their approach and what to expect during their process, possible setbacks might be accepted more easily and the motivation to continue might be kept (Romanowski 2018: 147).

4 Considerations of multilingualism

Besides the different possible forms, implementations and approaches to multilingualism, there are further aspects that need to be considered and that might support families in their decisions about which approach to take or which aids to use in order to achieve the targeted outcome. This chapter will hence present determining factors for a successful FLP with more than one language and advantages and disadvantages of such an FLP.

4.1 Determining factors for successful multilingualism

As presented in the previous chapters, there are many different approaches to how children can achieve multilingual language competence. Raising children is a complex process that considers many different aspects and so is the implementation of languages in children's upbringing. Hence, even though many parents view the OPOL approach or the minority language approach as the most successful ones (Paradowski & Michałowska 2016: 56), none of the approaches presented above can be seen as being the most promising one with the best results (Paradowski & Michałowska 2016: 59). Nevertheless, there are certain determining factors which enhance a positive outcome and increase the chance of achieving a high language proficiency in more than one language, regardless of the approach taken.

First and foremost, one of the most important "factors determining the success of bilingual upbringing is the child's motivation to speak the second language" (Romanowski 2018: 146). The most obvious reason satisfying a child's motivation is the ability to converse in both languages (Grosjean 2010: 205). If this factor does not suffice the child, or if one parent uses a second language when talking to the child, the issue of the child protesting the usage of the target language may occur (Grosjean 2010: 171f). Hence, if the child resists, additional motivating factors need to be considered and favorably presented to the child, e.g. being able to read more books or magazines in the child's field of interest, watching TV, cartoons – or nowadays several YouTube channels – or having more opportunities for conversations when being abroad, to name but a few. Nevertheless, children should never be forced to use a certain language, since this might have a contradictory effect and the child may fully refuse to use it (Zurer Pearson 2008: 307, cited in Romanowski 2018: 146). Possible motivating factors are described in more detail hereafter.

A high amount of exposure to both target languages is a crucial influence to achieve multilingualism, especially if a balanced multilingualism is targeted (Paradowski &

Michałowska 2016: 53; Romanowski 2018: 146; Grosjean 2010: 210). One opportunity to increase language input is relying on the usage of books or magazines (Lee et al. 2015: 514, 516; Paradowski & Michałowska 2016: 54; Romanowski 2018: 146; Grosjean 2010: 210). This can be implemented by reading the books to the children or letting them read themselves. Since books expose children topics beyond their daily lives, this additional input increases children's depth of vocabulary (Paradowski & Michałowska 2016: 54) and language styles (Romanowski 2018: 146). Moreover, if the used reading material is aligned to the child's interest (Romanowski 2018: 146), motivation to read might be increased and hence, language input will happen naturally or even unconsciously.

Another factor that needs to be considered is how children's language mixing or code switching is dealt with. Since the OPOL approach, for example, aims to have a conversational partner for each language, parents need to decide whether they pretend to not understand if a child uses the other language within an utterance (in case the parent would be able to understand the language) or whether they do accept code-switching (Juan-Garau & Pérez-Vidal 2001: 61). In the case of accepting code-switching in conversations with parents, additional conversational partners in each language should be sought. In this case, the child certainly needs to stick to the target language in all conversations with this interlocutor. This should especially be considered and integrated when a minority language is included in the FLP (Romanowski 2018: 147f; Grosjean 2010: 210f). One possibility to implement this approach is to encourage children to speak the target language with peers who share the language, which can be done by attending or even initiating playgroups with other families who share one of the implemented languages (Paradowski & Michałowska 2016: 53-55; Romanowski 2018: 147). Hiring a native babysitter, nanny or au pair could additionally foster the children's language usage in the languages used (Spolsky 2017: 6; Paradowski & Bator 2018: 648; Romanowski 2018: 147). Paradowski and Michałowska (2016: 54) positively encourage any opportunity of human interaction in all FLP languages, e.g. family and friends, via video-calls, inviting them or visiting them abroad. Even vacation in the country with one of the FLP-languages as society-language, including some contact to native speakers, is a form of extra language exposure, which should be considered by parents. In a best-case scenario, contact to native peers can lead to friendships, which can be preserved after the vacation in order to keep the languages actively included in the daily language routine via different forms of communication (e.g. letters, phone-calls or

emails) (Romanowski 2018: 147). This could further lead to the practice of certain cultural aspects the languages entail (Paradowski & Michałowska 2016: 55).

A very formal, but also rather common way to additionally expose children to minority languages is to send them to language classes or multilingual schools, where the families' chosen languages are taught and used simultaneously the medium of communication between students, parents and teachers (Romanowski 2018: 147). In language schools, children receive extra language input and further experience instructed language learning, which also introduces the language from a different perspective and even displays different elements of languages, e.g. grammar or syntax. In multilingual schools, language exposure is further increased by the social component of being able to converse with other native speakers or having to use all target languages in conversations with the teachers. Since language development is also highly influenced by the social environment (Paradowski & Michałowska 2016: 47), this can positively contribute to a child's language acquisition.

Additionally to actively being exposed to and using both languages, a certain amount of receptive language exposure is important. This can be realized by listening to audiobooks or songs in the target language or watching TV programs (Romanowski 2018: 146; Paradowski & Michałowska 2016: 54f). Similarly to reading, TV shows confront children with different styles and varieties of languages, which creates an authentic language exposure (Paradowski & Michałowska 2016: 55). Even though productive language involvement is believed to be more language growth-enhancing (Grosjean 2010: 210), being able to watch the favorite YouTube-channel might be equally motivating for some children. After all, the receptive language exposure of listening to songs, for example, can easily be turned into a productive language usage, by singing along, which is a suggested way of additional language practice (Paradowski & Michałowska 2016: 55), or even examining the song lyrics.

Each factor just presented refers to any kind of language exposure or practice in addition to parental language input. Language input and practice in which children are engaged productively, e.g. interactions rather than watching TV, however, seem to have an even more positive effect on the children's language development (Romanowski 2018: 147). It is also advised to actively listen to the children when they speak and help them when they might encounter lack of vocabulary instead of interrupting them (Romanowski 2018: 146). The best way to find out whether the multilingual FLP or the NNFLP was successful, especially if a balanced multilingualism is targeted, is when children are

exposed to authentic conversations in each of the languages by finding native interlocutors (Liu & Lin 2019: 199). Summarizing all determining factors of a successful – maybe even balanced – multilingual upbringing of children, one common feature can be observed, namely the intensity and variety of language exposure.

4.2 Strengths and weaknesses of multilingualism

This sub-chapter will present advantages and disadvantages that could arise in a multilingual upbringing of children. Even though, there are a large number of aspects in favor of multilingualism, there are also some possible disadvantages that could arise. Whereas the first part of this chapter will present general positive effects of multilingualism, including non-native multilingualism, and negative aspects of native multilingualism, the latter part of this chapter will focus on non-native multilingualism, its possible difficulties and how these issues could be overcome.

4.2.1 Advantages

Years of researching multilingualism has shown advantages of the acquisition of more than one language in various domains, including personal, social/sociocultural, professional/economic and cognitive aspects (Genesee 2015: 6; Tytus 2018: 212). Successful multilinguals are seen to have a broader linguistic and cognitive repertoire. Moreover, one of the most prominent advantages many parents see in their multilingual child-rearing is the "children's success in the future" (Paradowski & Michałowska 2016: 59). Tytus (2018: 208f), Paradowski and Michałowska (2016: 46), Genesee (2015: 6), Oller, Pearson and Cobo-Lewis (2007: 191) and Lee et al. (2015: 504) briefly present a summary of advantages of multilingualism that were found by authors and scientists of previous studies on multilingualism. A selection of these studies have concluded that multilingualism does not only increase language proficiency and competence, but also has a positive effect on the general IQ level, mental flexibility – due to switching back and forth between two or more languages –, on cognitive skills, symbol-manipulation or symbol-substitution tasks, reorganization tasks, mental processes, verbal creativity, verbal reasoning skills, higher self-esteem and selective attention. Other frequently acknowledged advantages of being multilingual are connected to cultural aspects (Lee et al. 2015: 503; King & Fogle 2006: 700; Baker 2001: 112), the facilitation of communication around the world or increasing job opportunities (García Armayor 2019: 267; Genesee 2015: 6; Lee et al. 2015: 503) and the emotional growth of a person (Baker 2001: 112f). Moreover, parents often consider the early introduction of a language as a

possibility to connect language with fun, e.g. games and music, which facilitates learning (García Armayor 2019: 290).

Tytus' (2018) study, investigating 118 people, has shown that a large number of the study's participants perceives their multilingualism as mostly advantageous. One aspect many parents consider to be beneficial is the mere practical reason of being able to converse in more than one language, hence having more possible interlocutors, which makes global communication easier (Paradowski & Michałowska 2016: 46, 57). Besides apparent reasons, such as being able to communicate internationally, privately as well as in business relations or having more opportunities to gather information and knowledge, multilinguals see their own multilingualism as being a "form of mental training" (Tytus 2018: 216). Due to constant switching between two or more languages, multilinguals are seen to be superior in cognitive flexibility and hence also have a better processing capacity for the input they receive (Mohr et al. 2018: 13). This is also reflected in their broader perspectives, which enhances problem-solving and facilitates observing issues from different perspectives (Paradowski & Michałowska 2016: 46f). This increased cognitive flexibility of multilinguals also leads to better results in reorganization tasks or tasks in which rules were altered compared to monolinguals (Tytus 2018: 208f).

The benefit of mental training further becomes apparent when people are aging, since certain cognitive functions are sustained and diseases that influence the brain capacity negatively seem to emerge later in multilinguals' lives than in those of monolinguals (Paradowski & Michałowska 2016: 47). Whereas some research claims that multilingualism even protects people from developing dementia or Alzheimer's (Tytus 2018: 2012), other researchers, which Paradowski & Michałowska (2016: 47) refer to, have found that multilinguals, who encounter Alzheimer's disease, on average show their first symptoms "over four years later than their monolingual counterparts, and are more than twice as likely to retain normal cognitive functions after an ischemic stroke." Even though the delay of Alzheimer's disease seems more convincing than the protection from Alzheimer's, both findings are a positive aspect of multilingualism.

The benefit of having more opportunities in professional aspects was also acknowledged and stated by parents that are raising their children multilingually (Lee et al. 2015: 508f, 515; Paradowski & Michałowska 2016: 46). Knowing more than one language does not only facilitate the communicative aspect in business relations, but also establishes additional professional opportunities, since a multilingual person can choose from a broader selection of job offers in different countries. This is also a major aspect in

multilingual upbringing with English as a non-native language, since English, as the most important lingua franca around the world, is often used in business relations (García Armayor 2019: 267).

Another aspect that is mentioned repeatedly is the multilingual's ability and knowledge about how languages function, the so-called metalinguistic awareness (Mohr et al. 2018: 13; Tytus 2018: 209). People who speak more than one language are able to connect the known languages with each other and find similarities and differences that might help understand certain features more easily, particularly when languages are from the same language family (Paradowski & Michałowska 2016: 46f). This also helps them to learn (additional) languages faster (Paradowski & Michałowska 2016: 46f). Moreover, multilinguals' sociolinguistic awareness was also found to be more developed. From an early age onwards, multilingual children seem to be able to understand that people are showing their emotions through their language usage, "which can support their social sensitivity and [even their] cultural awareness" (Mohr et al. 2018: 14). Hence, besides raising children bilingually in order to preserve the parent's own culture and related values (Lee et al. 2015: 515), also the cultural awareness and openness towards other cultures is influenced by a multilingual upbringing and the knowledge about the integrated languages (King & Fogle 2006: 701; Baker 2001: 112f; Paradowski & Michałowska 2016: 46; Mohr et al. 2018: 14).

4.2.2 Disadvantages

Early multilingual research often focused on disadvantages that derived from an upbringing including more than one language. These early findings were mostly based on methodological issues and have been refuted over the last decades (Tytus 2018: 208). Nowadays, there are still certain disadvantages that can be observed when raising children multilingually. Even though these disadvantages are usually outnumbered by the advantages, some families practicing a multilingual FLP still acknowledge certain disadvantages themselves (Tytus 2019: 213). Hence, some of these will be briefly presented hereafter.

One aspect that often results in doubt of their decision, is when their children seem to have smaller vocabulary knowledge in each individual language when they start to talk, compared to monolingual children of the same age (Mohr et al. 2018: 13). This is, however, nothing parents should worry about, since their overall vocabulary range is usually the same but divided into more than one language (MacLeod et al. 2012: 133;

Tytus 2018: 209). Moreover, this initially believed disadvantage does not endure and adult multilinguals usually do not encounter this issue anymore (Mohr et al. 2018: 13).

Especially if parents aim for a balanced multilingualism, different obstacles could arise in their approach taken. Since exposure to the target language is an important element in multilingual upbringing, the amount of language input, especially in a minority language, needs to be monitored precisely. Sometimes, children might lose their minority language, when a dominant language is highly present over a long time (Mahootian 2020: 16). The phenomenon of decreasing proficiency in one language might also occur when the usage of this language is temporarily reduced (e.g. due to a semester/longer period abroad) and the other language is dominant during this time span (Tytus 2018: 213). Hence, if children are only exposed to the parental language input in either of the two languages, it might not be sufficient language exposure for the children to reach a balanced multilingualism (Paradowski & Bator 2018: 659). Moreover, relying fully on a multilingual environment might also not suffice for the children to develop equally high proficiency in both languages used (Paradowski & Bator 2018: 659). Hence, especially if a balanced usage of all languages is targeted, parents should closely monitor their input and should use additional language input to support their approach, as already mentioned in section 4.1.

Some linguistic disadvantages identified by multilinguals themselves are, inter alia, the issue of lacking a word in the target language of the current conversation, mixing up letters or words or unsuccessfully trying to translate verbatim between the two known languages. At the same time, however, many questioned multilinguals have not even thought about possible disadvantages of being able to speak two languages before being questioned about that issue and only acknowledged their occurrence after being given some examples (Tytus 2018: 213, 216). Especially recalling content or words in the language that is used less frequently was mentioned as being an issue (Tytus 2018: 216). These difficulties sometimes result in code-switching, which creates, according to some multilinguals, “mild annoyance of friends and family” (Tytus 2018: 214).

A cultural aspect that sometimes arises as disadvantage is the multilingual’s wish to be a full part of a peer-group, with which some multilinguals cannot fully identify since their cultural background might differ and is highlighted by having a second mother tongue (Baker 2001: 92; Tytus 2018: 213). In this case, children might even become ashamed of the minority language and are therefore reluctant to use this language any longer (Lee et al. 2015: 512). Since multilingual children are, however, seen to be more

open towards other cultures themselves, parents should build upon this feature when they realize that their children encounter such issues and should try to combat these negative stereotypes which evoke negative feelings in their children.

4.2.3 Difficulties of non-native child-rearing and how to overcome them

Non-native upbringing of children is still a controversial matter and often negatively connoted in society. Besides disadvantages and difficulties that are raised towards uncertainty of linguistic features, parents who use a non-native language when talking to their children also sometimes feel inauthentic in showing emotions, disciplining their children or representing the corresponding culture (Kouritzin 2000). Moreover, other people might also be intolerant or have prejudices against the families' language choice when raising their children non-native multilingually (García Armayor 2019: 293f). The following few paragraphs will display possible disadvantages and difficulties that are sometimes raised and give solutions about how to overcome and combat these issues.

Quality of language input plays an important role, especially in the early stages of childhood (Romanowski 2018: 146). Before deciding upon an NNFLP many parents consider whether their proficiency in the chosen language is high enough to pass on the language without errors being re-produced by the children (Liu & Lin 2019: 195). Whereas many speech utterances, L1-speakers as well as L2-speakers, do not fully comply to the norm, L1 speakers are more likely to have inconsistent mistakes rather than errors and are more likely to correct their slips immediately, which is often not the case in L2-speaker speech utterances (Nakamura 2015: 13). This might limit the children's ability to create a fully correct linguistic repertoire. Especially in those cases, the quantity of additional language input in order to achieve a successful language development is even more important than in L1 settings of multilingualism (Ah Young, Park and Lust 2018: 164f; Liu & Lin 2019: 198; Lee et al. 2015: 514, 516; Paradowski & Michałowska 2016: 53-55; Romanowski 2018: 146f; Grosjean 2010: 210). As already mentioned beforehand, additional modes of language input (audiobooks, TV, contact to peers, etc.) certainly help children to encounter language from various angles and hence also compensate issues that children might hear from their parents. Making oneself familiar with certain idiomatic language usage in order to provide additional authentic language input, can further avoid certain mistakes, which might occur from word-to-word translations of certain sayings or idioms (Liu & Lin 2019: 197). Nevertheless, even though some errors might be passed on or fluency and pronunciation accuracy might not

be fully given, this aspect is often not even targeted by the parents and the advantages multilingualism entails still compensate these issues (García Armayor 2019: 294).

It is an often-raised concern that emotions can only be expressed to a full extent when using one's L1 (Caldwell-Harris & Ayçiçeği-Dinn 2009: 193) and a sincere relationship between mother and child is easier established when conversing in an L1 (Paradowski & Bator 2018: 653). Hence, NNFLP is sometimes seen to restrict parents in showing their full emotional range when talking to their children. Often parents feel that neither the affection and love towards their children nor the authentic feel of disciplining their children can be expressed to an extent as it would be possible in a person's L1 (Kouritzin 2000: 314f). Further, Paradowski & Bator (2018: 653) found out that participants of their studies personally felt uncomfortable when using a non-native language. They stated that it is "a natural thing to communicate with the child in one's own mother tongue, as it creates a more genuine connection" (Paradowski & Bator 2018: 653). Often in such situations, the emotions of the person do not correlate with the output and do not feel authentic, which might even lead to a distant feeling towards one's own children (Kouritzin 2000: 314f). A common way of expressing love to children is through child-directed speech or the usage of lullabies and nursery rhymes. Even though there is a difference in emotions in child directed speech and rhymes in an L1 compared to an L2, Kouritzin (2000: 314) suggests making oneself familiar with child-directed medium in the chosen L2 in order to overcome the issues mentioned above, since said child-related mediums mostly have a positive effect on children and parents. Kouritzin's (2000) experience, however, is related to a language she chose in order to enhance her partner's L1 instead of choosing it due to her great affection for the language, outcomes and feelings might be different when deciding to integrate a language due to personal affection for a language.

Another aspect that is often the reason for deciding to raise children multilingually is the aspect of passing on parental culture (Lee et al. 2015: 511). Raising children with a non-native language, however, reduces this aspect on two levels. First, the parent using a non-native language might miss the chance to transfer their own culture, second, since the chosen language is not the L1 of the parent, this parent has not grown up with this language-related culture and can hence might not feel authentic enough to pass on the related culture. Both aspects, however, can be overcome by encouraging the other parent to convey the culture through the language used more strongly or by discussing the corresponding cultures theoretically. Contrary to the belief that culture may not be passed

on, other researchers have even argued that raising children with a non-native language is a good way to "deconstruct the close tie between national language and a national identity" (Liu & Lin 2019: 202) and thus creates a broader horizon to think in two languages, consider two underlying cultures and establish a cross-cultural competence (Liu & Lin 2019:202f), if the cultural practices are at least known on a theoretical level.

Hence, even though there are certain issues that are repeatedly brought up by society as well as by researchers, parents need to find a way to either deal with these issues or to circumvent them in the best possible way. Theory already offers possible solutions, which can be implemented differently in practice. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that, as already mentioned, English, which is the focus of this paper, has an extraordinary status, due to its international prominence.

5 Methodology

This paper aims to find out how families in Austria, more precisely in Vienna and Lower Austria, integrate English as a non-native language in their FLP and how they personally perceive the outcomes of their non-native FLP. To get an idea of the beliefs, conceptions, family background and whether children and parents rate their experience as advantageous or disadvantageous, the data in this thesis was collected qualitatively via semi-structured interviews. The researcher decided on a qualitative research design, since language acquisition is highly dependent on cultural and social influences and qualitative research establishes the opportunity to gain insight into these areas by investigating opinions on and emotions towards certain topics (Dörnyei 2007: 36, 38) and getting detailed information about people's experiences (Richards 2009: 183). In the case of this study, the conducted interviews should display details of how families integrate English usage in daily lives and how all parties included in this process perceive the outcomes of these approaches.

The interviews that were conducted within this research design were planned to be set in a natural environment, being the participants' homes. This should have enabled the researcher to additionally experience the language usage within the families without any adjustment to their daily family-situations, despite the researcher being present. Trying not to interfere extensively in the participants' environment and socialization is seen to be a positive aspect of qualitative data collection (Dörnyei 2007: 38). Data collection was planned to be conducted from late February until mid-April. However, the corona-pandemic arrived in Austria and social restrictions, becoming effective on

March 15th, 2020, were imposed by the Austrian government. Since these social restrictions prohibited social gatherings of people not living in the same household, three out of four interviews needed to be conducted via video-calls instead.

5.1 Interviews

Within the range of available qualitative research instruments, the researcher focused on semi-structured interviews for collecting the data for this study. Semi-structured interviews are a merge of structured (interviewer strictly adheres to prepared interview guide, which makes data of more participants easily comparable) and open/unstructured interviews (interviewee gets little guidance and should share experience openly) (Dörnyei 2007: 135). This results in an interview-design, in which topic areas that need to be covered are defined and merged into an interview guide (Richards 2009: 185f; Dörnyei 2007: 136). Interview guides should deal as a framework for the interview by consisting of some topic areas and questions that need to be covered but still leave room for adjustment, expansion or flexibility (Richards 2009: 185f; Riazi 2016: 161). The interviewer prepared a question-based as well as a topic-based interview guide for the interviews conducted for this thesis (cf. appendix 10.2-10-4).

The interview guide was designed according to Dörnyei's suggestions and started with so-called *first few questions*, which should create rapport and help the interviewee to adjust to the interviewer and feel competent, as well as confident and comfortable (2007: 137). Moreover, it is suggested to have rather open questions at the beginning of an interview, in order to keep interviewees open-minded towards questions instead of giving them the impression of having to answer briefly to closed questions (Richards 2009: 186). Hence, adults were asked some personal questions and were given the chance to tell some details about their family and children answered questions about their age, hobbies and favorite school subjects. The main part of the interview included question-categories suggested by Dörnyei (2007: 137f), namely questions about experience and behavior, opinions, feelings, knowledge and demographic information. So-called probes or follow-up questions were also necessary to ask for detailed information or clarify content (Riazi 2016: 162; Dörnyei 2007: 138). This was realized, as suggested by Riazi (2016: 291), by asking for examples, further explanation or simply asking *why* something is perceived or performed in a certain way. The interviewer also gave the interviewee the chance to ask further questions at the end of the interview, which should authorize "the interviewee to have to final say" (Dörnyei 2007: 138). Interview questions should be

based on the general suggestions for formulating questionnaire questions, which the researcher complied to. Hence, highly formal vocabulary and technical terms, loaded questions (e.g. *isn't it …?*) or negative constructions, including the word *no/not*, or double-barreled questions, which might open up two answers while only expecting one, were avoided as suggested by Dörnyei (2007: 108f, 138).

As usual in qualitative research designs, the interviews were recorded and subsequently transcribed and coded. In transcripts, the researcher brings the whole interview to paper verbatim, including "elements as hesitations, interruptions, laughter, and other nonverbal elements" (Magnusson & Marecek 2015: 74). Depending on the aim of the research and the chosen analysis, the researcher can decide how detailed the transcript should be (Kuckartz & Rädiker 2019: 42; Magnusson & Maracek 2015: 74). Since the analysis in this project focuses on the content and not on the formulation or word choice of the interviewees, the researcher decided to adapt the speech utterances to standardized English or German in the transcripts. The researcher, however, retained processes of thinking and indicated hesitation markers and, if necessary, for the purpose of comprehension, overlaps of speech. Moreover, backchanneling phrases from the interviewer's side, such as *mhm* and *okay*, were only transcribed if they occurred as a response at the end of the interviewees' turns. Non-vocal utterances and descriptions of situations were added in italics whenever it supported the content of speech. The decisions concerning the level of detail of the transcripts are based on Kuckarzt and Rädiker (2019: 42) suggestions. In order to have a high degree of anonymity, transcripts should not display names or places mentioned during the interview but should be substituted with pseudonyms or placeholders (Magnusson & Maracek: 75), which the researcher realized by using placeholders indicating the content of speech, such as [child 1], [surname] or [place].

Both transcribing the interview as soon after the interview as possible (Magnusson & Marecek 2015: 73) and fieldnotes taken during the data collection (Cardano 2020: 112) facilitate the transcription process, since additional information about the interaction (Magnusson & Marecek 2015: 73) or content that is hard to understand from the recording can be recalled easier (Kuckartz & Rädiker 2019: 41). Hence, the first two interviews were transcribed after both had taken place, whereas the second two interviews were transcribed immediately after conducting them, both transcribing processes were supported by the notes taken during the interview.

5.2 Interviewing Children

Since the research question focuses on the perception and emotions of both parents and children, the researcher also interviewed children. Collecting data directly from children gives the researcher the opportunity to get an insight into the children's own views and experiences about certain topics (Docherty & Sandelowski 1999: 177). Older children can be interviewed similarly to adults, except for the aspect that word-choice needs to be considered even more carefully, meaning that for example questions should be formulated even shorter and clearer than for adults. Interviewing young children, on the other hand, requires more expertise and especially the usage of child-friendly methodologies (Tay-Lim & Lim 2013: 66). From the age of two, children can share stories concerning their own personal experiences, if they have already acquired the capability of knowing and understanding the concept of *me* (Docherty & Sandelowski 1999: 178f). This does, however, not imply that children can be interviewed as adults from this age onwards. On the contrary, an important factor in researching children's opinions is the application of the appropriate research method (Tay-Lim & Lim 2013: 66), that children stay entertained during the research process and that the data collection process does not exceed the attention span of the individual child (Kirk 2007: 1257). Moreover, even though children are not legally responsible for themselves and parents give their consent for the children to take part in a study (Harden et al. 2000: 2.24), the researchers should ask the children themselves if they are willing to answer questions before starting the interview and should also repeatedly ask whether the child still wants to answer some questions (Kirk 2007: 1254).

It is of utmost importance that children feel comfortable in the interview-setting. Hence, it is advised that the interview takes place in a relaxed environment and that the child has the opportunity to explore the room and the entire setting, which should have as little possibilities of distraction as possible, before the interview is initiated (Villa & Reitman 2007: 8). Further, the wording of questions used is very important and dependent on the age group that is interviewed, e.g. asking about what happens *usually* instead of asking for specific past events (Docherty & Sandelowski 1999: 179). Similar to interviews with adults, the first few questions cater as an introduction in order to make children comfortable and to establish rapport (Villa & Reitman 2007: 9). Moreover, it is particularly important that questions that clearly imply and expect certain answers are avoided (e.g. why-questions connected to socially desirable answers) (Villa & Reitman 2007: 9f).

Beside the careful selection of words when interviewing children, it is also crucial that the interviewer asks one question after the other and avoids twofold questions. It is also advised to use open-ended questions that encourage children to share their view instead of using many closed questions (Tay-Lim & Lim 2013: 73; Villa & Reitman 2007: 9); nevertheless, some structure, established through the usage of direct questions, helps to guide children through the interview process (Villa & Reitman 2007: 9). Open-ended questions, such as eliciting thoughts or asking for clarifications, should show children the researcher's honest interest and hence encourage children to share their thoughts (Tay-Lim & Lim 2013: 77). Nevertheless, children sometimes seem to be more open about their experiences when they can narrate freely and only get little structure through a rather unstructured interview (Docherty & Sandelowski 1999: 182). Hence, if children start to share their experiences, there should be little intervention by the interviewer. However, if an open-ended question seems too complex to be answered or when a topic was precedingly defined by the parents as being delicate in the children's eyes, giving children a selection of answers via a multiple-choice questions might support children in their process to answer (Villa & Reitman 2007: 10). Sometimes, simply questioning children in a question-answer style does not work or is even advised against (Docherty & Sandelowski 1999: 178). Hence, so-called task-centered methods, including pictures, storytelling/-writing or sentence completion, should be used (Kirk 2007: 1256).

An ending, in which the interviewer summarizes the content of the interview and repeatedly assures the confidentiality, is seen as professional conclusion of each interview and should also be considered when interviewing children (Villa & Reitman 2007: 10). Moreover, giving the participants the chance to ask questions about the project is always advised in order to give the interviewee some power over the closure of the interview (Dörnyei 2007: 138).

The researcher based the children's interview questions on the suggestions above and formulated short questions. After telling the children about her research, the children were asked whether they want to answer the questions in English or German. Two children decided to have the interview in English, whereas two children answered the questions in German. The interview started with questions about their age, hobbies and favorite school-subjects and asking the children whether they are willing to answer a few questions about their language usage. Then the topic-related questions, which were semi-prepared on an interview guide, were asked. Some additional, spontaneous questions were added to elicit further information about content the children shared. At the end of the

interview, the interviewer encouraged children to tell a funny story about a language situation to close with a positive emotion. Additionally, the researcher asked whether the children also have questions to the interviewer. During the interview, the children were repeatedly asked whether they want to continue with the interview. For younger children, the researcher created storytelling tasks on basis of a wimmelbook and paired selected pages with questions including the word *usually* to elicit the children's experiences with language usage at home. This method was only used in one of the interviews but unfortunately did not elicit informative answers.

5.3 Language Portrait Silhouettes

Additionally to the interview, the researcher used language portrait silhouettes (LPS) to get information about the participants' language-repertoires. According to Martin (2012: 41), the German-Austrian German philologist Hans-Jürgen Krumm created the new method of using language portrait silhouettes to collect information about people's language repertoire. LPS are used to visually display the language repertoire of people by coloring in body silhouettes with all the languages that play a role in a person's life and investigate emotions connected to those languages (Busch 2012: 510f) and to investigate people's language awareness (Busch 2010: 286).

The participants determine themselves whether a language in their repertoire, including dialect or a self-created language, is represented in their drawings, where they are placed, which color is used and how they relate to each other (Busch 2012: 511). A brief instruction for the language portrait is: "Color in the figure with your languages. For each language, choose a different color." (Dressler 2014: 44). By letting the participants narratively talk about the drawing (Busch 2010: 286), information about the participant's language repertoire should be evoked. The language-to-body relation, which is established through particular placements of the languages within the LPS, often gives detailed information about the participant's relation to the language (Krumm 2003: 113).

The LPS-method was used as an icebreaker in the interviews and encouraged the participants to tell about their own and their family's languages and created rapport between the researcher and the participants. The instruction above was also used in the research project of this thesis. The addition "[e]xplain why you chose the colors you did and why you placed them where you did", as suggested used by Dressler (2014: 44), was only given after the participants finished their drawing. The LPSs were informative concerning the individuals' multilingual backgrounds, however, did not display

additional information than the answers given to the research-questions. Hence, the LPS of the participants will not be analyzed in detail or displayed within the paper.[4]

5.4 Pilot testing

Before the interviews were conducted, the researcher presented the interview guide to several university colleagues. They read through the interview guide, asked for clarification what exact outcome some of the questions intend and suggested further possible questions. On basis of this peer-evaluation, questions about further channels of language input (books, audio-files, games) were included in the questionnaire. Moreover, some individual words were changed within a question to extinct possible ambiguity or confusion.

In a next step, the edited interview guide was discussed with the supervisor of the research project. The supervisor suggested some word-modifications, especially in the children's interview guide (e.g. siblings → brothers/sisters), which were accepted and integrated. Moreover, some questions were removed after discussing the necessity and expressiveness thereof. The structure and order of the interview guide was kept. The supervisor also suggested to create a list of possible questions based on a wimmelbook to interview the young children, which was also implemented.

Afterwards, the interview guide was pilot tested by interviewing a non-expert. On basis of this pilot test, some questions were identified as asking for the same content. However, since each individual answers questions differently, these questions were kept, in order to secure the intended answer-area to still be covered by the questions. Additionally, an interview guide consisting of the topic areas that need to be covered in order to answer the research questions was constructed as additional aid. One positive aspect of qualitative research is that researchers are not fully tied to developed research instruments and can adjust them according to their needs after gaining new insights, or even while conducting an interview (Dörnyei 2007: 37). Since the first two interviews had similar outcomes concerning the depth and width of answers to certain questions, the interview guide was slightly adapted after the first two interviews, meaning that some questions were re-ordered and some sub-questions were deleted or newly formulated.

[4] Cf. appendix 10.6 for visualization of the LPS

5.5 Participants

Since qualitative research investigates people's experiences in detail (Dörnyei 2007: 36; Richards 2009: 183) and an analysis of this content is time-consuming, the number of participants is much smaller than the number of participants in quantitative research (Dörnyei 2007: 38). Therefore, outcomes of a qualitative research project are not representative for the whole population but give in-depth insight into personal experiences (Dörnyei 2007: 126).

In order to gain in-depth insights, a representative group of people, who are likely to show certain selected features that are investigated, needs to be selected (Magnusson & Maracek 2015: 35). In this case, a so-called purposive sampling, is the best way to find participants (Dörnyei 2007: 126). A further specification of purposive sampling is criterion sampling. Here, the researcher decides on certain criteria the participants need to fulfill before selecting participants (Dörnyei 2007: 128).

In the case of this study, the researcher investigated families that use non-native English as one of the languages in their FLP. A further criterion of the participants was their residence in Austria and one of the parents speaking German to the children. The researcher selected four families as participants for the research. The families consist of 4-5 family members, and 1-4 family members per family agreed to actively take part in the research. To keep the anonymization of the participants as high as possible, all names and places mentioned in the following are altered. Moreover, the participants' occupations are not stated in the data presentations. Since, according to theory, the educational status does play a certain role in the decision of raising children non-native multilingually (King & Fogle 2006: 695), it should be mentioned that in each family at least one parent, in some cases both parents, have a university degree.

The following table gives an overview of all family members included in the research and all participants that were actively interviewed and hence helped in answering the research-questions. Moreover, their FLP and the used languages are summarized in the last column. Key facts about the families will be explained below.

Table 1: Overview participants + languages spoken at home

Interview Nr.	**Family members**	**Active participants**	**FLP**
Interview 1 – family 1	Karin Selina Valentina (2,5 years) Noah (2,5 years) Jan (7 months)	Karin	**bilingual:** German non-native English
Interview 2 – family 2	Claudia Michael Lorenz (14 years) Max (9 years)	Claudia Michael Lorenz Max	**multilingual:** German Slovak non-native English
Interview 3 – family 3	Lydia Roland Melly (6 years) Roland's daughter Sophia (13 years)	Parent Melly	**bilingual:** German non-native English
Interview 4 – family 4	Elisabeth Erich Luisa (6 years) Nina (4 years) Michelle (1 years)	Elisabeth Erich Luisa	**bilingual:** German non-native English

5.5.1 Family 1

The first interview conducted for this research project was held at the participants' house on a Sunday morning at the end of February. It was the only interview for this project that could be held with participants and interviewer being physically at the same place. Family 1 consists of five people, Karin, her wife Selina and their three children, Noah and Valentina, 2,5 years old, and Chris, who is seven months old. Karin took part in the research project actively; Selina was present and added some comments but did not actively reply to the interviewer's questions. Whereas Karin speaks English to the children, Selina uses a mixture of standard German and Tyrolian dialect. After the interview with the participant, the interviewer tried to interview Noah and Valentina with the method using the wimmelbook. The children, however, were more interested in the book itself instead of answering questions of the researcher paired with the book and only answered with the word *yes*, no matter how the question was posed. As the answers were thus not focused enough and were not supporting the research, this interview-attempt was neither transcribed nor considered in the analysis.

5.5.2 Family 2

The second interview for this research project was scheduled for being at the participants' house mid-March. However, since the corona pandemic spread in Austria and restrictions towards social lives were made – all social contacts, apart from work and essential errands, were prohibited – the interview was conducted via WhatsApp-Video-Call instead. Nevertheless, the interviewer was able to record the interview and produce a transcript thereof. The researcher took more detailed field-notes to compensate possible issues that could arise, e.g. connection issues and possibly concomitant understanding-issues of the recording. The instructions for the language portrait and the form of consent were sent in advance, as with all families that were part of the research via online conferencing platforms.

Claudia, her husband Michael and their two boys Lorenz (14 years) and Max (9 years) are part of this family. Each family member was an active part of the interview and answered questions about their FLP. Claudia is originally from Slovakia and grew up speaking Czechoslovak and later went to a special primary school where German was taught. In high school, Claudia additionally learnt English and Russian and later in university, she also learnt French. One of her early occupations included translations in English, German and Slovak. Since she was not used to switching languages, she stated that she often talked a certain language to people who did not understand that language. This was also the case, when she met her husband Michael, who speaks German and English. After having certain instances of talking Slovak to Michael, the couple decided to talk English to each other, which was an L2 for both. When their first son was born, the parents kept English as their language of communication between each other, however, each parent spoke his/her own L1 to the child.

5.5.3 Family 3

The interview with family 3 was scheduled for a date before the corona pandemic arrived in Austria. Due to illness of the participants, the interview needed to be rescheduled and was later held via the online conferencing tool zoom, since the governmental restrictions were already enacted at that time. This family consists of the mother Lydia, her husband Roland, their daughter Melly, who is six years old and Roland's daughter (13), who does not live with the family. One parent, who asked to state *parent* when mentioning him/her in the analysis for the reason of increasing anonymity, and Melly were actively taking

part in the interview. To increase the reading flow, when talking about the participating parent, the personal pronoun *he* will be used, based on the language portrait chosen.

Both parents were born and raised in Austria. The parent taking part in the interview, henceforth also called participant, was raised in Carinthia and spoke Carinthian dialect when growing up. The participant, however, does neither see standard German nor Carinthian dialect as mother tongue, but the awareness of knowing both languages and being able to switch between these languages. English is the language the participant needs extensively in his professional life. This parent sees herself rooted in German. The participant did not give any detailed information about the partner's language background.

5.5.4 Family 4

The last interview for this research project was also held via zoom on a Sunday evening in late April. The family consists of five people, being Erich, his wife Elisabeth and their three girls, Luisa (6), Nina (4) and Michelle (1). The girls' names were carefully chosen by the parents, since it was important to them that all three names are pronounced the same in German and English, which are the two languages used in their bilingual FLP. Starting with the day that Luisa was born, Erich spoke entirely non-native English with the girls, while Elisabeth used exclusively German in her conversations with the children. All grandparents that are part of the children's life also speak German to the children. While the parents have complex conversations in German, also when the children are present, short conversations about everyday activities or short tasks are initiated by Erich in English. When the children are not present, however, the parents speak exclusively German to each other. After the interview with the parents, Luisa agreed to answer some questions as well. As it is very hard to gain children's trust via video-chat tools, the interviewer decided not to pose any questions to Nina (4) and Michelle (1), since both are still quite young.

6 Results

For the purpose of a more detailed analysis of the interviews, sub-questions for two of the initial research questions were formulated (Magnusson & Marecek 2015: 84). Thus, the following final research questions were used as basis for the analysis.

1. How do Austrian families integrate English as a non-native language in their children's bi- or multilingual upbringing?

1.a) Which approach of bi- and multilingual upbringing do parents take and why?

1.b) Why did parents decide to raise their children bi- or multilingually, integrating English as a non-native language?

1.c) Which modes of language input are used by parents and children?

1.d) In which situations do families adapt their chosen language policy?

2. How do parents and children perceive the outcomes of their non-native family language policy?

2.a) Which advantages and disadvantages do parents see in the usage of English?

2.b) Which advantages and disadvantages do children see in the usage of English?

3. Which aspects of their language policy would families change if they had the chance? In how far are they planning to change anything in the future?

In order to answer sub-questions and hence the initial research questions, each interview needs to be re-read and potential answers to the questions should be either excerpted (Magnusson & Marecek 2015: 86) or coded/categorized (Kuckartz & Rädiker 2019: 66f). The researcher decided to code the interview with the software MAXQDA. Thus, a color-code for each sub-question was created first and content from the interview suiting the code was then highlighted and assigned to the individual codes (Kuckartz & Rädiker 2019: 67). During the coding process certain additional codes were introduced in an inductive way in order to distinguish certain overlapping content in more detail. This process led to the codes presented in table 2 below. As shown in table 2, all deductive codes were based on the (sub-)research questions that were created after re-reading the interviews. While coding, the researcher realized that certain information is relevant but cannot be coded with any of the existing codes. Hence, the code *parent's language situation* was added since this information was important to understand the families' chosen FLP. Moreover, as the focus of the research is on English as non-native language, the researcher decided that the question *why English* was chosen would be interesting to answer, which is why this code was added, and the research question 1b was subsequently added. Even though this code often overlapped with the advantages the parents saw in their English usage, this code was kept, since certain distinctions were still apparent. The researcher initially also planned to include an individual code for *likes and dislikes* about

Table 2: Code manual

List of codes	Deductive or inductive	based on
Approaches	deductive	RQ 1a
Why English	inductive	emerging research interest
parent's language situation	inductive	language portraits
Modes of language input	deductive	RQ 1c
situations adapting language policy	deductive	RQ 1d
parent's: (dis)advantages	deductive	RQ 2a
difficulties	inductive	need to differentiate between disadvantages and difficulties in implementation
kids: (dis)advantages	deductive	RQ 2b
changes	deductive	RQ 3

the FLPs, however, the sections found on basis of this code were almost always identical with advantages and disadvantages, which is why the code *likes and dislikes* was merged into either *children's* or *parent's (dis)advantages*. The code *difficulties* was created inductively, after the researcher realized that difficulties in the approaches did not always correlate with *disadvantages*. However, there will, however, not be an extra section to analyze the difficulties encountered, since they usually are connected to the other RQs posed.

According to Kuckartz and Rädiker (2019: 69) it is also important to choose the color of the codes wisely in order to facilitate differentiation. Hence, the colors for the sub-questions of each of the initial research questions were selected to be within one color-family, showing the cohesiveness and simultaneously the distinctiveness of each individual code. The coding process in MAXQDA can simply be performed by a drag-and-drop system of either dragging a highlighted text passage onto the code or vice versa (Kuckartz & Rädiker 2019: 70). Sometimes, certain text passages contain an answer to more than one research question and hence one created code (Magnusson & Marecek 2015: 86). In such an instance, MAXQDA provides a function that allows to assign more than one code to an individual passage (Kuckartz & Rädiker 2019: 75).

Coded elements should then be excerpted and grouped in a separate file in order to gain a better insight into which selected passages are really representative as answer for the selected code (Magnusson & Marecek 2015: 86). The chosen coding software has an integrated function which facilitates this research steps by allowing the researcher to excerpt selected passages or all passages coded with a certain code (Kuckartz & Rädiker 2019: 78). Hence, subsequent research steps of commenting, summarizing or reflecting

certain interview passages in order to find patterns, similarities and/or differences that support or contradict the theoretical basis (Magnusson & Marecek 2015: 90, 92-94) were based on the excerpts created via the export-function of MAXQDA.

By applying the abovementioned process, all four interviews were analyzed on basis of the codes described above. This led to the insights presented below. The following subchapters (6.1-6.3) will descriptively display the families answers to the research questions and its sub-questions which were created after having led the interviews

6.1 Integrating non-native English in FLP

Each of the following sub-chapters will present the findings to one of the sub-questions, which will be presented through key words in the individual headlines. Chapter 7 will then compare the cases and discuss them in connection to existing theory.

6.1.1 Families' approaches

To find out, which approaches the families use to implement their NNFLP, the researcher asks about the language situation in the family. On basis of their language portraits, the families describe the languages used in their families and which role they play. The following table gives an overview of the languages spoken per family and which approach they use. The last column displays the emerging form of bilingualism, based on the age of onset.

Table 3: Overview of approaches taken and distinction based on age of onset

Family	Languages spoken	Approach	Age of Onset
Family 1	English (Karin) German (Selina)	OPOL instances of translanguaging (rather code-switching)	simultaneous bilingualism
Family 2	English (all together) German (Michael) Slovak (Claudia)	Parents started OPOL approach occasional listener principle subject-oriented principle time-oriented principle	parents targeted simultaneous bilingualism; both children developed simultaneous trilingualism

Family	Languages spoken	Approach	Age of Onset
Family 3	English (participant) German (participant & partner)	Translanguaging subject-oriented principle	simultaneous bilingualism
Family 4	English (Erich) German (Elisabeth)	rather strict OPOL subject-oriented principle	simultaneous bilingualism

As shown in the table above, family 1 has a bilingual FLP, using German and non-native English. Since Karin is a sign language interpreter and, according to her, studies show that children "develop the visual understanding of language earlier than the spoken one" (Interview 1, Karin: lines 65f), she used sign language a lot when the children were younger, and still uses it rarely, for example when she finds themselves in a loud situation. This, however, is not a big part of their FLP, which is why she sees the children as bilingual. Additionally to standard German, spoken by the participant's Tyrolian wife, there is some Tyrolian dialect included in the native German raising of the children. The children use Tyrolian dialect regularly, especially showing in certain sounds, such as "aui", which the participant sees as a typical Tyrolian sound. Karin speaks non-native English to the children and tries to adhere to English as much as possible. There was a phase when the two older children were younger in which the participant did not manage to stick to English and used German for a while. However, after some considerations, the participant resumed the non-native English language policy. Thus, despite the short pause in between, the age of onset points towards a simultaneous bilingualism.

The FLP is also influenced by grandparents and one great-grandmother. Even though the children's great-grandmother lived in England during world war two (WW2), she mostly speaks German to the kids, which the participants links to a possible trauma emerging from WW2 that could be connected to the English language in her case. Whereas the participant's mother speaks exclusively standard German to the children, the participant's father rarely includes English or French words additionally to dominant German in his speech directed towards the children.

Considering this information, family 1 follows an OPOL approach with some instances of translanguaging, e.g. the children's grandfather or certain situations (cf. chapter 6.1.4). When Karin encounters lack of vocabulary, it is mostly compensated by describing the word in English instead of using the German equivalent of it within speech. There are, however, rare instances of code-switching, in which one German word is inserted. Karin, however, tries to stick to the OPOL approach to a great extent since she

considers the consistency of sticking to one language important for a successful outcome. Moreover, after having been observing herself for two and a half years now, she sees herself more successful with the growth of the children and also sees more consistency in certain situations, e.g. when advising them or when being cross with them.

According to Karin, the aspect of translanguaging does not only occur on the parents' or grandparents' side but also sometimes on the children's front. Karin explains that the children usually have phases in which they speak more English and phases in which they prefer to speak German, the latter being the case at the time of the interview. Another observation Karin has made is that the children have certain words that they always say in either the one or the other language. Since this is not topic-oriented yet but rather limited to single words, this phenomenon can be labelled as code-switching. One example the participant gives was "Schau, ein Baby *like* Chris." (Interview 1, Karin: line 297). Moreover, during the interview both children who are already talking sometimes approach the participant and the researcher and show them and briefly explained their toys. These instances always happen in German, even though the interviewee usually speaks English to them. Later in the interview, however, the participant says that she has the feeling that the kids are able to differentiate the languages and also know which language they should speak to whom, however, they do not always adhere to this policy, especially in phases in which one language is highly dominant.

When Lorenz (family 2) was born, his parents Claudia and Michael decided on an OPOL approach integrating Claudia's L1 Slovak and Michael's L1 German and targeted a simultaneous bilingual upbringing. The language between the parents stayed English. When Lorenz was approximately three years old and the parents were conversing in English, he asked some questions referring to the parents' English conversation. Claudia and Michael then realized that their son understands English and the family decided to support their son's knowledge via English language input, resulting in a productive trilingualism. When their second son Max (9) was born, they encouraged English from the beginning, thus he was raised with a simultaneous trilingual FLP. Their current FLP can be labelled as being a mixed approach, since Claudia speaks Slovak to the children, Michael speaks German and English is encouraged when the whole family is communicating. The initial reason for encouraging English, however, derived from the occasional listener-oriented principle since Lorenz receptively internalized the language without any special support within his first few years of life. Moreover, since certain topics, e.g. their plans for the next day, are discussed together in English, at only certain

times when all family members are together, also the subject-oriented and the time-oriented principle play a certain role in their family. Translanguaging only occurs seldom from the parent's side (cf. chapter 6.1.4), but the children do sometimes code-switch, when they lack certain words in the middle of a speech utterance.

Even though, the parents try to encourage English in conversations of the whole family, they are not persistent when it comes to English replies from the children's side. The parents label their children's proficiency as "far over average […] compared to others" (Interview 2, Michael: lines 858f). Especially Claudia emphasizes that she is only persistent with Slovak, since this is the language, she believes could vanish the quickest from their children's language repertoire. Since she is the only person constantly speaking Slovak to the children and the environment is also mainly German-speaking, she tries to push the children more when it comes to their Slovak usage and practice than with the other two languages. For her, it is important that the kids do not lose their Slovak, since she sees it as basis for further language learning, e.g. Russian. When the boys speak or play with each other, they usually choose German as their language of communication. According to Lorenz and his mom, the boys, however, do switch to Slovak when their mom is around and "tr[ies] to force them to speak Slovak" (Interview 2, Claudia: lines 765f).

Family 3 has a simultaneous bilingual FLP, using German and non-native English. The participant speaks a mixture of German and English, the partner exclusively German to their daughter. According to the participant himself, he mixes the two languages "nach Lust und Laune [as the whim takes him]" (Interview 3, Participant: lines 761f). Sometimes, he repeats the spoken sentences in both languages. The ratio between English and German in the family is around 35% to 65%, while the participant would say he talks English and German to the same extent. The family compares their family conversations to a dance where everyone contributes individual aspects. Thus, the family follows a translanguaging approach. Since Roland's daughter Sophia does not live with the family, no further information about the language usage with her is given.

Whereas the participant mixes the languages or utters speech acts in both languages successively, daughter Melly prefers to speak German. According to herself, and her parent, she does understand both languages equally well, and has both languages in her head most of the time; however, when it comes to language output, Melly usually chooses German. The participant mentions that there are certain topic specific speech acts, which Melly usually only utters in English, e.g. motivating or cheering up her parents. The

participant explains this phenomenon by his own usage of such phrases in English in professional context and his transfer of these phrases to their daily lives, which makes Melly also adopt this practice. Hence, additionally to the translanguaging approach, the family's language policy shows certain instances of the subject-oriented principle.

Carinthian dialect is also part of the family's FLP, but only in certain selected periods of time. The participant uses Carinthian only to either intentionally show a gap between a standard German interlocutor and himself, or in order to familiarize Melly with the language he grew up with. Furthermore, the participant sees Carinthian dialect as his emotional language; however, he also mentions that it never occurs uncontrolled. Melly repeatedly refers to Carinthian dialect herself and tells the interviewer that she currently likes Carinthian most. However, she and her participating parent would not see Carinthian dialect as a big part of their FLP.

Before starting the simultaneous bilingual FLP with English as non-native language when their oldest daughter was born, Elisabeth (family 4) informed herself about bilingual upbringing which led them to the decision of each parent speaking one language to the children exclusively. Erich found Elisabeth's suggestion legitimate, as he thinks children need the consistency to adjust to one language during a conversation. Both parents also stick to their chosen language towards their own children when other people or friends of the girls are around. However, they do adjust to the language of the surrounding people in direct conversations to them. Especially the children's friends are often curious about English and want the father to speak English to them, which is also encouraged by most of the parents of the children's friends.

Even though the family tries to stick to the OPOL approach as much as possible, sometimes code-switching occurs in the children's linguistic output. While the children speak mostly German to each other, the family has observed certain instances of code-switching with each other or also towards the parents. One example the father mentions is that when he gives a task to the children, which is connected to a mother-child conversation, it might happen that the child tells her mother the task in German but includes English chunks. One example for such an instance might be "Mama, kannst du Papa bitte einen *pen* geben!"[5]. Whereas most linguistic output of the children, especially when longer and syntactically complex, is produced in German, the children also have certain topic areas, which they talk about in one of the languages, e.g. playing house in

[5] This example is adapted and did not occur verbatim in the interview, since the family asked the researcher not to quote them directly

German or counting in English, resulting in a subject-oriented principle on the children's side. The family's aim of including English in their upbringing is to give their children a head start in languages and that they understand and enjoy the language, and not to raise the children natively and label English as their mother tongue. Hence, both parents also label German as their own as well as their children's mother tongue. Erich also believes that the children themselves rather see German as their mother tongue since it is natural for them to speak German to everybody, apart from himself. Nevertheless, the parents are convinced that, even though the children's productive proficiency is lower in English than in German, their receptive skills, especially listening since reading is not part of their language implementation yet, is on the same level in both languages, no matter how long the utterances are.

6.1.2 Reasons for choosing English

One of the questions investigates the reasons, why the families chose English as a non-native language in their FLP, and whether the reasons are connected to English being an international language.

Karin's (family 1) answer to that question is slightly hesitant but she then says that she chose it because it was the first L2 she learnt in school and that the basics are rather easy. However, she would have chosen a different language if her first L2 had been a different one. She then continues with the explanation of English being an international language. Another important aspect for Karin for choosing English was that the theoretical basis of English is also taught in school and hence is supported by the environment later in life.

In family 2, the reasons for choosing English as additional language to German and Slovak was a different one than in any other family. Since the parents used English as the language of communication between each other, their first child was in constant, but rather passive, contact to English and gained receptive knowledge. When the family realized that their son understood English from listening to the parents regularly, they decided to support English as a further language in their FLP. Even though there were no intended reasons for choosing English in the beginning, both parents do see English as an international language and even label the language as an important tool. They further acknowledge the importance of English with the words "basically, you need it daily" (Interview 2, Claudia: lines 711f).

Family 3 also focuses on the internationality of English when explaining why they decided to include English in their FLP. The participant sees English as the main language

in the world and as a tool that the world is growing together increasingly. Moreover, since English is only positively connoted for the participant and quickly generates positive emotions, he wants to pass this on to his daughter. Another reason for including non-native English in their FLP is connected to increased opportunities. While also referring to the child having broader perspective and more opportunities later in life, ordinary aspects, such as having a broader access to music, games or educational YouTube videos, are also included in the participant's reasoning of having increased opportunities. The participant also evaluates English resources of fun and education as more professional and more up to date. Hence, the reasons for including English in family 3's FLP are of professional as well as of practical nature.

One reasons why the parents of family 4 chose to raise their children with two languages despite their own monolingual family background is that they hope that the exposure to two languages early in their children's lives makes them more aware of the fact that more languages exist. The family hopes that this enhances the girls' openness towards languages in general and open towards learning further languages. Additionally, Elisabeth believes that the early introduction of a language can be integrated through playful learning instead of having to study it extensively later. Furthermore, Erich and Elisabeth see English as a language that cannot be avoided in our daily lives, e.g. as language of communication in nearly every vacation destination or as a medium to get information on the internet. In order to facilitate these aspects for their children they want to give them a head start in English. Since English is also taught in school, the parents also see the early introduction of this language as a facilitation for their later school routine. Having basic knowledge in English gives them the opportunity to concentrate on language aspects that are difficult for them or even to concentrate on other subjects. Moreover, they label English as important for later life decisions, such as university, where Erich himself saw the importance of knowing English for understanding research articles, or living abroad for some time.

6.1.3 Modes of language input

According to theory, the amount and variation of language input is highly important when raising children multilingually (cf. chapter4.1). Thus, the researcher also investigated which modes of language input, additionally to parental language input, are used to support their children's non-native English, but also the other languages spoken in the family.

Even though the children in family 1 are still too young to read or write themselves, the family already relies on such language input in form of books. The family is also in possession of English sing-along books, which come with audio files and are used regularly by the children. Whereas the children are allowed to have unlimited access to books and audiobooks, the family tries to restrict the monitor-time of the children, due to their young age. However, whenever the children are allowed to watch TV, short series or videos are watched exclusively in English. Another form of additional language input the family tries to include in their non-native upbringing is communication with international friends or whenever possible with English native speakers. According to Karin, the main reason for this is to compensate errors she and the children would internalize otherwise. So far, the frequency of such conversations is not as high as the family wishes.

In family 2, all three languages of their trilingual FLP are supported by additional language input. One of the most important aspect for Claudia is that both children read in all languages. As soon as the family realized that Lorenz understood English, the family started to encourage English by borrowing books and watching English cartoons. Both children read English books; Lorenz is practicing it alone, while Max still gets help from his mother. Nevertheless, Lorenz mentions that he prefers German books, since he can also read longer books and does not have to rely on translations when there are complicated words. To keep the children's Slovak on a solid level, Claudia has also been borrowing Slovak books from the library and has read them to the kids, from a very early age onwards. She also encourages the boys to read in Slovak themselves, but especially Lorenz became rather reluctant recently. Max started to read in Slovak last summer and Claudia is convinced he can do it, but she rates his reading pace as slower than a native speaker's.

Each of the languages is practiced to a certain extent in written form as well, Slovak, however, is not included as much as Claudia would aspire. Whenever she texts the boys on WhatsApp, she writes the messages in Slovak. Since Max only got his cellphone recently, and has not had many opportunities to practice yet, he still replies in German. Claudia states that before that she never bothered to introduce Slovak writing to the children. Lorenz on the other hand does sometimes reply in Slovak, but according to Claudia his replies are rather short and mostly only consist of the Slovak equivalent of *yes* or *no*, if the message requests a longer reply, Lorenz usually calls. Lorenz, on the other hand, tells the interviewer, that he does reply in Slovak, but most of the time his

mom corrects him. Written German output is produced regularly, since they live in a German environment, go to a German school and the father texting them in German only. Additionally to what Lorenz has to do for school, he sometimes also writes English text messages with friends from England. Other than that, however, he does not practice written English for private matters. Max only has one lesson of English in school per week; however, he does sometimes practice English writing himself, because he wants to know how certain words are spelled, when he hears them on his audiobooks. He does not have any written English correspondence with friends yet.

Especially Max also likes to listen to audiobooks and would therefore also rate listening as his strongest skill in English. What he really enjoys about audiobooks is "when you hear some funny words like fruit and […] they say that funnily and I like that" (Interview 2, Max: lines 325f). Lorenz mostly gets his audio-input from YouTube channels or English movies. However, if he finds a movie to be too complicated to understand, he changes the audio to German but turns on English subtitles as an aid. The parents also mention that they sometimes watch English movies together with the kids, but mostly only when they know the movie in German already, since the whole family sometimes battles to understand everything in the movies. When Max was younger, he also watched Slovak movies, but he does not watch them anymore nowadays. Lorenz does not share anything about Slovak movies.

When it comes to games, the situation is different for each child. Whereas Lorenz does not really play any online games, Max does have certain games on his phone. He mentions that only two games are in German, all other games are in English, none of them in Slovak. Hence, Max has some additional language input in the form of video games. Lorenz states that most board games he plays are in German, and so does Max. The parents, however, acknowledge that even though the games itself are in German, they use a mixture of all three languages when talking to each other during the game. Even though, the board games themselves do not give them additional language input in English or Slovak, the language output produced during these timespans happens in all three languages.

One additional language input Melly (daughter of family 3) is most proud of, is her English class, which she has been attending since she was half a year old. She also likes English lessons in kindergarten, which are held by a native speaker. Her participating parent also mentions that Melly is proud that she is the only one who can speak longer

utterances with the native speaker and that she also likes it when she is the only one who knows the English songs sung in kindergarten.

Since the family travels frequently, due to the participating parent's profession, Melly also has additional language input in the form of conversations to ELF- and native-speakers. Since the parent's job abroad is childcaring in a camp, Melly can constantly accompany her parent and hence overhears many English conversations throughout the day. In these camps, Melly also has some international friends, with whom she can practice her spoken English. The parent also says that she wants to continue this practice as help for Melly's English, as soon as COVID-19 has passed. Additional audio-input is also used in form of YouTube channels and short movies. The family has a restricted screen-time for their daughter, but any video, movie or animal documentary is watched in English. Moreover, most songs during Melly's childhood were and still are in English since the participating parent finds these songs more entertaining herself than German nursery songs and rhymes.

Right now, Melly sees reading as one of her favorite activities and can already read in German, as well as a lot of words in English. Usually, she reads together with a parent, but some of her favorite books she also tries to read alone. If she is not sure about the words, she infers the meaning from the pictures and the context she understands. The girl is also very eager when it comes to writing. Even though she does not go to school yet, she is already capable of writing certain words, in German as well as in English. English example words she gave, were *human*, *cupcake* and *unicorn*. Whereas the family's board games are usually in German, they try to include English phrases during the game, e.g. "it's your turn" (Interview 2, Participant: line 194) or "loser, loser, loser" (Interview 2, Melly: line 197).

Family 4 also relies on additional English language input in the form of contact to native speakers, English books, TV shows and games. Since the rare visit of friends' US-relatives is the only native-speaker contact the family has in Austria, in the previous years the family selected their vacation destinations according to the countries' national languages. The father sees this as important since it shows the girls that the language is spoken by people beyond their father, and simultaneously gives them the opportunity to practice the language by playing with native English children. The family wants to continue with this practice when the corona pandemic is defeated. To overcome the lack of native English friends in their surroundings, the family provides additional English language input via reading books or having English tip-toy books, which interact with the

children. Since none of the three children can read yet, the parents read the books to the children. Another mode of language input for the children is the TV. The children are allowed to watch some series or easy cartoons in English. Moreover, the family puts value on English games, such as boardgames or other toys, e.g. toy phones that speak English. Unfortunately, there are no English lessons in kindergarten and there is also no bilingual or English-speaking kindergarten in the family's area, which would both support the English FLP. Written language production is so far only of interest for Luisa, since the other two girls are too young. As she is only learning how to spell easy words, such as her name, the family has not promoted English writing extensively yet.

6.1.4 Adapting FLP

One question of interest was whether the families adapt their language policy in certain situations. Since theory shows that especially emotional situations sometimes spontaneously trigger someone's L1 (Caldwell-Harris & Ayçiçeği-Dinn 2009: 193; Kouritzin 2000), the researcher wanted to know whether this is also the case in the families under investigation. Moreover, as already mentioned in chapter 4.2.3, using an L2 in public when talking to one's own children sometimes causes uncomfortableness and sometimes leads to adapting language usage (Paradowski & Bator 2018: 653). Hence, this aspect was also investigated.

As already mentioned before, Karin (family 1) had phases in the past in which she adapted the language policy and switched back to German for longer periods of time. However, she stopped doing that since she finds the consistency of sticking to English very important. Karin tells the researcher that nowadays exceptions of her "English only" policy are, inter alia, made in dangerous situations, in which the affect controls the language situation and German is unconsciously chosen. However, usually, the participant realizes the language-switch and repeats the sentence in English. Her wife confirms this occurrence of changes in their FLP. Very rarely, Karin also repeats an English sentence in German. This, however, only happens, when she is "really, really angry" (Interview 1, Karin: line 460) with the children and has to utter the same instruction in different ways in English, but the children do not react to it.

Another reason why family 1 might change the FLP spontaneously is when Karin does not feel comfortable in the presence of other people or does not want to make surrounding people feel uncomfortable due to lack of understanding the language. However, since consistency is rather important for the mother, she always regrets these instances of switching to German. The last instance Karin mentions as a change in their

FLP is connected to correctness of language. She explains that currently the two older children have issues with articles in German. Since it is important for her that the kids use them correctly, she repeats the child's German sentence with the correct article, especially when her partner is not around.

Family 2 (trilingual family) also has certain situations in which their FLP is slightly adapted. Whereas Michael usually sticks to German, when he is alone with the kids, and English when everybody is around, Claudia does make some exceptions of her Slovak. When friends are around who can speak English but not Slovak, Claudia might switch to English when talking to her kids. However, she usually briefly explains their FLP to new friends, and sticks to Slovak with certain phrases, e.g. telling the kids to come to dinner or short commands. Moreover, she sticks to Slovak when friends are around, whenever she scolds the children, since she does not want to make the children feel uncomfortable in front of her friends. Further changes also occur when friends of the children are with the family. With friends of her older son, Claudia switches to English when talking to her son in order not to exclude the others. With friends of the younger son, she switches to German for the same reason.

Rather unconscious and spontaneous changes in the children's language usage sometimes happen on the level of code-switching. Lorenz (14) mentions that he sometimes inserts single words he is currently lacking in another language. As example he says that he once used the word *cucumber* within a Slovak word, because he lacked the Slovak equivalent. If he lacks English words, he usually only replaces them by the German vocabulary but never with the Slovak one. He never does any code-switching when the main language of the conversation is German. Max says that the most common code-switching in his speech is that he uses the Slovak term for *yes*, when he speaks to his friends instead of saying it in German. Since most of his friends do not speak Slovak, he then repeats it in German.

Family 3 usually follows a translanguaging approach. The participating parent says that he applies that approach inside and outside their house and that he usually does not make any adaptations in this FLP.

Erich (family 4) only recalls a few instances in which he spoke German to the children, when other people were around, but he emphasizes that he always tries to stick to English. This does also become apparent, when his children ask him for the word for a certain object, e.g. a certain flower, in German. In this case, the father inserts the German word like a quotation in an English sentence and adds what this object is called in English.

Elisabeth also always tries to stick to German; however, she has observed some rare instances of including English words in their conversations with children. The father also sticks to English in emotional or dangerous situations, such as soothing the kids, scolding them or warning them when they are about to run towards a street. In the past, he even observed himself spontaneously reacting in English in such situations when speech was directed towards other children. Speaking English to other children also repeatedly happened to Erich when starting to casually chat with children. If not encouraged by these children's parents, he switches to German as soon as he realizes. The family explains this to themselves with having established a certain routine of using English in their daily lives, since the family has been practicing this approach for over six years now. Erich is, however, curious whether and how this will change when the children are older. Taken these aspects into account, the parents follow a rather strict OPOL approach and try to not mix the languages. If the languages are mixed, especially in the father's case, the mixing is explicitly stated by referring to both languages.

Another situation in which family 4's FLP might be changed for a short period of time is when the children want one of the parents to read a book to them in the opposite language. Erich, however, does have the feeling that the girls start to differentiate and tend to assign the German books to Elisabeth and the English books to Erich. When asking Erich whether he sometimes needs to remind his children to speak English, he negates the question, even though the children tend to only reply in English when the answer consists of only a few words. For Erich it is not of highest priority that the children always reply in English, but that they enjoy using the language.

6.2 Perceived outcomes of non-native FLP

The second research question investigated the outcomes of the families' non-native FLP. To explore the families' perceived advantages and disadvantages, several questions concerning this aspect were posed. Since the participants mostly did not differentiate between likes and advantages and dislikes and disadvantages, these two initially established categories were merged after coding the interviews and observing many overlapping interview segments.

6.2.1 Parents' perspective on their non-native English in FLP

The following paragraphs will display the parents' answers to questions concerning (dis)advantages, (dis)likes and difficulties in their implementation of their non-native FLP, including English as the non-native language.

With regards to advantages of including English as a non-native language in the children's upbringing, Karin (family 1) first only refers to the mere advantage of knowing more than one language. However, later in the interview she also mentions that she likes English because it is international and the basics are rather easy to learn. She then repeatedly talks about that knowing English should facilitate certain aspects of their children's later lives. One aspect that she also mentions here is that the children will "have it easier in school" (Interview 1, Karin: line 228). Hence, by including English in their children's daily lives and raising them with an additional language, Karin sees the advantages in school and international communication later in their lives, as side effect for her initial reason of having an additional language in their repertoire.

As already mentioned in section 6.1.2, for Karin it was important to choose a non-native language which is also taught in school. Her emphasis on this topic also becomes apparent when she states that one disadvantage of passing on a non-native language might be that the children internalize some mistakes or errors which might be hard to overcome later. In order to compensate this issue before the children's school enrollment, the participant and her wife do not only rely on their own language input but also include further sources. Moreover, she mentions that sometimes lack of vocabulary leads to short pauses in her speech act, which she acknowledges would not be there if she spoke her L1 with the children. However, this mostly happened early in their non-native FLP, especially with child-related vocabulary, which she always tried and still tries to compensate with describing the word instead of replacing it with the German equivalent, whenever possible.

A further minor disadvantage Karin sees in the non-native upbringing of her children is connected to the culture languages usually entail. Since the family does not live in an area where the corresponding culture is lived, she states that she would not feel authentic to pass on culture connected to the English language by actively practicing it. As she adds that her family does not support all aspects of Austrian culture either, she also suggests that theory about culture can be discussed with the children to compensate the lack of practically living certain traditions. Apart from these aspects, the family does not see any disadvantages that could arise from the non-native English upbringing of their three children and rather focuses on the positive aspects their FLP entails.

One major advantage family 2 sees in their trilingual FLP, is the knowledge of more than one language, English especially for international communication and as a "basic requirement" (Interview 2, Michael: line 699) for even daily activities, and Slovak also

as facilitation of communication in certain countries. When referring to English, Claudia mentions that the importance of knowing English starts with small aspects, such as supermarket aisle descriptions that are labelled in English instead of the native languages in some countries. Considering the advantages of knowing Slovak, the family mentions that they usually encourage their sons to speak Slovak when they are in the Czech Republic or in Croatia. Both parents see this as a win-win situation of easier communication abroad and simultaneously a language practice. Moreover, Claudia sees Slovak as potential help for future language learning of the boys, since the basis of certain languages, the mother mentions Russian as example, is similar.

Another major advantage Claudia sees for the children is that by knowing and growing up with more than one language, the children are able to switch between the languages easily. Since this was an aspect she struggled with herself when she was younger, it was important for her that her children will not have the same issue. She thinks that this is a good training for the children's brain and that the sooner they get used to it, the easier it is for them whenever they need it later in live. She thinks this already starts with the children's ability to know which language to speak to which parent but will go further and help them later in their professional lives.

Beside all the advantages family 2 sees in their trilingual FLP, they also acknowledge certain issues and disadvantages. One issue the family mentions is that even though the children can speak three languages, they might not be perfect in all of them. Since Claudia is the only regular Slovak interlocutor, she feels that especially the children's Slovak is weaker in comparison to the other two languages. Moreover, all four family members do state that the children's writing skills in Slovak are rather low. Apart from these disadvantages, however, the family is sure that "the disadvantages are minimal. […] The advantages are definitely higher." (Interview 2, Claudia: lines 759f).

Family 3 mainly focuses on the advantages of their non-native FLP and even tells the researcher that they see no disadvantages. One of the advantages the family sees is connected to the reasons why they chose to include English in their FLP in the first place. The participant sees English as basis for increased opportunities and for having a broader perspective in life. Moreover, the implementation of English is also tightly connected to practical and convenient reasons in this family. Since the family travels frequently professionally, the participant is sometimes in need for childcare abroad or needs to leave Melly with a colleague for some minutes. A further convenient side-effect the family mentions is connected to orientation on airports or in hypothetical situations in which the

child gets lost on an airport. The family finds these mentioned aspects easier as Melly is able to communicate in English. Another advantage the family references is the increased entertainment offers the child has, especially on the internet, including educational videos or YouTube channels. Especially when it comes to educational videos, the participant sees the wider offer as advantageous, since there is the opportunity to choose those videos and materials that are more professional, more creative and created more recently.

Even though, the family does not see any disadvantages, there are certain difficulties that arose in the past. The participant mentions that he had some issues with child-related vocabulary in English, e.g. *soother*, when Melly was younger. Moreover, he sometimes wishes that he would know even more vocabulary, but does not really pressure himself when it comes to that aspect. Similarly, more intense background knowledge about certain English and American rituals and traditions would be desirable for the participant. However, as a solution, he refers to the opportunity of exploring them together with Melly. Further, the family does give Melly some personal responsibility in that matter and would support any interest that Melly builds by researching the subject together. Nevertheless, the family stresses that these minor disadvantages or rather difficulties can be accepted when considering the advantages, the FLP entails for them.

Family 4 sees similar aspects as advantageous. Erich and Elisabeth are also convinced that English is needed regularly in adults' daily lives. Hence, their early introduction of English in their children's lives should entail educational and professional advantages for their children. Elisabeth mentions that especially when they learn English in school, they can already focus on aspects they might be struggling with, instead of having to learn certain vocabulary. Moreover, if the children need English later in their higher education or are planning to live abroad they will have the benefit of knowing English as a medium of communication outside school already, which is often a pre-requisite of studying at university or living abroad.

Being abroad in English-speaking countries should, according to Erich, also show the children that the language is spoken actively outside their home, which should motivate the children's curiosity for the language and the culture. The family also refers to the cultural aspect of knowing a further language. Erich is certain that his children can experience languages and their culture more intensively, especially when abroad or in communication with native speakers. Moreover, with the early introduction of English, the family wants the children to be open for further language learning and for further cultures.

The only concern of the family initially was whether the children will be able to acquire German easily, when they have input in two different languages and hence have less time of German language exposure. Nevertheless, these concerns vanished quickly since they have been observing satisfactory development in both languages. Moreover, before starting the process, some friends of the family had asked them whether they were not afraid of transmitting certain language features incorrectly, but Elisabeth argued against these concerns, since she also believes that parents do pass on errors in their own mother tongue to children and it does not inhibit their development. Moreover, the family puts emphasis on the children's ability to converse in the language and enjoy the process, instead of having native proficiency. Hence, the family sees more advantages than disadvantages in their non-native bilingual upbringing.

6.2.2 Children's perspective on their non-native English in FLP

The researcher also asked the children about their likes and dislikes about the language usage and whether they see their multilingual upbringing as advantageous. Since the children of family 1 were too young to answer the questions, no information about them can be given here.

Lorenz (14) (family 2) already acknowledges similar advantages of knowing more than one language as the adults. One advantage of knowing English Lorenz mentions refers to the aspect of easier communication around the world. He mentions that English is understood around the world and that even daily activities, such as shopping in a foreign country, can be facilitated by knowing English. Moreover, he sees it as a huge advantage that he can speak three languages, since this might be a benefit for future jobs. He also refers to the fact that with knowing Slovak, he can also understand people who speak similar languages, for example Croatian or Polish, which he really likes. His brother Max (9) mostly focuses on the current practical aspects of knowing three languages. One aspect he highlights about knowing three languages is the secret communication with friends. He states that he and some of his friends can converse in English or Slovak without some of the other children around them understanding them, which he really likes. He also acknowledges that with knowing Slovak, he can converse with Polish friends without issues in understanding.

When asking Melly (6) (family 3) about her likes and dislikes, she states that she really likes singing, counting and especially reading in English. She likes playing games in English and mentions that in the past, the family played certain board games in English every day. Moreover, she really likes going to English class and claims that she even

remembers her first time being there, even though she was only 6 months old at that time. The participating parent also tells the researcher that Melly is usually very proud when she encounters children who are older than her but who do not speak or know English yet. Moreover, the participant states that the girl enjoys that she is the only one who can properly speak to the native speaker who teaches the English lessons in kindergarten, the girl, however, does not refer to this herself. Even though Melly does not always like speaking English, in total she does find it great that she is able to speak more than one language.

Luisa (6) (family 4) tells the researcher that she likes both German and English and that she has no issues understanding her father. She likes certain boardgames the family plays in English but rather sticks to German when playing Playmobil or playing house. She also states that she usually talks German with her siblings and only has German-speaking friends. However, she sometimes speaks English to her best friend and teaches her certain words, which the friend also remembers and tells her parents at home. She does not mind that her friends do not understand her father sometimes. After briefly discussing this matter with her dad, she narrates that she even likes to have, as they called it, a secret language with her dad. Luisa likes counting in English, similarly to her sister Nina, and likes naming all kinds of fruit in English, which are both things she can do best in English, according to her. Even though she likes English and knowing different languages, she mostly speaks German.

6.3 Changes

In the end of the interviews, all four families were asked whether they would make any changes if they started the whole process again or whether they were planning any changes about their FLP in the future. The answers to this research question will be presented hereafter.

In general, family 1 is happy about their FLP. Even though the children's current productive usage of English is limited and not as present as their German, they are happy with their recent outcomes and are certain that the children's receptive knowledge is on the same level in both languages. Karin beliefs that their children's German is currently dominant because German is more present than English in their daily lives and she is sure that "if the environment in general was more English, they would switch to English quickly" (Interview 1, Karin: lines 374-376). The family is working on overcoming the issue of lack of native-speaker language input but sees this as an ongoing process. In order

to expose the children to a higher number of face-to-face conversations with native speakers, the family intends to spend and live some time abroad. Two options that the family has been considering are working and living in England for a year, which the participant currently sees as complicated with Brexit, or working on a farm in Ireland over the summer. To facilitate this matter for all family members, the family is also willing to postpone this aspect to a later stage when the children are older. Even though Karin finds the children still too young to rate whether the process is going as expected, she would choose the same approach again, apart from the one phase in which she spoke German to the kids. Additionally to not wanting to rate the outcomes yet, Karin also states the linguistic outcomes are not the most important aspect for her, by saying: "for me, it doesn't matter which language they speak, I think they will develop just fine." (Interview 1, Karin: lines 518-520).

Family 2 has been practicing their FLP for many years now. With regards to English, one big change Claudia would make if she could start over again is the active support of English from Lorenz's birth onwards. Since the family only realized their son's ability to understand English from being an occasional listener in his first three years of life, the family did not encourage his English usage until then. Moreover, as additional language input in both languages not spoken by the closer environment, hence English and Slovak, she thinks that she should have not allowed the kids to watch cartoons in German but rather in any of the other two languages from an early age onwards. Especially with regards to Slovak, since she is the only active input for Slovak, additional input would have been helpful. Hence, she also suggests that a Slovak summer-camp in order to practice their Slovak actively and also with a wider range of topics would have supported the children's Slovak. Claudia is certain that this would have made the boys more proficient in this language and their horizon of topics and vocabular broader, since the topics they discuss at home are usually rather limited. Due to this reason, Claudia also loses certain Slovak terms which she has not been using for a longer period of time. Hence, more additional language input in the two weaker languages, but especially in Slovak, is the biggest change she would make if they could start over again.

Most changes family 3 refers to are connected to future changes the family is targeting. One change that should support Melly's English proficiency in the future is connected to living abroad for some time or, optionally, to travel more into English speaking countries. The parent acknowledges the native-speaker input of Melly's English teacher in kindergarten and in the English course but also wishes for additional native-

speaker input in the form of friends. However, he does see this as an ongoing process and is certain that they will have chances to increase their native-speaker input. Apart from that, the family is happy with their implementation and will continue to practice their current FLP.

Viewing the whole process of the non-native bilingual upbringing of their children, Erich and Elisabeth (family 4) would mostly stick to their implementation if they had the chance to start again. Erich's initial skepticism of the children not learning German properly if they integrate two languages from birth onwards, has not been confirmed, according to him but shows consistency. They already see positive outcomes of their language usage, since linguistic output is increasing in both languages, and they feel like the girls profit from knowing two languages. Moreover, the parents are always happy when they see that their girls are actively interested in gaining knowledge in English, which is especially increasing with Luisa and to a certain extent also with Nina. Moreover, Elisabeth sees some profit for herself, since her personally rated lower English skills also improve by listening to her husband and the kids regularly. If the family had greater influence on the environment, they would wish for a bilingual kindergarten or school, or better infrastructure concerning languages at their place of residence. However, they try to adapt their environment as much as they can. Moreover, sometimes the family has minor issues with child-related vocabulary, such as *bibs* or *diaper*, or not being able to convey certain English sayings authentically. Nevertheless, all things considered, the family is very satisfied with their implementation, the fact that they stuck to their FLP also in difficult situations and especially with the positive outcomes they already observe in their children's language development.

7 Discussion

After having presented the results and answers to the research questions descriptively, this chapter aims to compare and discuss the findings. Hence, the following pages summarize the families' views on their approaches, implementations and perceived (dis-)advantages and connects these insights gained with each other and compares it to earlier research concerning NNFLP and multilingualism.

7.1 Bilingual without two mother tongues

One interesting fact that is not connected to any of the research questions but is mentioned by family 1 and family 4 is that the parents do not perceive English as being a native

language or mother tongue of the children. In a next step, however, the families acknowledge the children's bilingual language proficiency. This shows that the families differentiate these terms and do not think that bilingualism is closely tied to growing up with two mother tongues, but rather with two languages. Additionally, neither of the parents views him- or herself as proficient as native speakers, but still proficient enough for passing the language on to the next generation.

Moreover, possible disadvantages of transferring errors or mistakes to the next generation are not perceived as being a major issue by any of the parents since all families try to compensate this by using additional sources of language input. Family 4 even acknowledges certain inconsistencies in nearly every persons' mother tongue and does not see certain mistakes in language production as negatively influencing the children's language development. Since, according to the family, having instances of errors and mistakes in the mother tongue does not severely inhibit the children's general language development, having certain mistakes/errors in L2 production is also not seen to negatively influence the L2 development. Theory, on the other hand, mentions that inconsistencies of L1 speakers and errors of L2 speakers need to be treated differently. L2 errors are usually seen to be more consistent and hence children are exposed to them more frequently and might internalize them quicker than occasional slips in an L1 (Nakamura 2015: 13). Nevertheless, an innate system in children's brains is seen to support a creation of a rather correct language repertoire, despite exposure to errors (Liu & Lin 2019: 196).

Apart from that, additional language input in various forms (e.g. books, TV, other conversational partners (cf. chapters 4.1)) helps to focus on accurate language input and supports the creation of a correct language repertoire (Paradowski & Michałowska 2016; Romanowski 2018; Grosjean 2010). As already mentioned, all families include such aspects to overcome these issues, which is why none of them is afraid of an ineffective development. Moreover, neither of the family sees a flawless production of English as their aim of the non-native FLP. Instead, they aim for an effective proficiency and the children's ability to communicate internationally, which does not necessarily exclude all mistakes in production, as long as intelligibility is not inhibited. This is also the concept of ELF (Holmes & Dervin 2016: 1f; Baker 2018: 27; Seidlhofer 2011: ix) and hence shows that ELF rather than English as a perceived mother tongue is part of the families' FLPs.

7.2 Reasons for choosing English and advantages

The reasons for choosing non-native English as part of the family's language policy are similar in all families and are simultaneously closely related to the advantages the families perceive. Similarly to literature (Holmes & Dervin 2016: 1f; Baker 2018: 27; Seidlhofer 2011: ix), all four families acknowledge the internationality of English and advantages the knowledge of English entails, e.g. professional benefits or being able to communicate internationally. Family 1 however, first states that they chose English because it is the first language they learnt in school, and only later refers to the aspect of English as an international language. However, English is taught in school especially due to its status as the most important lingua franca and foreign language. Hence, also the first answer of family 1, namely the fact that it is taught in school, entails the internationality of English as determining factor for her choice. Nevertheless, the fact that the mother of family 1 also highlights that she chose the first language she learnt as a language to include in their FLP shows that for her the fact that her children grow up bilingually is more important than the language choice itself.

In family 2, the initial bilingual FLP (German-Slovak) also shows that the aspect of bilingualism was more important than the decision to include English. English was only later added as a language of communication with the children, namely when the parents realized that their son understands English from being an occasional listener to their conversations. Even though the choice to include English in their child-rearing was, hence, not directly linked to the fact that the family acknowledges English as an international language (cf. chapter 6.1.2), there are some indirect correlations to this aspect. One correlation that can be seen here, is the fact that the parents decided to use English as their language of communication as compromise between two different L1s. They chose English because both were able to use and produce this language on a solid level and they both were used to communications in English due to the constant need of it in their professional lives. The importance of English in their profession and daily lives can be linked to the fact of English being an important medium of worldwide communication and having a high status as international lingua franca. Hence, even though the initial choice to include English in their FLP is not directly based on the importance of English, there is an indirect link to that aspect.

Family 3 and family 4, on the other hand, base their choice mainly on the importance of English and derive this status of the English language from their professional fields, in which they constantly need this language. They hence decided to

include the language in their FLP in order to give their children an early start and facilitate life in different domains and spheres.

7.3 Approaches and language proficiency

The FLP approaches taken vary from family to family and show a different degree of consistency. Whereas family 4 is very consistent in their OPOL approach and tries to have as little adaptions of the FLP as possible, family 1 had some phases in which they switched back to a German-only FLP. However, both families state that consistency is one of the most important aspects of their FLP. Hence, both families imply that the OPOL approach is the most promising approach to raising children multilingually. Earlier research has shown, however, that the success of each approach is dependent on the family and the implementation and language support rather than the approach itself (Paradowski & Michałowska 2016: 59). This scientifically proven aspect also becomes apparent when comparing the outcomes of family 1 and 4 to the outcomes of family 2 and 3, which follow a subject-oriented and time-oriented approach and a translanguaging approach, respectively.

In all four families, the children predominantly produce German speech utterances, which is also the main language of the environment. All children further deprive themselves from certain opportunities to speak the minority language(s), since all, at least at the time of the interview, speak German to each other. This was also observed in earlier findings (Romaine 1995: 199) and could to some extent be connected to the wish of belonging to the society by speaking the community's language and therefore being reluctant to use a different language (Baker 2001: 92; Tytus 2018: 213; Lee et al. 2015: 512). However, since all children stated that they like their ability to speak more than one language, the reason for choosing German as medium of communication could also be due to convenience rather than suppressing their multilingual identity.

Even though all children are, according to themselves and their parents, dominant in German when it comes to language production, all of them have high proficiency in their receptive skills, especially listening, in the other language(s). This entails that the languages that are not present in the closer society regularly (Slovak and English), tend to be weaker than the omnipresent German, which is in accordance with previous research (Baker 2001: 92; Mahootian 2020: 16). Although English is not a minority language, due to its status of being the most important international lingua franca, the fact that it is not present in the closer society makes it to a non-dominant language in all participants'

environments. Nevertheless, deriving from family 2, whose children are older than all other children, the children's English proficiency seems to get more advanced when the children are older. This could be derived from the fact that English becomes more apparent in video games and online sources and/or that there has already been a certain amount of scholastic input that strengthens this language. Reliable conclusions about this aspect would, however, need further investigation.

7.4 Disadvantages and difficulties

Neither of the families saw major disadvantages in their FLP. Initial doubts of not learning the L1/community language properly vanished quickly, which theory also does not see as an issue anymore (Mohr et al. 2018: 11-13), especially if there is sufficient additional language input (Paradowski & Michałowska 2016: 53; Romanowski 2018: 146; Grosjean 2010: 210). Only family 2 sees issues in the preservation of Slovak, since this is a minority language that is not spoken regularly, apart from conversations with the mother. She tries to encourage her children to use this language more often, so that the minority language does not fully get lost (Paradowski & Michałowska 2016: 51).

One difficulty that was mentioned by three families under investigation was issues in vocabulary in the chosen L2/FL. This difficulty, however, was interestingly only perceived at the beginning of the families' non-native FLP and was limited to child-related vocabulary, such as *soother* or *diaper*, which is not used regularly in other situations of life. Moreover, each of the three families stated that this matter could be overcome easily by looking the words up. Since child-related vocabulary is needed rather frequently in early phases of children's lives, and repeating newly encountered words helps to internalize them, a pedagogical point of view is in accordance with the parent's ease of overcoming this issue quickly (Lightbown & Spada 2013: 62).

The issue of not being able to experience the language connected to its heritage culture is also tried to be overcome by three families under investigation. Hence, even though neither of the parents is a native to a culture of any English-speaking country, family 1, 3 and 4 try to give them an overview of certain corresponding cultures – British and American culture were named as examples – by exposing them to authentic cultural situations during journeys to English-speaking countries or by providing theoretical information about certain traditions or rituals. Hence these three families try to overcome the lack of personal relatedness to culture and try to increase the children's cultural awareness on a theoretical basis or whenever possible with on-site contact to culture.

Thus, even though the families did not closely research issues and benefits of non-native multilingual childrearing, they instinctively aim to decrease intolerance towards other cultures, which is often seen to be a positive aspect of multilingual child-rearing (Mohr et al. 2018: 14). Family 2, on the other hand, did not mention cultural aspects, neither considering their own Slovak heritage, nor considering culture connected to their non-native English. The mother's importance of preserving the Slovak language, however, could also point towards a wish of preserving her heritage culture.

7.5 Modes of language input

All families under investigation also draw on additional language input in form of audiobooks, books and contact to native speakers. This is in accordance with theoretical suggestions that any additional language input is important for a successful language development (Paradowski & Michałowska 2016: 53; Romanowski 2018: 146; Grosjean 2010: 210). All families try to use a broad range of language input and do not only rely on one source. Especially the usage of books and audiobooks shows that the parents want to expose their children to a wide range of topics, and thus also vocabulary, and different styles or even varieties of English, since these sources provides them with topics beyond their daily conversations (Paradowski & Michałowska 2016: 54; Romanowski 2018: 146). The contact to English movies is also integrated in each of the families under investigation, families 1, 3 and 4 already started at an early age of the children.

There is a slight discrepancy between the statements of children and parents when it comes to fostering writing skills in family 2. Whereas the mother wants to encourage the children, especially her older son, to produce written output in Slovak via WhatsApp, he feels corrected by his mother whenever he tries to answer longer utterances in written form. If the mother puts great emphasis on correct Slovak usage but wants to keep the child's motivation high, she could– from a pedagogical point of view – collect errors that occur regularly and then address them at a later point or repeat or paraphrase the utterances without the mistake instead of correcting each utterance immediately (Ülgü, Sarı & Griffiths 2013: 232). All other families do not practice written language yet or only in form of individual words, since neither of the children attends school yet. Hence, a comparison between the families, or a conclusion concerning additional written language input is not possible at this point.

7.6 Adapting FLP in certain situations

To some extent, approaches to raising children multilingually differ in theory from their practice, especially concerning the consistency of the approaches. As already mentioned, in three families under investigation, there are mixed forms of approaches and adaptations of the planned FLP are integrated either spontaneously or the FLP was changed for a certain period of time or constantly (e.g. when family 2 added English as further family language). Whereas family 1 follows an OPOL approach, in the past there were certain phases in their child-rearing in which they switched back to a German-only FLP. Presently, family 1 tries to have no further adaptations in their FLP. However, sometimes temporary changes in the FLP, such as switching to German for single sentences, happen unconsciously in dangerous or emotional situations, e.g. warning children of approaching cars, which is in accordance with theory (Caldwell-Harris & Ayçiçeği-Dinn 2009: 193). The practice of family 4, on the other hand, does not comply with this theory. The father of family 4 sticks to English as much as possible and has control of his language in emotional situations. He even described the opposite instance of using English with German-only-speaking children in dangerous or emotional situations, due to habit. Other forms of adapting language policy sometimes happen in absence of an English word, which would, however, more precisely be labelled as code-switching. As family 4, however, has more practice in their approach than family 1, it is not directly comparable. It is possible that with years of practicing the OPOL approach, family 1 also gets more consistent in their approach and will have control over the language usage in emotional situations as well. This could be investigated in further research.

A rather major decision considering adapting the FLP was made in the case of family 2, in which the parents realized that their son acquired receptive knowledge of English by being an occasional listener. The family started to support this finding with additional language input and by deciding to make English one of their languages directed towards the child. Even though there was a change in the implementation of integrating the three languages in their daily lives, it can be argued, that the son already had all three languages stored in his repertoire. Using English also in speech directed towards their son, however, then intensified the child's exposure to the third language and he got the chance to build on his receptive knowledge and to develop productive knowledge of English, which is also what is suggested by Romanowski (2018: 146). The family does not give any information about how quick their son developed productive language proficiency, which would, however, be an interesting aspect for further research,

especially in comparison to successive bi- or trilingual language acquisition. Hence, even though the family targeted a bilingual upbringing of their first son, he unconsciously, developed a productive bilingual and a receptive trilingual language competence. With their second child, the family supported the productive trilingualism from the beginning.

Family 3 does not change its FLP in any way and sticks to the translanguaging approach in every situation they encounter. However, since the translanguaging approach is characterized by mixing the languages (Grosjean 2006: 35, 40; Romaine 1995: 185), it could not be inferred whether language choices in certain situations are due to the approach itself or due to other influencing factors, such as emotional situations. Nevertheless, the family does not let possible uncomfortableness of surrounding people, e.g. due to not understanding one of the languages, influence their FLP and sticks to their translanguaging approach, which can also be seen as consistency in their FLP.

7.7 Advantages perceived by the children

Children's perceived advantages and likes of the FLP are dependent on the age. The younger children (6-9 years) focused on the current practical advantages of having more opportunities of fun, having a secret language of communication or being able to converse with the English teacher. Especially the fact of a secret language with other children (in the case of Slovak-Polish), also shows that a further language in someone's repertoire – even though it might be a minority language – can enhance the ability to communicate with people from other countries.

The only child above 10 years also already mentioned the internationality of English and the benefits it has on job applications, when being proficient in two or even more languages. Hence, English being the most important lingua franca is already implied in his advantages of knowing English. Moreover, even though the younger children did not explicitly refer to English as international language, all of them do indirectly acknowledge the internationality of English to a certain extent. This can especially be derived from their acknowledgement of having more conversational partners around the world when having the ability to speak English.

7.8 Future changes and satisfaction with the process

All families are happy with their implementation and the current outcomes. If the families could start the process of their non-native FLP again, most changes they would integrate are connected to consistency of language usage or promoting the language usage from

the beginning (family 2). As a further exposure to English, all families mention that they target more intensive contact to native speakers in the future in the form of vacations or moving to an English-speaking country. Hence, the planned practice to intensify the children's productive language proficiency is also in accordance with theory about the active engagement with authentic language, which fosters language proficiency (Romanowski 2018: 147) and motivates children to keep a language in the repertoire (Grosjean 2010: 205).

Thus, even though the families do acknowledge certain difficulties or disadvantages of their non-native FLP, which are also raised in theory (e.g. cultural issues (Kouritzin 2000)), all families also know that these issues can be overcome rather easily by including additional language input (Ah Young, Park and Lust 2018: 164f; Liu & Lin 2019: 198; Lee et al. 2015: 514, 516; Paradowski & Michałowska 2016: 53-55; Romanowski 2018: 146f; Grosjean 2010: 210). Altogether, each family is satisfied with their outcomes and will continue with their language practice with only slight changes in the future. None of the families struggles with the FLP and parents as well as children perceive their multilingual competence positively.

7.9 Final notes

According to the usual practice of qualitative research, this project focused on a selected number of participants and gained detailed insights in their perception of the topic. However, due to the corona pandemic some initially planned participants could not be part of the research project, as some of the children were too young to be interviewed via video chat, but would have probably given some information in a personal interview. Moreover, one of the partners was not present during the video call interview, even though it was initially planned.

Another aspect that needs to be considered when reading this paper is that the families under investigation were rather heterogenous, especially concerning the trilingual family. Since this family had a completely different FLP to start with (Slovak-German) and only later introduced English as an additional family language, a direct comparison, especially considering the reasons for choosing English as a non-native language, was not always possible. Nevertheless, comparisons in other domains (language input, approaches, etc.) were possible and added valuable information to the research interest.

Non-native multilingual upbringing still lacks in general broad research. To contribute to the findings and the research status in Austria, a longitudinal study could monitor selected families from this research over a longer period of time and investigate the children's language development. Milestones in the linguistic development of all language skills in all FLP languages could further be measured regularly on the basis of standardized tests. Moreover, the individual's own perception about the whole process of bringing up children, or of being brought up with English as a non-native language, could be investigated at selected points in the families' lives. Thus, further research could narrow the current research gap concerning non-native English as part of family language policies of Austrian resident families.

8 Conclusion

English has become the most important lingua franca in worldwide communication. Hence, an increasing number of families decides to include English in their FLP despite the parents' non-native English language background. This paper investigated how Austrian resident families integrate ELF in their bi- or multilingual upbringing, how parents and children perceive the outcomes of such an FLP, whether parents would change aspects of their FLP if they had the chance to start over again and whether they are planning any changes in the future. These research questions were successfully answered by conducting a qualitative research, interviewing four families resident in Austria who integrate non-native English in their FLP.

The main reason why non-native English is included in Austrian resident families' FLPs is that English has become the most important lingua franca in the world within the past few decades. In order to give children an early start into the English language, English is chosen as part of the language repertoire within families. Nevertheless, neither of the families labelled English as a mother tongue or was aiming for their children's flawless proficiency in English but included English as facilitator for later decisions in life, in which English might be of importance, e.g. in professional fields.

The approaches used to include English in their FLP were very different, the outcomes, however, were rather similar. Regardless whether an OPOL approach with certain instances of FLP adaption or a translanguaging approach was used, children showed a dominance of productive German. At the same time, they seem to be equally proficient in the receptive skills in all languages used in their FLP. This entails that the dominant German society slightly inhibits chances to practice productive skills. Each

family, however, targets to overcome this issue by increasing contact to native speakers in the future.

All families view their approach and the outcomes as advantageous for the children's future. Some families also acknowledged the cultural aspects of knowing more than one language and hope that their children will be more open towards learning additional languages, due to their chosen upbringing. Neither of the families saw the small number of disadvantages as major or negatively influencing their targeted outcome. The most important outcome for most of the participants is that their children are be able to communicate effectively in English, which has become the international lingua franca, and hence the most important medium of communication around the world.

9 Bibliography

Ah-Young, Kim A.; Park, Anne; Lust, Barbara. 2018. “Simultaneous vs. successive bilingualism among preschool-aged children: a study of four-year-old Korean-English bilinguals in the USA”. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 21(2), 164-178.

Andruski, Jean E.; Casielles, Eugenia; Nathan, Geoff. 2014. “Is babbling language-specific? Some evidence from a case study of Spanish-English dual acquisition”. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 17(3), 660-672).

Baker, Colin. 2001. *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. (3rd edition). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Baker, Will. 2018. “English as a lingua franca and intercultural communication”. In Jenkins, Jennifer; Baker, Will; Dewey, Martin. (eds.). *The Routledge handbook of English as a Lingua Franca*. Abingdon: Routledge, 25-36.

Bloomfield, Leonard. 1984 [1933]. *Language*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Busch, Brigitta. 2010. “School language profiles: valorizing linguistic resources in heteroglossic situations in South Africa”. *Language and Education* 24(4), 283-294.

Bush, Brigitta. 2012. “The linguistic repertoire revisited”. *Applied Linguistics* 33(5), 503-523.

Cardano, Mario. 2020. *Defending qualitative research: design, analysis and textualization*. Oxon: Routledge.

Caldwell-Harris, Catherine L.; Ayçiçeği-Dinn, Ayşe. 2009. “Emotion and lying in a non-native language”. *International Journal of Psychophysiology* 71(3), 193-204.

Chirsheva, Galina. 2008. “Principles of multilingual upbringing”. In *Studia Humaniora et Paedagogica Collegii Narovensis*, 293-310. Clark, Eve V. 2009. *First language acquisition*. (2nd edition). Cambridge: CUP.

Cogo, Alessia. Dewey, Martin. 2006. “Efficiency in ELF communication: from pragmatic motives to lexico-grammatical innovation”. *Nordic Journal of English Studies* 5(2), 59–93.

Curdt-Christiansen, Xiao Lan. 2013. “Family language policy: sociopolitical reality versus linguistic continuity*”. Language Policy* 12(1), 1-6.

Curdt-Christiansen, Xiao Lan; Lanza, Elisabeth. 2018. “Language management in multilingual families: efforts, measures and challenges”. *Multilingua* 37(2), 123-130.

De Houwer, Annick. 1999. “Environmental factors in early bilingual development: the role of parental beliefs and attitudes”. In Extra, Guus; Verhoeven, Ludo (eds.). *Bilingualism and migration*. Boston: Mouton de Gruyter, 75–96.

De Houwer, Annick. 2009. *Bilingual first language acquisition*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Dressler, Roswita. 2014. “Exploring linguistic identity in young multilingual leaners”. *TESL Canada Journal* 32(1), 42-52.

Docherty, Sharron; Sandelowski, Margarete. 1999. “Focus on qualitative methods: interviewing children”. *Research in Nursing & Health* 22(2), 177-185.

Dörnyei, Zoltán. 2007. *Research methods in applied linguistics*. Oxford: OUP.

Döpke, Susanne. 1992. *One parent, one language: qa interactional approach*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.

Douglas Fir Group. 2016. “A transdisciplinary framework for SLA in a multilingual world*”. The Modern Language Journal* 100(Suppl. 1), 19–47.

Edwards, John. 2006. “Foundations of bilingualism”. In Bhatia, Tej K.; Ritchie, William K. (eds.). *The handbook of bilingualism*. Oxford: Blackwell, 7-31.

Festman, Julia; Poarch, Gregory J.; Dewaele, Jean-Marc. 2017. *Raising multilingual children.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

García Armayor, Ovidio. 2019. "The possibilities of elective bilingualism in BFLA: raising bilingual children in monolingual contexts". *Estudios de lingüística inglesa aplicada* 19, 265-296.

Genesee, Fred. 2015. "Myths about early childhood bilingualism". *Canadian Psychology/Psychologie Canadienne* 56(1), 6-15.

Gerken, LouAnn. 2009. *Language development*. San Diego: Plural Publishing.

Graddol, David. 2006. *English next: why global English may mean the end of 'English as a foreign language'*. London: British Council.

Grosjean, François. 2006. "Studying bilinguals: methodological and conceptual issues". In Bhatia, Tej K.; Ritchie, William K. (eds.). *The handbook of bilingualism*. Oxford: Blackwell, 32-63.

Grosjean, François. 2010. *Bilingual: life and reality.* Harvard: Harvard University Press.

Harden, Jeni; Scott, Sue; Backett-Milburn, Kathryn; Jackson, Stevi. 2000. "Can't talk, won't talk?: methodological issues in researching children.". *Sociological Research Online* 5(2). http://www.socresonline.org.uk/5/2/harden.html (4 March 2020).

Harding, Edith; Riley, Philip. 1986. *The bilingual family: a handbook for parents*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Higgins, Christina. 2018. "The mesolevel of family language policy". *International Journal of Multilingualism* 15(3), 306-312.

Holmes, Prue; Dervin, Fred. 2016. "Introduction – English as a lingua franca and beyond interculturality: beyond orthodoxies". In Holmes, Prue; Dervin, Fred (eds.). *The cultural and intercultural dimensions of English as a lingua franca*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 1-30.

Hovsepian, Alice. 2018. "Vocabulary growth in Armenian-English bilingual kindergarteners". *First Language* 38(1), 47-71.

Hua, Zhu; Wie, Li. 2016. "Transnational experience, aspiration and family language policy". *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 37(7), 655-666.

Hyltenstam, Kenneth. and Abrahamsson, Niclas. 2000. "Who can become native-like in a second language? All, some or none? On the maturational constraints controversy in second language acquisition". *Studia Linguisticia* 54(2), 150-166.

Ishikawa, Tomokazu; Jenkins, Jennifer. 2019. "What is ELF? Introductory questions and answers for ELT professionals". *The Center for English as a Lingua Franca Journal* 5, 1-10.

Jenkins, Jennifer. 2000. *The phonology of English as an international language*. Oxford: OUP.

Juan-Garau, Maria; Pérez-Vidal, Carmen. 2001. "Mixing and pragmatic parental strategies in early bilingual acquisition". *Journal of Child Language* 28(1), 59-86.

Kalashnikova, Marina; Mattock, Karen. 2014. "Maturation of executive functioning skills in early sequential bilingualism". *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 17(1), 111-123.

King, Kendall A. 2016. "Language policy, multilingual encounters, and transnational families". *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 37(7), 726-733.

King, Kendall; Fogle, Lyn. 2006. "Bilingual parenting as good parenting: parents' perspectives on family language policy for additive bilingualism". *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 9(6), 695-712.

King, Kendall; Fogle, Lyn; Logan-Terry, Aubrey. 2008. “Family language policy”. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 2(5), 907-922.

King, Kendall; Fogle, Lyn. 2017. “Family language policy”. In McCarty, Teresa L.; May, Stephen (eds.). *Language policy and political issues in education, encyclopedia of language and education*. Dordrecht: Springer, 315-327.

Kirk, Susan. 2007. “Methodological and ethical issues in conducting qualitative research with children and young people: a literature review”. *International Journal of Nursing Studies* 44(7), 1250-1260.

Kouritzin, Sandra G. 2000. “A mother’s tongue”. TESOL Quarterly 34(2), 311-324.

Kristiansen, Gitte; Zenner, Eline; Geeraerts, Dirk. 2018. “English as a lingua franca in Europe: the identification of L1 and L2 accents”. *Review of Cognitive Linguistics* 16(2), 494-518.

Krumm, Hans-Jürgen. 2003. “‘Mein Bauch ist italienisch …’ Kinder sprechen über Sprachen [‘My stomach is Italian ...’ Children speak about languages.]”. In Baumgartner, Nicole; Böttinger, Claudia; Motz, Markus; Probst, Julia (eds.). *Übersetzen, Interkulturelle Kommunikation, Spracherwerb und Sprachvermittlung – das Leben mit mehreren Sprachen: Festschrift für Juliane House zum 60. Geburtstag. [Translating, intercultural communication, language acquisition and language teaching – life with more than one languages: Festschrift for Juliane House’s 60th birthday]. Zeitschrift für Interkulturellen Fremdsprachenunterricht* 8(2-3) [Online], 110-114.

Kuckartz, Udo; Rädiker, Stefan. 2019. *Analyzing qulitative data with MAXQDA: text, audio and video*. Wiesbaden: Springer.

Lanza, Elisabeth. 2007. Multilingualism and the family. In Auer, Peter; Wei, Li (eds.), *Handbook of multilingualism and multilingual communication*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 45–67.

Lee, Michael; Shetgiri, Rashmi; Barina, Alexis; Tillitski, John; Flores, Glenn. 2015. “Raising bilingual children: a qualitative study of parental attitudes, beliefs and intended behaviors”. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 37(4), 503-521.

Lightbown, Patsy M.; Spada, Nina. 2013. *How languages are learned*. (4th edition). Oxford: OUP.

Liu, Wei; Lin, Xiaobing. 2019. “Family language policy in English as a foreign language: a case study from China to Canada”. *Language Policy* 18(2), 191-207.

Macalister, John; Mirvahedi, Seyed H. 2017. “Beginnings” In Macalister, John; Mirvahedi, Seyed H. (eds.). *Family language policies in a multilingual world: opportunities, challenges and consequences*. New York: Routledge, 1-10.

Mahootian, Shahrzad. 2020. *Bilingualism*. London: Routledge.

MacLeod, Andrea A.; Fabiano-Smith, Leah; Boegner-Pagé, Sarah; Fontolliet, Salomé. 2012. “Simultaneous bilingual language acquisition: the role of parental input on receptive vocabulary development”. *Child Language Teaching and Therapy* 29(1), 131-142.

MacWhinney, Brian. 2015. “Language acquisition”. In Wright, James D. (ed.). *International encyclopedia of the social & behavioral sciences (2nd edition). 13*. Amsterdam: Elsevier Ltd.

Magnusson, Eva; Marecek, Jeanne. 2015. *Doing interview-based qualitative research: a learner’s guide*. Cambridge: CUP.

Martin, Beth. 2012. “Coloured language: identity perception of children in bilingual programmes”. *Language Awareness* 21(1-2), 33-56.

Matthews, Danielle; Krajewski Grzegorz. 2015. “First language acquisition”. In Dabrowska, Ewa; Divjak, Dagmar (eds.). *Handbook of cognitive linguistics*. 39. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 389–409.

Meisel, Jürgen. 2006. “The bilingual child”. In Bhatia, Tej K.; Ritchie, William K. (eds.). *The handbook of bilingualism*. Oxford: Blackwell, 91-113.

Meisel, Jürgen. 2011. *First and second language acquisition*. Cambridge: CUP.

Mohr, Kathleen A. J.; Juth, Stephanie M.; Kohlmeier, Theresa L.; Schreiber, Kayleen E. 2018. “The developing bilingual brain: what parents and teachers should know and do”. *Early Childhood Education Journal* 46(1), 11-20.

Morán Panero, Sonia. 2019. “‘It’s more fashionable to speak it badly’: indexicality and metasemiotic awareness among users of English from the Spanish-speaking world”. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 8(2), 297-332.

Mulyani, Petra K. 2019. “Innatist and interactionist learning approaches of elementary student’s language acquisition”. *Humaniory* 31(1), 14-20.

Nakamura, Jeanice. 2015. “Nonnative maternal input: language use and errors in a Thai mother’s interactions in Japanese with her child”. *Japan Journal of Multilingualism and Multiculturalism* 21, 10-26.

Nor, Norbahira Mohamad; Rashid, Radzuwan Ab. 2018. “A review of theoretical perspectives on language learning and acquisition”. *Kasetsart Journal of Social Sciences* 39(1), 161-167.

Oller, D. Kimbrough; Pearson, Barbara Z.; Cobo-Lewis, Alan B. 2007. “Profile effects in early bilingual language and literacy”. *Applied Psycholinguistics* 28(2), 191-230.

Paradowski, Michał B.; Bator, Aleksandra. 2018. “Perceived effectiveness of language acquisition in the process of multilingual upbringing by parents of different nationalities”. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 21(6), 637-665.

Paradowski, Michał B.; Michałowska, Monika. 2016. “Establishing a bilingual home: parent’s perspective on the effectiveness of the adopted communication strategies”. *Lingwistyka Stosowana* 17, 43-65.

Purkarthofer, Judith. 2019. “Building expectations: Imagining family language policy and heteroglossic social spaces”. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 23(3), 724-739.

Riazi, A. Mehdi. 2016. *The Routledge encyclopedia of research methods in applied linguistics: quantitative, qualitative, and mixed-methods research*. Oxon: Routledge.

Richards, Keith. 2009. “Interviews”. In Heigham, Juanita; Croker, Robert A (eds.). *Qualitative research in applied linguistics: a practical introduction*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 182-199.

Romaine, Suzanne. 1995. *Bilingualism*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Romanowski, Piotr. 2018. “Early bilingual education in a monolingual environment: showcasing Polish families”. *Complutense Journal of English Studies* 26, 143-164.

Schwartz, Mila. 2010. “Family language policy: core issues of an emerging field”. *Applied Linguistics Review* 1, 171-192.

Seidlhofer, Barbara. 2004. “Research perspectives on teaching English as a lingua franca”. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 24, 209-239.

Seidlhofer, Barbara. 2005. “English as a lingua franca”. *ELT Journal* 59(4), 339-341.

Seidlhofer, Barbara. 2011. *Understanding English as a lingua franca*. Oxford: OUP.

Spolsky, Bernard. 2003. *Language policy: key topics in sociolinguistics*. Cambridge: CUP.

Spolsky, Bernard. 2012. “Family language policy – the critical domain”. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 33(1), 3-11.

Spolsky, Bernard. 2017. “Language policy in education: practices, ideology, and management”. In McCarty, Teresa L.; May, Stephen (eds.). *Language policy and political issues in education, encyclopedia of language and education*. Dordrecht: Springer, 3-16.

Stavans, Anat; Hoffmann, Charlotte. 2015. *Multilingualism*. Cambridge: CUP.

Szramek-Karcz, Sonia. 2016. "The success of non-native bilingualism in Poland". *Lingwistyka Stosowana* 17, 93-102.

Tay-Lim, Joanna; Lim, Sirene. 2013. "Privileging younger children's voices in research: Use of drawings and co-construction process". *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 12(1), 65-83.

Tytus, Agnieszka E. 2018. "Rising to the bilingual challenge: self-reported experiences of managing life with two languages". *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 21(2), 207-221.

Ülgü, Serkan; Sarı, İrfan; Griffiths, Carol. 2013. "Error correction in language teaching: the teacher's perspective". *International Journal of Arts & Science* 6(3), 229-241.

Villa, Manuela; Reitman, David. 2007. "Overview of interviewing strategies with children, parents, and teachers". In Hersen, Michael; Thomas, Jay C. (eds.). *Handbook of clinical interviewing with children*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications.

Yule, George. 2019. *The study of language*. (7th edition). Cambridge: CUP.

Zurer Pearson, Barbara. 2008. *Raising a bilingual child.* New York: Living Language

10 Appendix

10.1 German Abstract

Englisch ist eine der wichtigsten internationalen Sprachen in weltweiter Kommunikation, wofür der Begriff *Lingua Franca* eingeführt wurde. Daher entscheiden sich immer mehr Familien, ihren Kindern einen frühen Einstieg in diese Sprache zu ermöglichen und erziehen ihre Nachkommen auch in monolingualem Umfeld mehrsprachig, mit Englisch als eine der Sprachen, obwohl dies nicht die Muttersprache der Eltern ist.

Nicht-muttersprachliche Erziehung ist ein kontrovers diskutiertes Thema, das auch Forschungslücken aufweist. Die vorliegende Masterarbeit soll dazu beitragen, diesen Forschungsrückstand anzukurbeln, indem Familien, mit einer solchen Familien-Sprachenpolitik, befragt werden. Durch semi-strukturierte Interviews in vier in Österreich lebenden Familien sollten Gemeinsamkeiten in den Beweggründen und der Umsetzung aufgezeigt werden, im familiären Vergleich und in Bezug auf die vorhandene Literatur. Weiters sollte herausgefunden werden, ob die diskutierten Vor- und Nachteile auch von den Familien selbst wahrgenommen werden.

Die Interviews zeigten, dass der Hauptbeweggrund bei allen Familien ähnlich ist, nämlich eine frühe Auseinandersetzung mit Englisch. Die Umsetzung variiert zwischen den Familien, das Resultat ist jedoch gleichartig. Obwohl bei allen Kindern eine produktive Dominanz von Deutsch empfunden wird, weisen sie, laut Eltern, eine gleich hohe rezeptive Kompetenz in allen verwendeten Sprachen auf. Alle Familien konzentrieren sich bei ihrer Umsetzung auf Vorteile und sehen kaum Nachteile ihrer Sprachenpolitik. Bei zukünftigen Veränderungen zielen die Familien darauf ab, mehr Input, in Form von Kontakt zu muttersprachlichen Menschen, zu integrieren.

Weitere Forschungen, vor allem Langzeitstudien, würden noch intensivere Einblicke in diesen Sachverhalt geben. Diese könnten unter anderem die Langzeitentwicklung der Kinder bezüglich empfundener Vor- und Nachteile oder Englisch-Kompetenz beobachten.

10.2 Interview guide parents

- Welcoming participants/Introducing myself & thanking for participation
- Assuring anonymization / Signing consent form
- How are you/How is your family?
- Do you want to have the interview in English or German?
- Language Portraits!!

Before we start the interview, could you please tell me a little about your family? (Who is in your family, who takes part in raising the kids, which languages are spoken? Are grandparents included in the upbringing? Which languages do they use?)

Questions for language portraits:

- What did you draw?
- Why did you put language X here?/Do the placement of the languages have a meaning?
- Do the colors have some meaning?
- Do you prefer any of the languages (based on the colors/placement)?
- Does it have a meaning that language X is close to heart/head/legs/hands etc.?

Interview:

1. Which languages do you speak? Which of them are your own L1?
2. Which languages do you integrate in your daily lives with the children?
3. What are your general experiences with English?
   a. *Learning experiences: How long did you study English?/Where did you study English?*
   b. *When do you use English? (How often → business relations, friends living abroad; with non-natives/natives etc.)*
4. How often do you use English in your daily lives apart from talking to your children?
   a. *Do you use it in business relationships?*
   b. *Do you use it when talking to your friends etc.?*
   c. *Which language do you use when you are talking to your partner?*
5. How would you personally rate your English skills?
   a. *Do you have any kind of certificate in English or have you studied English in University?*
   b. *Have you ever lived abroad in an English-speaking country?*
6. In how far do you like the English language and why?
7. Why did you decide to include English in your daily lives with your children?
   a. *If "it's important" → Why do you find English important?*
   b. *Did you research "non-native" upbringing of children or did you decide to integrate English in your upbringing rather spontaneously?*
   c. *How/Where did you research it?*

8. What are expectations when integrating English in your daily lives with your children?
    a. *Which advantages do you see? Can you give an example?*
    b. *Which disadvantages could arise?*
9. How do you implement the non-native upbringing in your daily lives?
    a. *Which parent uses English/other languages?*
    b. *When do you speak English to your kids? (only English?/mixing/etc.)*
    c. *When did you start to talk English to your kids?*
    d. *Do your kids talk English to each other, or do they choose different language(s)? Do they use different languages in different situations?*
    e. *Which languages are used by other family members when talking to your kids (grannies/grandpas, aunts, uncles, etc.)*
    f. *Do you also use English outside your house, when other people are present?*
    g. *In how far does your social community support the English environment in your family?*
        - *Do you and the children also speak English or other languages with some of your friends? How often?*
        - *Do you have English native speakers as friends?*
        - *Do you use more than one language simultaneously when talking to your friends?*
        - *How do German-speaking/other language-speaking friends/family feel about your English-usage?*
10. Which progress do you see in your children's English usage?
    a. *Do you think they have similar competence/proficiency in all languages used? (If not: Which one do you perceive to be the best and why?)*
    b. *Do you think one of your children is more eager when it comes to speaking English?/do(es) (one of) the child(ren) refuse to use English?*
    c. *Do you have to remind the children of their English/other language usage?*
    d. *Do the children mix the languages while speaking?*
    e. *Do you think your children perceive English as their 2nd/3rd mother tongue?*
    f. *Do you see a difference in motivation in your children's English usage?*
11. In how far do you use English in emotional Situations?
    a. *Comforting them?*
    b. *Advising them?*
    c. *In sad situations?*
    d. *Praising them?*
    e. *cursing?*
    f. *Other emotional situations?*
12. Which language do you speak, when both parents are with the children?
13. Which other forms of English-implementation is used in your family?
    a. *Do you read English books /articles/online content to them?*
    b. *Do the children themselves read English books/articles/online content/video games?*

c. *Do you play (offline) games with your children where English is the main language?*
d. *Do you watch English movies?*
e. *Do you integrate written production (letters, emails, WhatsApp) etc. in your and your children's daily lives?*

14. Are you happy with your decision about integrating English in your children's upbringing? If you had to start again, would you repeat your decisions, regarding:
    a. *Implementation (when, how, where?)*
    b. *Onset-age*
    c. *Social community/environment*
    d. *What would you change?*
15. What works well in your language implementation? Can you give examples?
    a. *Are there any difficulties in your implementation? If so, which?*
16. Do you have any further comments/funny experiences etc?

Personal Questions:

a. Age (Demographic Data in consent sheet?
b. Profession
c. Education

10.3 Interview guide children

1. What's your name?
2. How old are you?
3. What are your hobbies?
4. Do you go to school/kindergarten? Which year are you in?
5. What are your favorite subjects?/What do you like doing in kindergarten
   a. If English: Why?
   b. Which grade do you currently have in English?
   c. If kindergarten: Do you have English days in kindergarten?
6. Which languages do you speak?
   a. Do you like speaking more than one languages?
   b. Which language do you like most?
   c. Do you speak different languages with your mom/dad/granny etc?
7. Do you (also) like speaking English?
   a. Do you like playing games in English?
   b. Do you speak English to your brothers/sisters?
8. Do you like it when your mum/dad talks English to you?
   a. Why (not)?
9. Do you think, that you are good at English?
   a. What can you do best/not so well?
10. Do you watch English movies/YouTube/…?
11. Do you read in English (Books, newspaper, online)?
    a. Do you like it?

   b. Do you do it voluntarily?/Do you choose to do it?
12. Do you write in English? (letters, emails, WhatsApp?)
   a. Do you like it?
   b. Do you do it voluntarily?/Do you choose to do it?
13. Do you think you have advantages when knowing English well?/Do you like it, that you can speak/write etc. English well?
   a. Is English important to you?
   b. Is it easy for you to understand English in school/English TV shows/YouTube Videos?
14. Do your friends know about you speaking more languages? How do the find it?
   c. Do you have friends that speak English/other language with you?
15. Do you sometimes mix up the languages?
   a. Do you use English words in German/other language situations?
   b. Do you use German/other language words in English situations?
16. Have you ever had a funny experience with English? If so, which?
17. Do you want to add anything?
18. Do you have any questions?

Thanking for invested time/the interview (kids and parents)

Any further questions?

10.4 Topic based interview guide

- Languages + parents/people who speak it to kids
- Why approach was taken
- When are languages used/Which approach is taken
- Language children speak with each other
- Mixing languages?
- Advantages/disadvantages
- Satisfaction/Emotions towards the implementation of English
- Which language preferred by kids/parent
- How it is implemented (speaking only/writing/TV)
- People supporting this choice

10.5 Questions for wimmelbook task

Look, I have brought a little book with me, would you like to look at it together?

Do you have a favorite book? Which one? Could you show me? Why do you like that book? Does your mom/dad usually read it to you? Do you also have a book in German/English/other language? Who reads this book to you? Which one do you like more? Why?

First page:

Parents bring children to school:

- What do moms and dads usually say to his/her son/daughter when they bring them to school?
- What would your dad usually say? In English or German/other language?

Look, a friend is walking over and is talking to your sister.

- What is she saying?
- Is she speaking English or German/other language?

Look, the two girls are talking to each other, …

- … what are they talking about and how?
- Do you think, she is her sister/friend?

Second page:

Look at all the kids that are playing with each other.

- What are they usually saying when they are playing?
- Are they brothers/sisters or friends?
- Do you usually play with your brother in kindergarten?
- What do you usually play with him/her and are you talking in English or German/other language?
- Do you like English/German? Why?

Fourth page:

Look this could be a birthday party.

- Have you ever had a birthday party at your house or in kindergarten?
- Was your mom there?
- Tell me, what could they be talking about?

Ninth page:

- When you go outside with your family?
- What do you do?
- Do you also go outside/in the park etc.?
- Do you take friends with you?
- What are you playing/speaking? German/English/other language?

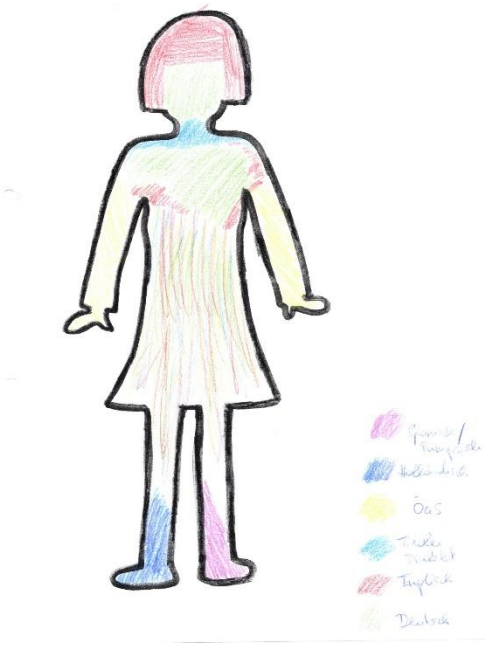
Tenth page:

Look at all the sleeping kids and the woman wishing them good night.

- What do you do before you go to bed? (book reading, TV etc.)?
- What do you watch?
- Can you show me a book? Etc.
- Do you sing good night-songs? Which do you sing?

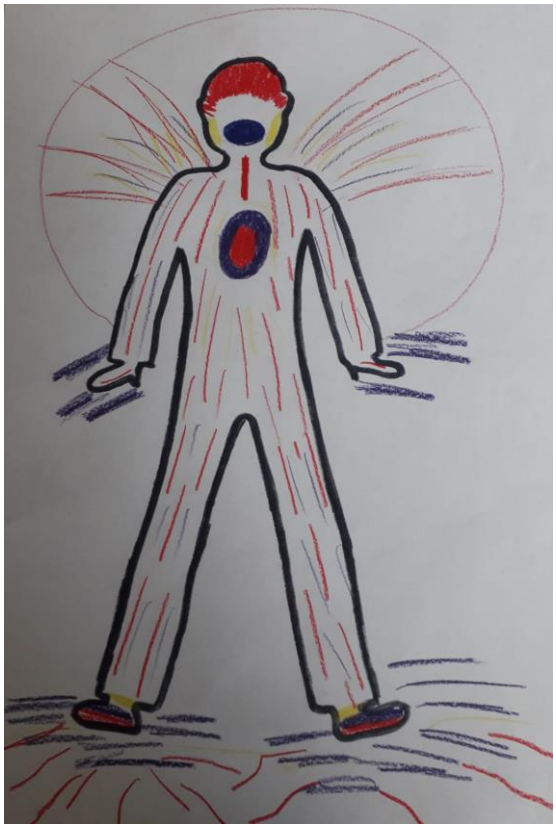
10.6 Language portrait silhouettes

10.6.1 Family 1

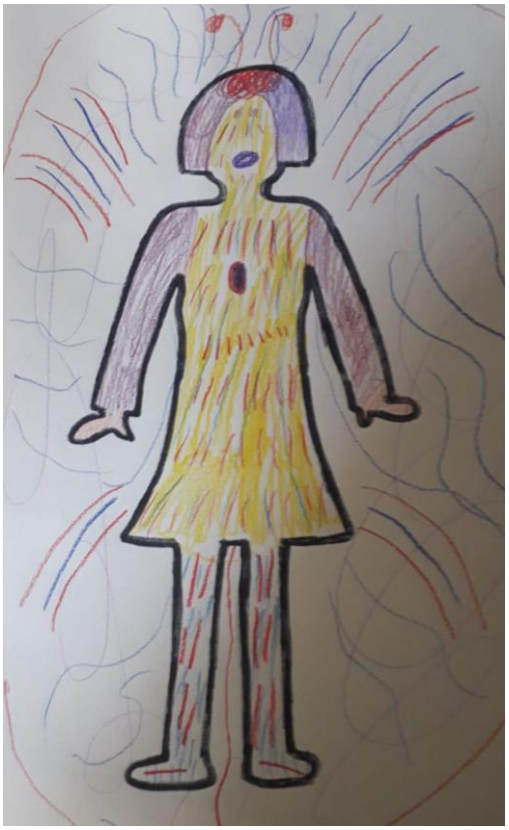


Lila: Spanisch/Portugiesisch
Dunkelblau: Holländisch
Gelb: Österreichische Gebärdensprache
Hellblau: Tiroler Dialekt
Rot: Englisch
Grün: Deutsch

10.6.2 Family 3

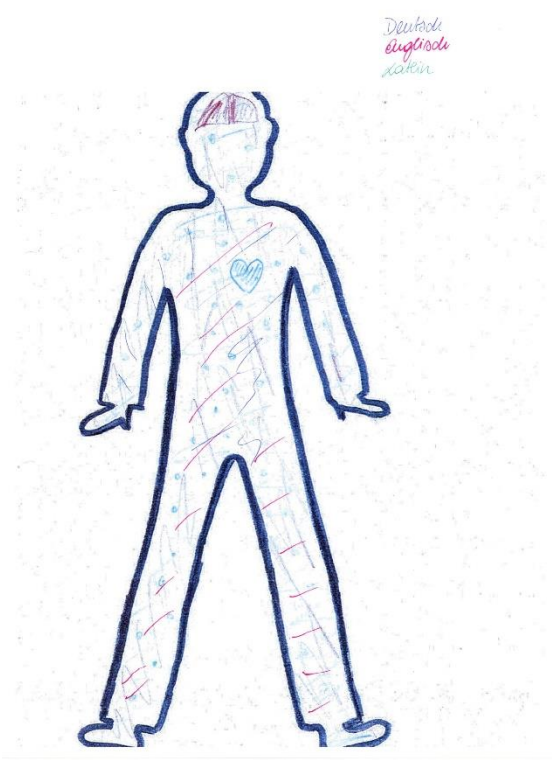


Rot: Deutsch
Gelb: Kärntnerisch
Violett: Englisch



Rot: Deutsch
Gelb: Englisch
Blau: Kärntnerisch

10.6.3 Family 4



Rot: Deutsch
Blau: Englisch
Grün: Französisch