

FAMILY LANGUAGE POLICIES OF NON-NATIVE BILINGUAL PARENTS RAISING BILINGUAL CHILDREN IN MONOLINGUAL CONTEXTS.

POLÍTICA LINGÜÍSTICA FAMILIAR DE FAMILIAS BILINGÜES NO NATIVAS EN LA CRIANZA DE HIJOS BILINGÜES EN CONTEXTOS MONOLINGÜES

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Abstract

Non-Native Bilingual Parenting (NNBP) is an emergent type of bilingual family setting where parents decide to raise their children bilingually in their second language, despite living in monolingual communities where their native language is spoken. However, research into family bilingualism has not yet given it much attention aside from a few published case studies. The present survey study aimed to shed light on the complex landscape of NNBP by exploring the Family Language Policy (FLP) of NNB families and the key factors that shape their attitudes and linguistic practices; specifically the parents' competence in the target language. Data were collected in April 2021 by means of a parental self-report questionnaire and processed using IBM SPSS statistics software. The final sample

included 62 families. Descriptive statistics revealed that One Parent One Language (OPOL) was the most common interaction strategy and that most parents used majority language with each other. Besides, the most frequent language socialization practices for this group were identified as well as their common ideologies. Most notably, low reported rates of code-mixing, a very strong impact belief and moderate concern about their non-native model. Non-parametric tests found that the parents' level of competence in the target language affected some of their attitudes and practices. These insights invite further exploration of the field of family bilingualism.

Keywords: Childhood bilingualism, non-native speakers, language planning, language ideologies, language socialization.

Resumen

La crianza bilingüe no nativa (NNBP en inglés) es un tipo emergente de bilingüismo familiar según el cual algunos padres deciden criar de forma bilingüe en un segundo idioma a pesar de vivir en lugares donde se habla su primera lengua. Sin embargo, los estudios en bilingüismo aún no le han prestado mucha atención. Este trabajo pretende arrojar luz sobre el complejo panorama de la crianza bilingüe no nativa explorando la política lingüística familiar (FLP en inglés) de estas familias y un elemento clave que afecta a sus actitudes y prácticas lingüísticas: la competencia de los padres en la lengua meta. Los datos fueron recabados en abril de 2021 con un cuestionario y se procesaron usando el programa estadístico IBM SPSS. La muestra final incluyó 62 familias. Las estadísticas descriptivas revelaron que la estrategia lingüística más común fue Una Persona Una Lengua (OPOL en inglés) y que la mayoría de los padres usaban la lengua mayoritaria entre ellos. Además, dentro de las prácticas de socialización lingüística más comunes en este grupo destacaron bajas tasas de mezcla de código, una fuerte convicción de que los padres pueden influir en la adquisición de la lengua de sus hijos (*impact belief* en inglés), y preocupación moderada por el

modelo no nativo. Los resultados de las pruebas no paramétricas mostraron que el nivel de competencia de los padres en la lengua meta influía en algunas de sus actitudes y prácticas. Los resultados de este estudio invitan a una mayor exploración del campo del bilingüismo familiar.

Palabras clave: Bilingüismo infantil, hablantes no nativos, planificación lingüística, ideología lingüística, socialización lingüística.

1. Introduction

An emergent type of childhood bilingualism is that in which parents with a knowledge of a second language decide to raise their children bilingually in this language despite living in monolingual communities where their mother tongue is spoken. The term Non-Native Bilingual Parenting (NNBP) will be used to refer to this type of additive childhood bilingualism in this study. When the conditions in which these children are being exposed to their two languages want to be explored, one must look at the decisions that parents make to manage languages within the family, their attitudes towards bilingualism, the specific languages involved, and parental implicit and explicit linguistic practices (King, Fogle & Logan-Terry, 2008). The broad area of research which studies these factors is Family Language Policy (FLP), but it has not yet paid much attention to NNBP even though it is an increasingly common phenomenon (García Armayor, 2019; Jernigan, 2015; Lozano-Martínez, 2019; Piller, 2001; Sampedro, 2015).

Particularly in Spain, there are more and more families embarking on this type of parenting and committing to bring up their children bilingually in their second language —most often, English. This is not surprising, since bilingualism has been a priority for the Spanish public education system for years now. Additionally,

English, as a global language of prestige, is regarded by parents as a great asset for their children's future. Nevertheless, English is not the only language chosen by NNBP families as an additional language (Döpke, 1992).

Considering this situation, the overall aim of this survey study is to explore the attitudes, beliefs, practices, and language management efforts of NNBP families in raising bilingual children. Additionally, the study aims to investigate how the parents' competence in the target language impacts the parents' overall FLP. Section 2 will present a brief review of the relevant literature and section 3 will introduce the objectives and questions of this research. Section 4 will describe the methodology and section 5 will present the results of the study. Finally, section 6 will offer a discussion and some conclusions.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Family Language Policy

Family Language Policy (FLP) is a burgeoning research field which refers to the exploration of the choices that families make regarding their use of languages in the household and beyond (Lanza & Lomeu Gomes, 2020). It was defined by King, Fogle and Logan-Terry as the “explicit and overt planning in relation to language use within the home among family members” (2008: 907). Hence, FLP encompasses the study of parental ideologies about languages and bilingualism; language practices; and language management —what parents think, do, and what their goals are in terms of their children's linguistic behavior.

Regarding beliefs or ideologies, FLP involves the study of parents' ideas about languages, interactions, language learning and bilingualism, and how they form these beliefs. Beliefs and ideologies,

in turn, inform language practices and management (King, Fogle & Logan-Terry, 2008). These look at factors such as child-caretaker interactions (Döpke, 1992; Lanza, 1997), input patterns (De Houwer, 2007) and supplementing strategies such as bilingual schools (Caldas, 2006), native paid caretakers (King, Logan-Terry, 2008), media (Saunders, 1988) or heritage language classes (Kouritzin, 2000).

One recurring observation in the literature is that an increased focus on FLP enhances the likelihood of children achieving active bilingualism. Furthermore, research indicates that neglecting language planning within the household can result in a shift in language use (King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008). In the specific context of this study, this shift can lead to either passive bilingualism or monolingualism.

In the area of language practices and management, research into FLP has normally focused on language maintenance in minority language households (Caldas, 2006; Deuchar & Quay, 2000) and on children being raised bilingually in each of the native languages of the parents (One Parent One Language or OPOL) (De Houwer, 2007; Döpke, 1992). Some studies have also looked into bilingual children in contexts where the non-native language of the parent is the language spoken by the community (Snow *et al.*, 1989). However, there are not many examples of studies combining both circumstances: families who share their native language with the wider community but decide to raise their children bilingually in their non-native language (King & Logan-Terry, 2008; Saunders, 1982). A detailed discussion and references to these studies can be found in section 2.5.

Although more research is needed to answer specific questions about how each of the components of FLP influences children's linguistic outcomes, there is no doubt that FLP plays a crucial role in childhood bilingualism. In the following sections, a review of the literature in several aspects relevant to FLP will be presented.

2.2. Input and Input Patterns

How much language children hear, how often, when they start hearing two languages and how each of them are directed at them are aspects related to children's linguistic input that should be examined to describe and understand bilingual children's language acquisition. Nevertheless, input was not always the primary focus in research about childhood bilingualism. In fact, as Pearson reviews (Pearson *et al.*, 1997), some linguists posited that input quantity did not affect language acquisition —as long as input was not reduced to zero— other than acting as a trigger for linguistic development (at least as far as syntax was concerned). However, Hart and Risley's (2003) influential work with monolingual children, initially published in 1992, revealed that parental amount of input had a direct impact on children's output in terms of vocabulary acquisition. The same link was later found for bilinguals (Pearson *et al.*, 1997).

Nowadays, most publications on infant bilingualism include a section discussing the possible types of settings depending on parental input patterns (Döpke, 1992; Harding & Riley, 1999; Pearson, 2008; Romaine, 1995; Saunders, 1988). Classifications normally vary according to the languages of the parents, the community and the strategy implemented. Besides these, the language that the parents use to address each other in front of the child is relevant because it completely modifies a child's linguistic environment (De Houwer, 2009; Döpke, 1992), but not many classifications take it into account.

By far, the most commonly reported input pattern in published studies is OPOL (De Houwer, 1990; Döpke, 1992; Lanza, 1997; Saunders, 1988). The classic OPOL approach involves each of the parents addressing the child in their own first language in a context where the wider community is monolingual in the language of one of the parents. Even though OPOL is the most common strategy in published studies, it seems to be neither the most frequent among families nor the most successful, since a little over a third of OPOL-reared children in De Houwer's survey did not actively speak the

minority language (2007). A similar conclusion can be drawn from Döpke's own case studies (1992).

Other than OPOL, different classifications identify other scenarios conducive to the simultaneous acquisition of two languages from birth (Harding & Riley, 1999; Romaine, 1995; Saunders, 1988). Among the most commonly reported we find Minority Language At Home (MLAH) where the parents and the community use different languages and the parents decide to use the non-community language at home with the child; and approaches that vary the use of languages by domains including variations by day, time, place, topic or person (Baker, 2014; Crisfield, 2020; Jernigan, 2015; Pearson, 2008). MLAH was the most successful strategy in terms of active bilingualism in De Houwer's survey study (2007). There is a scarcity of empirical data pertaining to the remaining strategies.

In addition to these, Döpke (1992), Romaine (1995) and Harding and Riley (1999) make a special category for non-native parents using OPOL. This situation, where one of the languages is neither the native language of the parents nor the language of the community, has often been referred to as *artificial bilingualism* (Kielhöfer & Jonekeit, 1983 in Saunders, 1988) and strongly discouraged (*ibid.* and Snow *et al.*, 1989 in Snow, 1990). However, case studies contradict this recommendation by demonstrating high rates of success in actively bilingual children (Döpke, 1992; García Armayor, 2019; King & Logan-Terry, 2008; Liu & Lin, 2019; Saunders, 1982).

The fact that some OPOL-reared children do not actually speak the minority language means that when they are addressed in that language, they are allowed to answer in the majority language (De Houwer, 2007). This aspect of the language socialization of bilingual children will be discussed in the following section.

2.3. Parental Discourse Strategies

Input patterns are one side of the linguistic environment of bilingual children, but as we have seen in the previous section, not all children reared under the same conditions regarding dual input achieve the same levels of bilingualism. Therefore, what happens at the level of interaction must also be explored; specifically the way that parents socialize their children into using their languages in different contexts (Lanza, 1997).

Elizabeth Lanza was the first scholar to draw explicit attention to this aspect of language socialization for bilingual children (De Houwer, 2009), and unequivocally and systematically link children's language choice and their use of mixed utterances with parents' own mixing and their tolerance to children's mixing. Lanza's research stemmed from the observation that even OPOL-reared children, who are supposedly socialized into two monolingual models of input, make use of mixing in their speech and attain different levels of bilingualism. She argued that regardless of the exposure pattern to the language (OPOL, mixed use by each person, environment-bound languages, etc.) in order to socialize children into separating their languages, parents must separate languages in their interactions with the child (Lanza, 1997).

The study of Parental Discourse Strategies (PDS) addresses this issue by examining how an interlocutor negotiates with the child a context where it is appropriate to mix languages or where languages must be separated, creating a need for the child to speak the minority language (Lanza, 1997). Lanza describes five PDS in the form of a continuum and gives examples of use from data in her case study (1997: 262-268).

1. **Minimal Grasp Strategy:** a request for repetition or clarification using a question in the expected language or a signal of non-comprehension.
2. **Expressed Guess Strategy:** a request for reformulation using a recast of the child's utterance in the expected language in the form of a yes/no question.

3. Repetition Strategy: a repetition of the child's meaning using the expected language in a non-question form.
4. Move On Strategy: a continuation of the conversation in the expected language.
5. Code Switching: a continuation of the conversation in the other language. It can be intra-sentential: incorporating the other language word into the expected language utterance; or inter-sentential: changing languages in the interlocutor's turn of speech.

Monolingual discourse strategies like the Minimal Grasp Strategy (*What? Hmm? What does mama say?*) and the Expressed Guess Strategy (*Did you mean X?*) feign the role of a monolingual and force the child to use the expected language. Bilingual discourse strategies, however, allow the use of both languages within a conversation. This type of *dilingual* conversations (De Houwer, 2009) result in more mixing and less active use of the minority language because they do not create the need for it. Further evidence of this correlation can be seen in Juan-Garau and Pérez-Vidal (2001), King and Logan-Terry (2008) or Nakamura (2018).

PDS stem from and are a result of parents' beliefs and attitudes towards languages and language choice (De Houwer, 2009). For instance, if parents believe that they can influence their children's language acquisition, they may take steps to increase their exposure to language. Similarly, if they have negative opinions towards mixing, they might try to avoid this practice naturally in their speech. Parental attitudes and beliefs will be discussed in the next section.

2.4 Parental Attitudes and Beliefs: the Notion of Impact Belief

The attitudes and beliefs of the parents are important factors to look at when studying parenting decisions because they might help explain

the wide variety of FLP that can be seen across families raising bilingual children. The notion of *impact belief* deserves special attention because it might be the most direct connection between parental beliefs and attitudes and parents' linguistic behavior with their children (De Houwer, 1999). De Houwer defines impact belief as "the belief that how and how frequently a child is talked to has an effect on children's language development" (2009: 362) and explains that when parents see themselves as active agents in their children's language learning they consciously or unconsciously take steps to encourage language development. These may take the form of increased amount of input, use of monolingual discourse strategies, active teaching of literacy or other language management practices such as trips to the home country or heritage language classes. In this line, Nakamura (2019) found that a strong impact belief emerged from parents' efforts to maintain minority language (English) due to a positive attitude towards the usefulness of English-Japanese additive bilingualism.

In the context of NNBP, there have also been some attempts to look into parental ideologies by examining parents' perceptions of the myths and challenges specific of this kind of bilingual rearing in connection to parents' level of spoken English (Lozano-Martínez, 2019). Lozano-Martínez concludes that, while some aspects of NNBP ideologies are dependent on the level of L2, others are shared by all parents regardless of their linguistic competence in their non-native language. To gain a better understanding of the peculiarities of this kind of bilingual rearing, a review of research about NNBP will be discussed in the next section.

2.5. Non-Native Bilingual Parenting

The term NNBP is used in this study to refer to the case of middle-class parents with a knowledge of a second language who make the decision to raise their children bilingually in their second language in a monolingual majority language context. By far, the most well-known, most often cited and longest NNBP case study documented

is Saunders' (1982, 1988). Between his two volumes, Saunders gives account of thirteen years of family bilingualism in English (native, majority language) and German (non-native, minority language) involving his three children. Aside from the description of the parents' linguistic strategies conducive to the children's bilingualism, Saunders includes a chapter describing how they supplemented minority language by means of books, TV, playgroups and so on. All three of Saunders' children developed active bilingualism.

To date, there are few more examples of academic research looking into NNBP either in the form of case studies (Döpke, 1992; García Armayor, 2019; King & Logan-Terry, 2008; Liu & Lin, 2019; Pearson, 2008) or survey based (Lozano-Martínez, 2019). Table 1 presents a comparison of the NNBP case studies available.

Table 1: Comparison of existing NNBP case studies.

Case	Context	Languages involved	Method used	Language between parent pair	Other relevant information
Saunders (1982, 1988)	Monolingual English (Australia)	Australian English & German	OPOL	Majority language	
Döpke (1992)	Keith: Monolingual English (Australia)	Australian English & German	OPOL	Majority language	The other parent does not understand much minority language
	Case 6: Monolingual English (US)	American Sign Language (ASL) & Spanish	OPOL	Doesn't say (OPOL?)	(Spanish) native speaker housekeeper
Pearson (2008)	Case 7: Monolingual English (US)	English & Spanish	MLAH	Minority language	(Spanish) native speaker au pair
	Case 8: Monolingual English (US)	English & Spanish	OPOL	Majority language	

King & Logan-Terry (2008)	Family A: Monolingual English (US)	American English & Spanish	OPOL/MLAH	Majority language mother-father/ Minority language mother-nanny	full-time native speaker nanny
García Armayor (2019)	Monolingual Spain	Spanish & British English	OPOL	Majority language	
Liu & Lin (2019)	Monolingual China	Chinese & English	OPOL	Minority language	In-home Chinese grandparents

This classification is based on the community context, the languages involved, the method of exposure, the language used in parent-parent interactions and other relevant information for the language addressed to the child. As we can see, most of them take place in an English speaking monolingual context and have German or Spanish as their target language. Besides, OPOL is the preferred method of exposure while the parents use majority language between them.

Besides these publications, NNB parents have made up for the sparsity of research by looking to lay accounts and language support groups in online fora, social media or messaging platforms where families try to connect to others who share their non-native bilingual child-rearing goals (Piller, 2001). In addition, NNBP families have access to parent guides with encouragement and advice (Crisfield, 2020; Jernigan, 2015).

As we have seen in the literature review, research into FLP has observed the relationship between the decisions that parents make towards the bilingual upbringing of their children and the children's use of the target languages. These decisions include, but are not limited to, PDS, input patterns, and parental beliefs and attitudes.

PDS which pretend non-comprehension are the most effective interactional strategy to attain active use of the minority language. It has also been found that at least positive attitudes and an impact belief are necessary to foster childhood bilingualism. Although FLP has looked into bi- and multilingualism in different contexts, the situation of children being reared in two languages by NNB parents in monolingual contexts where their target language is not spoken has not been sufficiently addressed with quantitative data. In the next section, the objectives and research questions for this investigation will be presented.

3. Objectives and Research Questions

This article stems from a wider study exploring the FLP of NNB parents raising bilingual children in an environment which is monolingual in the parents' native language and where the child is exposed to only two languages. The overarching goal is to try to enrich our knowledge of the FLP of NNB parents and whether the parents' competence in their target language affects their linguistic choices. In order to meet this goal, the research questions addressed in this study are the following:

1. What is the FLP of NNB parents?
 - a. What type of input do these bilingual children receive?
 - b. What language socialization practices do NNB parents use to raise their children?
 - c. What are the attitudes and beliefs of NNB parents towards bilingualism and their impact belief?
2. How does the parents' communicative competence in the non-native language influence FLP?

4. Methods

The study is based on a quantitative research design that collected data through a questionnaire posted online in April 2021. This research design was chosen to know whether quantitative data could be used to support the generalizability of the findings from individual case studies (Döpke, 1992; García Armayor, 2019; King & Logan-Terry, 2008; Liu & Lin, 2019; Pearson, 2008; Saunders, 1982). The sample was selected by convenience sampling. The first part of this investigation was descriptive and the second part tried to explore whether there was a correlation between NNB parents' level in their target language and other variables in the study.

4.1. Participants

Participants for this study were NNB parents raising bilingual children who met certain criteria: First, none of the main caregivers were a native speaker of the child's target language. Second, the family lived in a monolingual context where the parents' native language was the same as the community language. Third, the child was exposed to the additional language from birth. Finally, the child was exposed to only two languages. The final sample included 62 families with first-born children ranging in age from 0 to 14 years ($M = 3.35$, $S.D. = 2.85$). In 72.6% of families the target child was already speaking. As for the types of families in the sample, in 51.6% of cases, the family was formed by two different sex parents and a single child and 30.6% were different sex parents with two children.

Respondents came from fourteen different countries spread over two continents with a wider presence of urban areas (90.3%). The distribution included a wider presence (40.3%) of families residing in Spain, but 22.6% of NNBP families lived in other European countries (Cyprus, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy and The Netherlands), 17.7% in the US, 14.5% in Latin America

(Bolivia, Chile and Mexico) and 4.8% in other places of the world (UK and Canada). Fifty-six point five percent of families had Spanish as a native language and 19.4% had English. Italian was the third most represented native language (8.1%). Finally, 75.8% of NNB parents had English as their target language, and 12.9% had Spanish.

Socio Economic Status (SES) data revealed that the majority of respondents were health and education professionals (58.1%) and had completed some tertiary education (96.7%), with 51.6% holding a Bachelor's Degree and 38.7% a Master's Degree.

Regarding reported competence in the non-native language for both parents, 92% of the caregivers providing the input for the non-native language (CG1) assessed their level in the child's target language as B2 and above according to the CEFRL. On the other hand, the level in the L2 of the other caregiver was spread over a wider range with 59.7% of the sample in the lower end (no level to B1) and 40.3% in the higher end of the spectrum (B2 to C2).

4.2. Instruments

Data was gathered by means of a self-report questionnaire where parents could record the strategies they used to manage languages in their family and their attitudes and beliefs about their child's bilingualism. The questionnaire was devised *ad hoc* for this investigation by the researcher in Microsoft Forms after reading the relevant literature (De Houwer, 1997; De Houwer, 2009; Lozano-Martínez, 2019; Pallant, 2010) and conversations with families about key issues regarding NNBP. The questionnaire was prepared in two languages: English and Spanish.

In the first section of the questionnaire respondents were asked to report about demographic information, language use with the child and both caregivers' level of competence in the non-native language according to the CEFRL (A1, A2, B1, B2, C1, C2 or no level).

Then, five different patterns of language exposure were presented in the questionnaire based on De Houwer's (2007) classification. OPOL was used for families where one parent used the native language and the other the non-native language. Minority language referred to families where both parents only used the non-native language. The situation when both parents used both languages was referred to as mixed, while Mm+M was used in the questionnaire to describe families where one parent was using both the native and the non-native language, and the other only the native language. Finally, Mm+m comprised families where one parent was using both the native and the non-native language and the other only the non-native language. Next, the survey targeted the child's linguistic environment outside of the home including any supplementing strategies. After that, the questionnaire focused on language socialization practices: specifically, PDS and mixing. Data regarding PDS was gathered by means of multiple-choice questions, so that parents could choose all the strategies that they commonly used. For this study, an additional strategy was incorporated to Lanza's original model: the Request for Translation Strategy (Döpke, 1992). This PDS requires the child to translate an utterance in the other language into the target language. De Houwer (2009) suggests that this strategy can be classified together with the Minimal Grasp Strategy, but here, it has been added as a new monolingual PDS in line with Döpke's model of insisting strategies, where Request for Translation is "a more explicit display of not-understanding" (1992: 67). Finally, the questionnaire enquired about caregivers' attitudes and beliefs about their role in their child's language acquisition—including their impact belief—and the challenges related to non-native bilingual parenting. Attitudes and beliefs were measured using 4-item scales of the semantic-differential type.

A second, subsidiary questionnaire was distributed to collect data about the SES of respondents, since this information had not been included in the main questionnaire. This targeted the parents' occupation, level of education and place of residence. The relevant

international classification systems were used to collect this information: the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO) in its latest version (2008) for occupation, and the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) in its latest version (2011) for the level of education.

4.3. Procedures

Data was inputted and processed using IBM SPSS statistics software version 27.0.1. First, descriptive analyses of all the relevant variables were computed to obtain the final sample of participants and gain preliminary answers for the research questions. Most of the data collected in the questionnaire was of either nominal or ordinal nature. All statistical tests were performed on the assumption that data did not meet normality criteria, as it was later corroborated by exploratory analyses. Therefore, non-parametric tests were used to investigate the relationships and associations between the variables. The different statistical tests were chosen on the basis of the type of data available.

Spearman Rank-Order Correlation coefficients were used for attitudinal variables to answer part c of the first research question. This test allowed us to determine whether there was an association between ordinal variables, but also the direction and the strength of said relationship. In order to respond the second research question, two types of statistical tests had to be performed. On the one hand, Chi-square tests for independence were computed. This non-parametric test is normally used to look for associations between nominal variables, so it was chosen to analyze the interrelationships between the competence of parents in the L2, the choice of input pattern and the contexts of use for the target language. Spearman Rank-Order Correlation coefficients, on the other hand, were calculated to assess whether parental attitudes towards language acquisition and linguistic practices were related to their competence in the non-native language.

5. Results

Descriptive analyses and statistical tests will be presented in this section.

5.1. What is the FLP of NNB Parents?

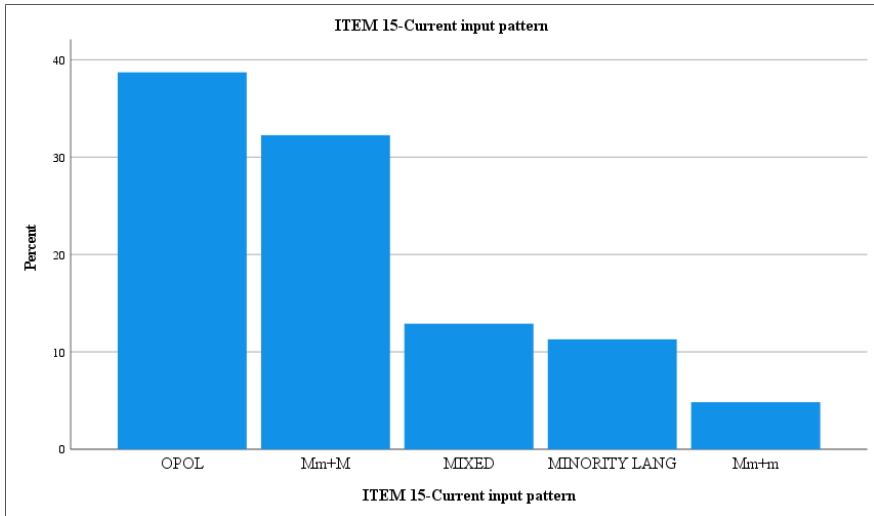
To answer this question, information about input patterns, the language used between caregivers, the variety of contexts where the child was exposed to the target language, the use of supplementing strategies, PDS, parental mixing, and parental attitudes and beliefs was gathered. The results in this section are descriptive.

What type of input do children receive?

In terms of input pattern choice, 38.7% of families reported using the OPOL approach at home. The second most reported strategy was that in which both parents used the majority language, but only one of them used the minority language (Mm+M: 32.3%). mixed input was chosen by 12.9% of respondents, closely followed by minority language input families (11.3%). The least frequent input pattern in the sample was that in which both parents used the minority language, but only one of them used the majority language with the child (Mm+m: 4.8%). Figure 1 shows the distribution of input patterns in the sample.

Regarding the language used between caregivers, an observation of frequencies tells us that the majority of caregivers (82.3%) reported using majority language for parent-parent dyadic interactions. The variety of contexts where the minority language is spoken is the final factor influencing the amount of input that was included in the survey. Fifty percent of the sample used the minority language according to their reported input pattern in all contexts (“At home and outside the home”). The second most often reported context was “Only at home” with 14.5% of the sample, followed by

Figure 1: Current input pattern

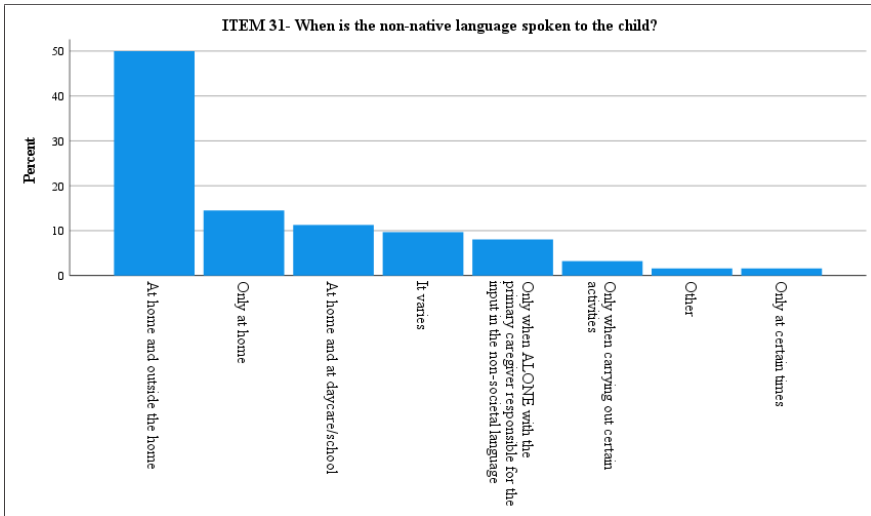


“At home and at daycare/school” with 11.3% of participants. All other contexts of exposure were below the 10% frequency. “Only when alone with the primary caregiver responsible for the input in the non-native language” was chosen by 8.1%, while “Only at certain times” or “Only when carrying out certain activities” were the least frequent contexts. Figure 2 shows the relative frequencies for each context of exposure.

Additionally, all respondents reported using a variety of supplementing strategies. The most often mentioned strategies were books (88.1%), YouTube (72.9%) and TV (71.2%), but only 11.9% of respondents referred having access to face-to-face native speaker models in their interactions. However, a little over half of the sample (54.8%) said that they were in touch with other NNBP families.

As we can see from this data, the most often reported input pattern in the sample was OPOL. Besides, most parents or caregivers across all input patterns used majority language to communicate with each other. Finally, only half of the sample claimed to be using the

Figure 2: Contexts of exposure to the minority language



minority language with the child both inside and outside the home, but most respondents complemented minority language exposure with a variety of supplementing strategies, although most did not have access to real life native models of the minority language. In the next section, the description of the FLP of NNB parents will look into the language socialization practices of the sample.

What language socialization practices do NNB parents use to raise their children?

This section covers the results of the descriptive analyses carried out for variables which pertain to the use of PDS in response to mixing and parental mixing, since a revision of the relevant literature reveals that these two aspects of the language socialization practices of bilingual children are normally looked at together (Döpke, 1992; Lanza, 1997).

Regarding parental language separation, 66.1% of respondents declared that they did not mix languages in interactions with the child and an additional 19.4% that they did so only occasionally. PDS

were analyzed with a subsample of the data ($n=40$), as only families with speaking children were asked about discourse strategies in response to mixing (27.4% of the sample reported that their first-born child was not speaking yet). Additionally, 11.1% of respondents reported that the child did not mix languages. These did not provide data regarding PDS in response to mixing either. Table 2 shows the distribution of PDS strategies. The most often selected PDS were the Repetition Strategy (41.5% of times), the Move On Strategy (41.5% of times) and the Expressed Guess Strategy (30.4% of times). Overall, parents reported using Code Switching the least frequently, but strategies at the monolingual end of the continuum were also sparingly implemented in the sample. The Minimal Grasp Strategy was chosen 11.8% of the times and the Request for Translation Strategy 18.5% of the times.

Table 2: Parental discourse strategies. Summary of frequencies

	MONOLINGUAL PDS			BILINGUAL PDS		
	MINIMAL GRASP	REQUEST FOR REPETITION	EXPRESSED GUESS	REPETITION	MOVE ON	CODE SWITCH
Percent	11.8	18.5	30.4	41.5	41.5	8.9

The descriptive analyses in this section have helped gain better insights into the language socialization practices that NNB parents used in their interactions with their children. We observed that most parents considered that they encouraged the child to respond to non-native language interactions in the non-native language and two thirds reported that they did not mix languages in interactions with the child. The most often reported PDS in the sample were Move on, Repetition and Expressed Guess with minimal use of Code Switching. The next section will present quantitative descriptive analyses of the data regarding NNB parents' attitudes towards different aspects of their bilingual child-rearing journey.

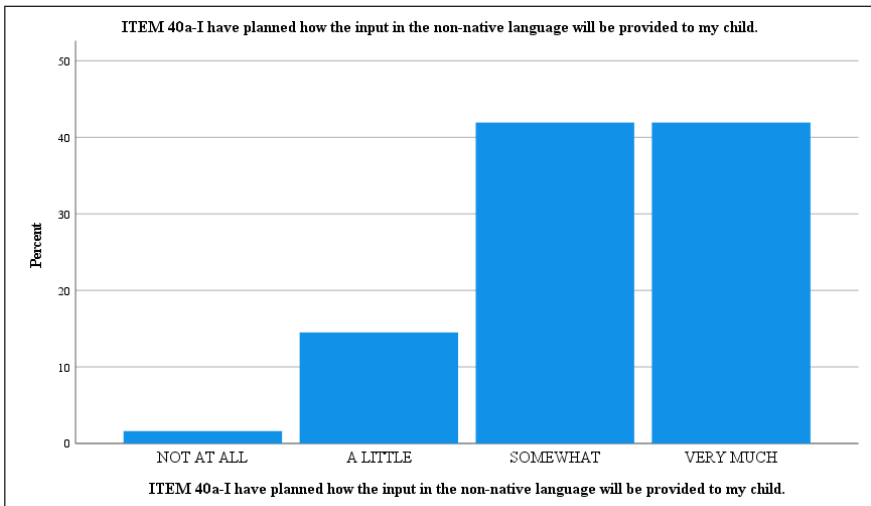
What are the attitudes and beliefs of NNB parents towards bilingualism and their impact belief?

This section targets parental impact belief as defined by De Houwer (1999) and some other aspects pertaining participants' views about the process of non-native bilingual acquisition, with a focus on parents' worries about their non-native model. Spearman Rank-Order Correlation coefficients were calculated between the variables in order to get a deeper understanding of the interactions between different aspects of the NNBP ideological framework.

When looking at the parents' impact belief, data showed that all the respondents in the sample strongly agreed (72.6%) or agreed (27.4%) that the more they spoke the non-native language to their child, the more they would learn. In addition, 83.8% of respondents answered that they had (somewhat or very much) planned how the input in the non-native language would be provided to the child (Figure 3); and more than 90% reported that they paid (somewhat or very much) attention to the input they directed at the child.

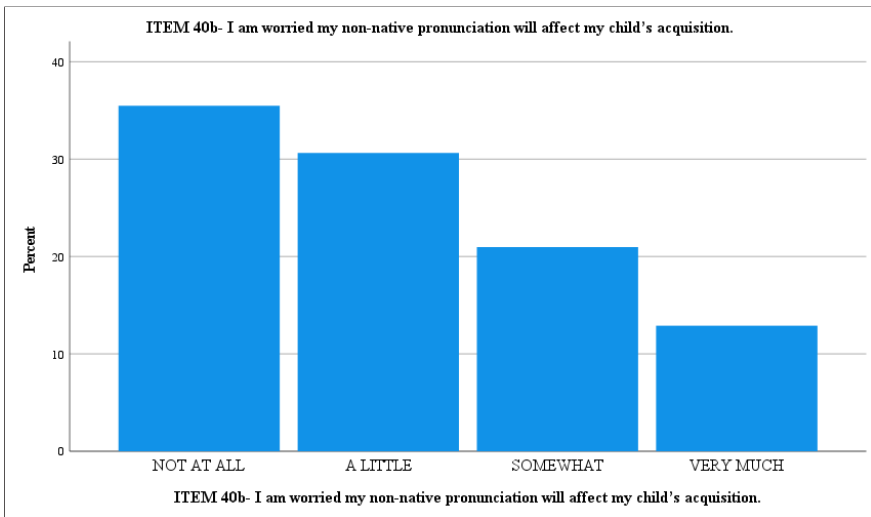
As for their attitudes towards specific challenges of NNBP, parents were asked whether they were worried about the non-native

Figure 3: Parental degree of planning for FLP



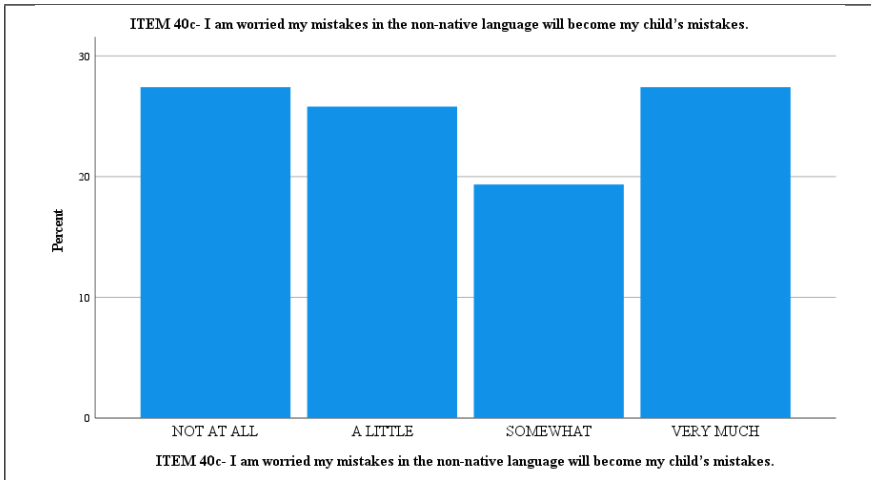
model they were offering the child. Descriptive analyses showed that for 66.1% the possibility of negatively influencing their child’s pronunciation (Figure 4) was not a concern or worried them only a little, with frequencies showing a clearly descending pattern where only 12.9% were very worried. On the other hand, the attitudes towards non-native mistakes (Figure 5) were more evenly distributed between those who were not worried at all or only a little worried (53.2%) and those somewhat and very worried (46.8%).

Figure 4: Parental worries about non-native model: pronunciation



As displayed in Table 3, the Spearman’s Rank-Order Correlation coefficients indicate that there is no significant relationship between parents’ impact belief and any of the other attitudinal measures. Specifically, the correlation between the concern about their pronunciation and their level of L2 yielded a coefficient of $\rho = .027$ ($n = 62, p = .832$), while the correlation between the worry about their mistakes and their level of L2 produced a coefficient of $\rho = .060$ ($n = 62, p = .646$). These findings suggest that impact belief appears to

Figure 5: Parental worries about non-native model: mistakes



be independent from other attitudinal measures, implying that it may represent a pre-existing factor in the context of NNBP.

Table 3: Spearman's rank-order correlation for parental attitudes

		I am worried my non-native pronunciation will affect my child's acquisition.	I am worried my mistakes in the non-native language will become my child's mistakes.
Spearman's rho	The more I speak the non-native language to my child the more she will learn.	Correlation Coefficient	-.060
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.646
		N	62

From the descriptive analyses in this section, we can already highlight some interesting facts regarding NNBP beliefs. First, we observed that parents in the sample believed that they could influence their child's language acquisition. Second, a little over half of the sample was not worried about their non-native model negatively

influencing the child’s minority language acquisition. Interestingly, the parents’ impact belief was not related to any of the other attitudinal measures. After a description of NNB parents’ FLP, the next section will explore the possible associations and correlations between the relevant variables and the level of competence in the L2 of the parents.

5.2. How does the Parents’ Communicative Competence in the Non-Native Language Influence FLP?

Following Lozano-Martínez’s research suggesting that the level of competence in the L2 of the parent responsible for the input in the non-native language (CG1) might affect different aspects of NNBP (2019), non-parametric statistical tests for associations and correlations were computed between the level of L2 of CG1 and the choice of input pattern; the use of the target language in a variety of contexts, parental attitudes about their impact belief and their non-native input, and parental code-mixing.

Table 4 presents the distribution of CG1’s level of L2 by input pattern that shows that a relationship appeared to exist for OPOL families, who reported the highest levels of competence in the minority language, with most respondents (87.5%) clustered around the C1-C2 range.

Table 4: Distribution of CG1’s level of L2 by input pattern

OPOL			MLAH			MIXED				
NONE TO B1	B2	C1	C2	B2	C1	C2	NONE TO B1	B2	C1	C2
4,2	8,3	50,0	37,5	28,6	28,6	42,9	12,5	37,5	37,5	12,5
Mm+M			Mm+m							
NONE TO B1	B2	C1	C2	B2	C2					
15,0	20,0	25,0	40,0	33,3	66,7					

All effect size statistics reported in this section follow Pallant (2010). A Chi-square test for independence was conducted to determine whether there was an statistically significant association between the level of L2 of the parent, divided between low (no level to B2) and high (C1 to C2), and the choice of parental input pattern (choosing or not choosing OPOL). The results showed that there was a significant, but small association between the level of L2 and input pattern choice in a household (Tables 5 and 6), $\chi^2(1) = 4.380$, $p = .036$, $\phi = -.266$. Although standardized residuals were not significant for either L2 level, households where the CG1 had a lower L2 level were slightly less likely to choose OPOL than any of the other four input patterns included in the survey.

Table 5: Chi square test for independence for variables CG1's level of L2 (2 levels) and INPUT PATTERN (recode OPOL vs. not OPOL)

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4,380a	1	,036
N of Valid Cases	62		

a. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 6,58.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table.

Table 6: Effect size statistics for variables CG1's level of L2 and INPUT PATTERN: OPOL vs. not OPOL

<i>Symmetric Measures</i>			
		Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	-.266	,036
N of Valid Cases		62	

As for the relationship between level of L2 and contexts of exposure, the variable was recoded to compare the frequency between those using the language in all contexts and those using it in a limited number of contexts. Then, it was compared with parent's level of L2 with only two values: low and high. Chi square tests for

independence found a statistically significant, moderate association between the level of competence in the non-native language and the contexts of use, $\chi^2(1) = 9.807$, $p = .002$, $\Phi = -.398$. Although standardized residuals were not significant for either L2 level, it seems that there is a lower frequency of use in all contexts by respondents with lower competence in the L2 (Tables 7 and 8).

Table 7: Chi square test for independence for contexts of use (recode “All contexts” vs. “Limited use”) and CG1’s level of L2 (recode two levels)

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9,807 ^a	1	,002
N of Valid Cases	62		

a. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 8,50.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table.

Table 8: Effect size statistics for contexts of use (recode “All contexts” vs. “Limited use”) and CG1’s level of L2 (recode two levels)

<i>Symmetric Measures</i>			
		Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	-,398	,002
N of Valid Cases		62	

Regarding parental attitudes, Spearman’s Rank-Order Correlation coefficients found no correlation between the level of L2 and parental impact belief ($\rho = .225$, $n = 62$, $p = .079$), but there was a statistically significant, strong, negative correlation between parents’ worries about pronunciation and CG1’s level in the L2 ($\rho = -.604$, $n = 62$, $p < .0005$) with higher levels of L2 associated with lower levels of concern. Additionally, there was a statistically significant, moderate, negative correlation between parents’ worries about non-native mistakes, and their level in the L2 ($\rho = -.422$, $n = 62$, $p = .001$) with higher levels of L2 associated with lower levels of worrying (Table 9).

Table 9: Spearman's Rank-Order correlation for attitudinal variables and CG1's level of L2

Correlations		CG1's level of L2	
Spearman's rho	I am worried my non-native pronunciation will affect my child's acquisition.	Correlation Coefficient	-,604**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	,000
	N		62
	I am worried my mistakes in the non-native language will become my child's mistakes.	Correlation Coefficient	-,422**
Sig. (2-tailed)		,001	
N		62	

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Finally, a statistically significant, small negative correlation was found between reported parental mixing and CG1's level in the non-native language ($\rho = -.257$, $n = 62$, $p = .044$) with higher levels of L2 associated with lower levels of parental mixing (Table 10).

Table 10: Spearman's rank-order correlation for parental mixing and CG1's level of L2

		CG1's level of L2.	
Spearman's rho	I mix my native language with my non-native language when I speak to my child.	Correlation Coefficient	-,257*
		Sig. (2-tailed)	,044
		N	

This section examined the relationship between parents' proficiency in their target language and various aspects of NNBP. Chi-square tests found that higher L2 proficiency was associated with a preference for the OPOL input pattern. Additionally, parents with better L2 skills used the language more frequently across different contexts. Furthermore, the findings from this section revealed that as L2 proficiency increased, worries about pronunciation and non-native mistakes decreased. Finally, higher L2 proficiency was linked

to less code-mixing in parental communication with their child. These findings underscore the intricate connections between L2 proficiency and some aspects of NNBP.

6. Discussion and Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to shed light on the complex landscape of non-native bilingual parenting by exploring the linguistic choices, language socialization practices and ideologies that guided these parents in the process of raising bilingual children in monolingual contexts. In addition, the effect that parental level of competence in the non-native language had in several aspects of NNBP was observed.

Addressing the first question (What is the FLP of NNB parents?), from the input pattern data gathered by the parental questionnaire, we saw that the most often reported pattern of input was OPOL, chosen by almost two-fifths of respondents, which stands in stark contrast with data from the best-known survey about family bilingualism (De Houwer, 2007) where only about one in ten families reported using this strategy. However, Piller (2001) also found that OPOL was the most frequently chosen strategy among *elite bilinguals*. This discrepancy can have several potential explanations, but Piller argues that OPOL “has become axiomatic in recommendations for bilingual parents” (2001: 65). Besides, although parents were not asked to explain why they had chosen their pattern of exposure, there appeared to be some association between the level of competence in the L2 of the parent responsible for the input in the target language, and the choice of input pattern.

The second and third most reported strategies were one parent using both the native and non-native language and the other using only the native language (Mm+M) (32.3%) and both parents using both languages (12.9%). This is surprising since these patterns are

never talked about in parent guides (Baker, 2014; Crisfield, 2020; Jernigan, 2015; Pearson, 2008) nor usually recommended (Piller, 2001). According to De Houwer's survey (2007), Mm+M were the least successful of the five types of families transmitting the minority language to the children, while mixed input families were the third most successful. In the same study, one in four OPOL families had children who did not speak the minority language (the fourth strategy in terms of successful transmission of the minority language). If we were to apply this proportion to our sample, it would have a significant impact on the chances of these children developing active use of the minority language, but there are many factors that influence children's language environment and, thus, their language acquisition process (De Houwer, 2009).

When looking at the languages caregivers used with each other, more than 80% of participants reported majority (native) language use for parent-parent dyadic interactions. Unfortunately, this proportion cannot be compared to existing research, but it seems reasonable for NNB parents in monolingual contexts to use majority language in parent-parent interactions. Among previous classifications of bilingual family types, only Döpke's (1992) categorization of OPOL families had considered the languages used in the parent pair. Data from the survey is in line with her claim that parent-parent majority language interactions are a necessity for the majority of families, since almost 60% of partners in our sample —the parent not responsible for input in the non-native language— had a low level of L2 (from no level to B1). In her commentary, Döpke also argued that the situation when “each parent speaks the language they speak to the child when addressing each other” (OPOL) is rarely chosen (1992: 13), which seemed to be the case in our sample.

In addition, the variety of contexts where the minority language is spoken was another element influencing the amount of input that these children heard. Our data showed that only half the sample used the minority language in all contexts outside and inside the home according to their preferred input pattern and about a

quarter used it only at home. As we saw in the results section for the second research question (How does the parents' communicative competence in the non-native language influence FLP?), this choice might be influenced by the parental level of competence in the target language. Also pertaining to these children's input, we saw that NNB parents made a prominent use of books to supplement minority language. This might indicate that the children in our study might be not only bilingual, but biliterate.

In line with other studies about family bilingualism, respondents declared using a variety of PDS. The most common choices were Repetition Strategy, followed by the Move On Strategy and the Expressed Guess Strategy. Monolingual PDS like the Minimal Grasp Strategy or Request for Translation, that would negotiate the need for the child to actually use the minority language, were the second and third least used after Code Switching. In fact, two thirds of parents declared that they did not mix languages in interactions with the child. However, research based on observations of language socialization practices has shown that even when parents claim to practice strict language separation –for example in the context of OPOL households– they make use of mixed utterances in their interactions with children (Lanza, 1997).

Parental rates of mixing seemed to correlate with the level of competence in their non-native language: more competent speakers reported code-switching less. It is interesting that non-native parents with prominent levels of the non-native language code-switch the least, because it suggests that the source of parental mixing in these cases might be lack of equivalent terms in the non-native language rather than a natural result of the language socialization practices to which they were exposed, as it is with other bilinguals (De Houwer, 2009).

The final piece of data to answer the first research question involved looking at parental ideologies towards language acquisition and NNBP as well as at the interplay between these attitudes and

beliefs. Data from the survey showed, as it was expected, that the parents in the sample had a strong impact belief as defined by De Houwer (1999). Interestingly, the parents' impact belief did not correlate with any of the other attitudinal measures nor depended on the parents' competence in the target language. Therefore, it might be hypothesized that it is a pre-existing factor for NNBP. No other feature of the sample was as prevalent and overarching as impact belief. Finally, NNB parents showed only relative concern about their non-native model, with more parents worried about their mistakes than their pronunciation. In line with previous research (Lozano-Martínez, 2019), both worries decreased in inverse proportion to the parents' competence in their L2.

This study presents some limitations that should be addressed by future research. Firstly, the limited number of participants hinders the generalizability of our results. Additionally, the reliance on reported data rather than direct observations introduces another constraint for result interpretation. Finally, considering the significance of impact belief in NNBP, it would be pertinent to construct an instrument that enables a more precise and consistent exploration of this variable. Altogether, the empirical results from this exploratory study provide insights into the linguistic environments of children being raised bilingually in their parents' non-native language and contribute to form a better understanding of the ideologies behind NNBP and the factors that affect and shape their overall FLP.

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