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Family Language Policy in Greek-Finnish Multilingual Families

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FAMILY LANGUAGE POLICY IN GREEK-FINNISH MULTILINGUAL FAMILIES

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates Family Language Policy (FLP) in Greek-Finnish families living in Greece and the language management methods in use in these families. Additionally, the study examines what kinds of factors influence the FLP in the families under study, if any. The research is mainly guided by Spolsky's (2004) three-tiered language policy model: language practices, language beliefs or ideology and efforts to modify said practices through language management. The target group for this research are Greek-Finnish families living in Greece, in which at least one parent is of Finnish heritage and speaks Finnish. The research was conducted through two separate online surveys: one was intended for the Finnish-speaking parents and one for their offspring, respectively. The survey inquired about the FLP in the families through questions related to the Finnish language and culture, including multiple choice questions and open-ended questions with an option to respond with text or audio. The results showed that the one-parent-one-language (OPOL) method was commonly in use in the families. A high impact belief, which refers to the parental belief about control over their children's language skills (De Houwer 1999), and a strong ethnocultural identity were seen as factors affecting the FLP in a positive way. This means that the family members' attitudes are in favor of learning the heritage language and passing it on to the next generation. Some external factors to the family, such as pressure from the Greek-speaking majority community, had a negative influence on family language policy, which could manifest for example as a resistance for passing on the home language. This study contributed to a better understanding of multilingual family life and FLP in families in which two small languages, Finnish and Greek, are spoken. These languages are not often studied in tandem. Future research could focus on child agency in such families in order to understand better the role children play in maintaining the heritage language in a family.

Keywords: Family Language Policy, FLP, OPOL, language management, heritage language, multilingual families, bilingualism, Finnish, Greek

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1 INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, language policy has focused on the macro level, reserved for language use in the public context, and less attention has been directed at the home and family environment (Spolsky 2004, Fogle and King 2013). Family Language Policy is a fairly recent field of research, and it can be defined as “explicit and overt planning in relation to language use within the home among family members” (King, Fogle and Logan-Terry 2008: 907). The field is especially interested in the reasons as to why some children growing up in a bi- or multilingual environment develop full competency in the home languages while other do not (Fogle and King 2013). The family is considered a very important domain in language policy because it has a critical role in the formation of a child’s linguistic environment (Schwartz 2008).

Spolsky (2004) expanded the concept of language policy from a governmental level to any size speech communities and put the family at the forefront of language policy research emphasizing its importance in learning more about language maintenance and language shift. Spolsky (2004) created a model in order to make a distinction between the different components of language policy within a speech community. This model consists of three components: language practices, language beliefs or ideology and efforts for modifying the language practices through language management. This research is mainly guided by this three-tiered language policy model, which Spolsky adapted to the family level, and is especially interested in the language management aspect. Spolsky maintained that this family-level language policy should be analyzed with reference to language ideology, practice and management, just like any other social unit.

One of the most well-known language management strategies is the one-person-one-language or OPOL method in which each parent speaks their own native language to their children (King et al. 2008). This method has gained popularity especially among middle-class bilingual families, and it can be assumed that the family language policy in Greek-Finnish families is also mostly based on this policy. As for the factors which may influence a set FLP, no one factor can be set apart from an abundance of them. Some of these factors will be examined in light of Curdt-Christiansen (2018) model, presented in section 2.3, depicting the dynamic nature of FLP and its interaction with external factors to the family through language socialization.

The present study investigates different aspects of Family Language Policy (FLP) of Greek-Finnish multilingual families living in Greece and the language management methods in use in these families in order to maintain the heritage language, Finnish. The term *multilingual* can be used to describe families with one majority-language speaker and one minority-language speaker, although in this study the majority language, Greek, is spoken by both parents in some families. The term *heritage language* is used to depict a language that is assigned to a speaker as part of their heritage (Schalley and Eisenclas 2020), as opposed to a majority language of a particular society, which may not be spoken in the home environment. Additionally, the study will investigate factors, such as the Finnish-speaking

parent's language ideologies, beliefs and emotional aspects, which may influence the set family language policy when parents are communicating with their children. The research is conducted through two separate online surveys: one for the Finnish speaking parent and one for their offspring, respectively. The surveys mainly consist of multiple choice and open-ended questions. The survey is sent to Greek-Finnish families via contacts at the Finnish heritage language schools (Suomi-koulu) in Greece.

There is substantial research on family language policies within bilingual family contexts in countries where the majority language is English, such as in the USA, in Australia and in Canada. Also, in most studies the minority language, such as French, Japanese or Spanish, has a prestigious status in many parts of the world. However, there is a lack of studies focusing on family language planning of lesser spoken minority languages (Kirsch 2012).

This research could shed more light in the family-related factors that promote intergenerational language transmission in Greek-Finnish families and contribute to the current research on Family Language Policy. By focusing on Greek as the majority language and Finnish as the minority language, this study will try to provide more insight on the family language policies, parental language ideologies and language planning in families where Finnish, a small non-Indo-European language¹, is spoken and of which there is not a wealth of research available. These factors, such as those related to identity or beliefs and values, vary from one language community to another, and while some components of the family language policy may accelerate home language maintenance, others may arrest it (Schwartz 2008). Therefore it is important to expand the study to different ethnolinguistic groups, here the Greek-Finnish families living in Greece. Due to limited scope, this study does not attempt to cover all components and aspects of Family Language Policy. Hopefully it can still provide an overview of these multilingual families and the heritage language use and maintenance in them.

¹ <https://www.kotus.fi/kielitieto/kieliet/suomi>

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

At the core of this research is the concept of Family Language Policy or FLP, and in order to understand it better, this chapter will begin by introducing FLP's journey in becoming a field in its own right in paragraph 2.1. Additionally, when introducing this field of study, one cannot disregard the work by Spolsky and his tripartite language policy model (Spolsky 2004) for managing language within a family setting. This model has often served as a starting point when applying the FLP framework in research, the present study included. Spolsky's model will be discussed in section 2.1.2, after introducing some core terminology in 2.1.1.

One of the core components of Spolsky's 2004 model is language management, and this component will also play an important role when investigating Greek-Finnish families and the use and importance of Finnish in them. Different methods for managing language within a family, including the one-person-one-language or OPOL method, will be introduced in 2.2. Another component in Spolsky's model is parental language ideology and beliefs and values, which may be influenced by various external and internal factors to the family affecting a set FLP and language decisions made in a family. In order to better comprehend the family language policy in the Greek-Finnish families under investigation, it is important to understand what kinds of factors may shape it. These factors will be discussed in section 2.3.

At the end of this chapter in 2.4, two research questions will be presented reflecting the different theories and studies presented in this chapter.

2.1 FAMILY LANGUAGE POLICY

At the core of this research is the field of Family Language Policy or FLP within the discipline of sociolinguistics, and it is informed primarily by theories of language policy and language socialization (Curdt-Christiansen 2018). A language policy can be defined as "a political decision and a deliberate attempt to change/influence/affect the various aspects of language practices and the status of one or more languages in a given society" (Curdt-Christiansen 2009: 352). These policies can be made explicitly, or their acknowledgement and practice can be more implicit, and they can extend to all societal domains, also to the domain of the family (Curdt-Christiansen 2009). Traditionally, language policy has focused on the macro level, reserved for language use in the public context, such as school and the workplace, and on the impact that various policies may have on language shift, while less attention has been directed at the more intimate environment of home and family (Fogle and King 2013, Spolsky 2004).

The notion of FLP as a named field was first mentioned in Luykx's (2003) study of Aymara-Spanish families' language practices in Bolivia (Smith-Christmas 2016, Wilson 2020). The field is especially interested in the underlying questions of "how parents' language decisions, practices and beliefs influence child outcomes" (Fogle and King 2013: 1) and why some children growing up in a bi- or multilingual environment develop equal competency in both the heritage or minority language(s) and the community or majority language(s) while others do not. Luykx (2003: 41) calls this the "language ecology of the family". Currently, FLP

is a field in its own right in sociolinguistic literature, and this has been largely due to the efforts by King and Fogle (Smith-Christmas 2016). Family Language Policy was first narrowly defined as “explicit and overt planning in relation to language use within the home among family members” (King, Fogle and Logan-Terry 2008: 907), and the field was firmly anchored onto language-related decision-making processes within families and on their influence on child language learning (Lanza and Lomeu Gomez 2020). Since then, largely inspired by Spolsky’s (2004) tripartite language model, presented in more detail in section 2.1.2., more attention has been given to language practices, management and ideologies with transnational families, as well as to experiences, agency and identity construction (ibid.).

While on the one hand, the field of FLP has its origins in language policy research, on the other hand at the very foundation of FLP work today is *language socialization* (Curdt-Christiansen 2018, Lanza and Lomeu Gomez 2020). Language socialization was derived out of an anthropological conviction on the importance of language as a medium in children’s development of social and cultural knowledge. It examines how novices, such as children, apprehend the situational context in relation to the cultural context (Schieffelin and Ochs 2011). In other words, language socialization is concerned with how younger members of a community acquire through language use sociocultural knowledge and practices which are needed for becoming competent members of their communities (Curdt-Christiansen 2018, Spolsky 2009). Through participation in social interactions, these community members are socialized to use language, and socialization occurs through the use of language. Language and cultural environments are important in language socialization, and these environments can be deliberately managed by parents, for example, or the environments can refer to implicit language socialization practices, such as linguistic and cultural resources (Curdt-Christiansen and Huang 2020). Language socialization research extends the object of inquiry past the mother-child pair into a range of adult and child communicative partners whom children might routinely engage with (Schieffelin and Ochs 2011).

Language socialization in relation to FLP will be discussed in more detail in section 2.3 regarding external and internal factors influencing FLP. In the following in 2.1.1, definitions for some core terminology for this research will be defined. Many of the FLP-related terms do not have a clear-cut definition but the meaning can vary depending on the context and/or the researcher, and it is important to define the terms as they will be used in this research. As previously mentioned in this section, Spolsky’s (2004) language model has worked as a driving force and an inspiration to FLP research, and it will be introduced in section 2.1.2. The components for this important model with regard to FLP will provide a basis for all future sections of this literature review and for the entire research.

2.1.1 Terminology

The term *heritage language* can be defined in a broad manner where strong connections between linguistic and cultural heritage are emphasized (Polinsky and Kagan 2007). In one definition for heritage language, “the individual adopts or is assigned a language as part of their heritage by virtue of being born into a particular community, without implying competence in that language” (Schalley and Eisenclas 2020: 27). In this broad definition, a

heritage language could even be learned from scratch as an adult by culturally motivated learners, as regular second-language speakers (Polinsky and Kagan 2007).

A narrower, but a more widely used definition of a heritage language refers to the order of acquisition: a heritage language is the first language acquired, but a switch to the majority language may interfere with the complete acquisition of this language (Polinsky and Kagan 2007, Schalley and Eisenclas 2020). Valdés's (2000) well-known definition refers to heritage speakers as people who are raised in homes where a language other than English is spoken. These individuals are to some degree bilingual in English and the heritage language. The original definition refers to English, but it can be replaced by any dominant or majority language. The definitions for the terms *heritage language* or *heritage speaker* are not entirely agreed upon among scholars, and the actual concept of heritage language is questioned by some researchers stating that it points more to the past and less to the future and may give the impression that a language does not have value in a technological society (Schalley and Eisenclas 2020).

The notion *minority language*, which is widely used in bilingualism discourses, is on the one hand contrasted with the notion of *majority language* and can be defined as “the language that needs to assert itself” in a situation of a power imbalance (Schalley and Eisenclas 2020: 2). On the other hand, the majority or the dominant language is the one spoken by the socially or economically dominant group in a national context (Sevinç 2020). The relatively neutral term *home language* is also commonly used to depict the language or languages spoken in the home environment or in the community which are not the majority languages in the particular society (Schalley and Eisenclas 2020).

Various terms are used by different researchers describing families where two or more languages are in use and where the parents may come from different cultures and do not necessarily share the same native language. Such terms include *interlingual* and *linguistically exogamous* families (Wilson 2020), or *transnational* (Fogle and King 2013), *bilingual* (Barron-Hauwaert 2004), *multilingual* or *immigrant* (Smith-Christmas 2016) families, and *mixed-language couples* (Kirsch 2012) for families with one majority-language speaker and one minority-language speaker. Wilson (2020) defines the term *interlingual* families as ones in which parents have different native languages and uses this term in her research. Within these interlingual families there may be a language related imbalance because one of the partner's native language is usually the predominant society language, and this may affect the family language policy in favor of the society language (ibid.). This term could be suitable for this research as well, but for the sake of simplicity, a more general term “multilingual” will be adopted in the description of the Greek-Finnish families under study.

2.1.2 Spolsky's language policy model

Spolsky's (2004) tripartite language policy model has influenced the field of FLP and functioned as an inspiration to several studies within the field. The different components of this model will be very useful when looking into the Greek-Finnish families' FLP as well, and presenting it here is important because it provides a common thread for this entire research.

Spolsky (2004) expanded the concept of language policy from a governmental level to any size speech communities, ranging from cities, villages and organizations to the micro-level planning, such as individual families and parental language ideologies within multilingual families. According to Spolsky (2004), the family is an important domain for studying language policy because it is critical in defining which languages children grow up with and as such is an important factor with regard to language shift or language maintenance. Language maintenance can be defined as “the continuing use of a language in the face of competition from a regionally and socially more powerful language” (Mesthrie and Leap 2009: 245).

Spolsky (2004) created a model in order to make a distinction between the different components of language policy within a speech community, which he defines as “any group of people who share a set of language practices and beliefs”. This model consists of three components:

language practices -- the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire; its language beliefs or ideology -- the beliefs about language and language use; and any specific efforts to modify or influence that practice by any kind of language intervention, planning or management. (Spolsky 2004: 5)

In other words, language practices refer to the choice of language variety within a family or a language community in their daily interactions; language beliefs and ideology refer to what people think should be the language of the community – or what parents believe should be the language of the family; and finally language management refers to the efforts made by people to modify the practices and beliefs of other members of the community (Spolsky 2004, 2018, 2022).

Since first creating his language policy model, Spolsky has recently revisited the theory but still holds this tripartite model as the basic model for speech communities (Spolsky 2018, 2022). He did, however, become more persuaded on the importance of the individual and expanded the model to include two important modifications to his original model (ibid.).

The first modification was to *add* to the management component *advocates* who wish to modify or influence language practices of a language community but who lack the necessary authority. In other words, the new distinction now includes “advocates without power and managers with authority” (Spolsky 2018: 335). Such advocates without power could include language activists pursuing language revival, and while they may not have the necessary power and authority yet, they may obtain it later on (Spolsky 2018).

The second modification to Spolsky’s (2018) revised model was also an addition to the management component – the incorporation of *self-management*. According to Spolsky (2018), this kind of attempt of speakers themselves to modify their own linguistic proficiency and repertoire now seems like an obvious addition to the model. Spolsky links this second modification to language socialization, because the speakers modify their language according to their sociolinguistic environment, such as when interacting with

caretakers or peers. While the process of child language learning is innate to an extent, the external linguistic environment influences the specific variety learned and the speaker can feel pressured to increase and modify language by adapting one's speech to that of the listeners, for example. While usually considered a positive action, self-management can also have a negative aspect appearing as a resistance to language learning or to the efforts of language managers (Spolsky 2022).

In his 2018 revision to the language model, Spolsky describes in detail various non-linguistic situations and events which may interfere with the implementation of language policies and hinder the possibility for self-management, such as banning the teaching of a certain language in a country. While these non-linguistic forces may affect language policies within families, Spolsky discusses them mainly at the macro level, in governmental and public contexts, and as such they are not within scope of this present research.

Spolsky's 2004 theory has been criticized for categorizing too strictly parents as the language policy makers and children as the passive recipients of such policies (Wilson 2020). Recent studies have shown that children can also play a role in defining the FLP by making choices of their own with regard to language and identity. As this study investigates two generations of Greek-Finns (parents and their offspring), the aspect of child agency will be discussed in more detail in section 2.3.3. with regard to internal factors influencing language ideology and language policy more generally.

Spolsky's 2004 language policy model has often been used as a starting point when researchers have applied the FLP framework in studying families and their language use in multilingual settings. An example of this is a study by Fogle and King (2013) where they summarize Spolsky's model and their orientation toward it as an attempt "to integrate theory and data from the fields of language policy and child language acquisition to gain insights into family language ideologies (how family members think about language), language practices (what they do with language), and language management (what they try to do with language)" (Fogle and King 2013: 1).

Spolsky's model will also provide the framework for the present study on FLP in Greek-Finnish families. While declared language practices will also be discussed and the survey includes questions about languages used in the family, in this present study the practices cannot be confirmed because the study does not include ethnographic observation. More relevant to this study are two of the model's three components: language management and language ideology, and the following sections will focus mainly on them. First the focus in section 2.2 will be partially on the language practices in a family and specifically on the different ways to manage the family language policy. An especially well-known management method is the one-person-one-language method, introduced in 2.2.1, which could well be in use in the Greek-Finnish families as well and should therefore be introduced. Later on in 2.3, the component of language ideologies and beliefs will be discussed. This component of Spolsky's language model and its sub-components, such as attitudes and emotions, may influence the use of declared practices and management methods within families, even to a great extent, and for this reason it is important to understand these factors because this will provide means for researching the FLP in Greek-Finnish families as well.

2.2 FAMILY LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT

Previous sections have covered the field of Family Language Policy in more general terms, from its beginnings where it was mentioned as a field in its own right in research. In the following, the theory of FLP will be narrowed down to several subcomponents, starting with Spolsky's third component in his tripartite language policy model, language management within the family environment, and arguably one of the most significant aspects of it (Nandi 2018).

Language management refers to parental efforts through which they attempt to influence their children's language practices within the family as well as their language acquisition. Language policy of the home is critically important in the natural intergenerational language transmission, and the teaching of a family heritage variety can be seen as the optimal condition for language maintenance (Spolsky 2018). The home language policy is strengthened when family members, the family language managers, have a united front in providing exposure to the heritage language (ibid.). Much of the research on language practices that parents use in an attempt to raise bilingual children has focused on parental discourse strategies and home language models (Curdt-Christiansen 2016). The following section will focus more closely on the language management strategies and practices that families adopt in their language policy in the home environment, most importantly the one-person-one-language or OPOL method, as well as strategies identified by Lanza (1997).

2.2.1 The OPOL method

One of the most well-known language management strategies (both in the literature and within multilingual families) is the one-person-one-language or OPOL method. This method can be described as an approach "in which parents have different native languages, the language of one of the parents is spoken in the wider community (considered the majority language), and each parent speaks their native language to their children" (King et al. 2008: 914). At the core of this strategy are strict boundaries in terms of a particular language being used – one person (or one parent) speaks consistently only his or her native language to a child. The advocates for this method believe that keeping the languages separate will reduce confusion and interference and this way enhance bilingual acquisition (Barron-Hauwaert 2004, Wilson 2020).

The term OPOL originated already in the early 20th century. It was coined by a French linguist Maurice Grammont (*une personne; une langue*) (Smith-Christmas 2016). Grammont's theory entailed that in a multilingual family, the two languages should be strictly separated in order to aid the child in learning both languages easily and without mixing them. Both parents should only use their own native languages, without specifically teaching it, and this would also help in bonding with the child through their language. The English term (one-person-one-language or OPOL) started to become more common in linguistics literature and research in the 1980s, especially relating to simultaneous bilingualism, i.e. a child acquiring two different languages right from birth (ibid.).

A substantial number of studies have advocated consistency when it comes to language choice in interactions between parents and children: a kind of monoglossic language

ideology has led to the study of bilingualism as a mere co-existence of two separate linguistic systems (Baker 2003), and some researchers have advocated a low tolerance to translanguaging practices, that is, alternating between two or more varieties. Instead, parents should create a monolingual environment in order to enable bilingualism (Gafaranga 2010). The one-person-one-language method has been at the center of attention with researchers in recent years. This is especially true for studies conducted in the 1990s (such as Döpke 1992, Meisel 1990 and Romaine 1995), which concluded that the OPOL method enhanced the active use of both home languages contributing to the popularity of the method. Because of this attention and support given to the method, it has become very popular especially among educated, middle-class transnational families (Wilson 2020). This limitation to certain types of families could, at least in part, be because the method requires “a high level of parental planning and awareness of the desired linguistic outcomes” (Wilson 2020: 9).

2.2.2 OPOL critique

Despite its relative popularity in bilingual child raising, the OPOL method has received a fair amount of criticism especially in terms of education and social status of parents and language prestige. This criticism is important to take into account for the purposes of this study as well in order to better comprehend FLP in Greek-Finnish families.

One of the criticisms for the OPOL method is that it is elitist, especially because it requires this kind of aforementioned planning and understanding about linguistic structures and the sought-after outcomes; if speakers wish to keep the two languages separate, they must be aware of which constructions, for example, belong to one language and which ones belong to the other one. Many success stories in this respect, i.e. raising children who speak both languages equally well using this method, arise from middle-class families where both parents are educated and hold a similar social status to the dominant culture (Barron-Hauwaert 2004, Smith-Christmas 2016, Wilson 2020). The OPOL method could be enhanced in various ways in order to get better outcomes in bilingual childrearing, such as hiring heritage language speaking nannies or traveling to see the extended family (Barron-Hauwaert 2004). These kinds of actions, however, require substantial means and may not be available to everyone, increasing the divide between “elite and folk bilingualism” (Wilson 2020: 10). Poor and less-educated parents may have fewer resources to help their children in home language maintenance, resulting in greater language shift toward the majority language in these families (Tuominen 1999).

The variability in the linguistic outcome in families where the OPOL method is applied is also attributed to how consistently parents choose and use their own language. This approach does not guarantee success in bilingual childrearing, and some children may become passive rather than active bilinguals (De Houwer 2009). Some studies have found no differences between families who use the OPOL method and those who do not. Instead of applying a strict policy with OPOL in the hopes of developing bilingualism, more focus could be placed on the importance of a child’s social network and linguistic role models (Hamers and Blanc 2000).

Additionally, with the one-person-one-language method, mothers often seem to be solely responsible for transmitting their native language to their children, without much support from their partners or the surrounding community (Smith-Christmas 2016, Okita 2002, among others). Especially Okita's (2002) research has shed light on this type of invisible work by mothers who raise their children bilingually with the OPOL method, and also on the pressure that these mothers might experience in succeeding in it. Other research has also found that this kind of language separation method has been associated with parent's feelings of anxiety and failure (King and Fogle 2006). The one-person-one-language method requires high consistency and does not necessarily provide the expected results nor the flexibility to adapt to changing circumstances within the family (ibid.). A deeper look on the emotional factors related to FLP, including the importance of flexible bilingual parenting in reducing negative feelings in relation to bilingual childrearing, will be discussed in 2.3.4.

Further critique of OPOL studies is that they often focus on communities where the minority language is a prestigious language, such as English, with middle-class parents, as opposed to immigrant communities where the minority language and culture can be stigmatized and where there is more pressure for assimilation (Smith-Christmas 2016). In these studies, the child's lack of minority language use is often attributed to internal factors to the family, such as interaction with the parents and overall amount of input, instead of wider societal factors outside of the family (ibid.).

The present research could shed more light on the Greek-Finnish families with regard to emotions of anxiety and failure that the Finnish speaking parent may be experiencing in relation to family bilingualism. Some survey questions inquire this quite directly, and the respondents can also bring up possible issues with this regard in the open-ended questions at the end of the survey. Some survey questions could additionally provide more information about the prestige of Finnish in these families.

2.2.3 Lanza's management strategies and translanguaging

The one-person-one-language method mainly focuses on the use of language by the parents or other members of the family, but often the language management extends also to the "recipient" of the language, the child (Barron-Hauwaert 2004). A parent may choose to speak only his or her native language, but if the child does not respond in the same language, the parent may adopt various methods for encouraging the child's use of said language. There are many reasons why children might, more or less deliberately, avoid speaking (or plain refuse to speak) the other family language, often the non-community language, with reasons ranging from a lack of knowledge of vocabulary to emotional issues. Ultimately, this kind of long-term avoidance can lead to language passivation (ibid.).

Lanza in her landmark study (1997) examined two OPOL English-Norwegian bilingual families and shed light on input and its qualitative components and the child's success in learning the minority language. Lanza surmises that strict boundaries in terms of language use aid in a child's minority language development by providing clear contexts for interaction. In her study, Lanza (1997, 2007) identified five different strategies or policies employed by parents of English-Norwegian bilingual families in response to the child's inappropriate code use: the *Minimal Grasp Strategy* where the adult claims to not

understand the child, the *Expressed Guess Strategy* where the adult asks a question using the other language, *Repetition* where the adult repeats what the child said, using the other language, the *Move on strategy* where the conversation is simply continued without intervention, and *Adult code-switching* where the adult uses both family languages when speaking to the child. Through these strategies, parents and children can negotiate language use in the family (Lanza 2007).

Similar results have been obtained in other studies (see Barron-Hauwaert 2004, Curdt-Christiansen 2013) revealing that parental language management practices are continuously balancing between accepting and rejecting the use of two languages, or *translanguaging*, which can be defined as the alternation between two or more varieties within the same conversation (Wilson 2020). Translanguaging was what Grammont originally tried to prevent when proposing the OPOL approach, and mixing languages has often been seen as a weakness and even as a sign of laziness (Barron-Hauwaert 2004). Currently language mixing, code-switching and translanguaging are more accepted, especially when younger children do it, both with parents and people outside of the family (ibid.). It should be noted that all three terms (language mixing, code-switching and translanguaging) refer to similar phenomena with some differences in their definition. It is not necessary to elaborate on them here but for the purpose of this study it suffices to say that they all refer to some kind of alternation of language varieties in speech or in writing. For more information on the similarities and differences of these terms, see Balam (2021). De Houwer (2009) suspects that rather than using the OPOL method, the more common language presentation in multilingual families could be a setting where one parent uses both the majority and the minority language and the other parent uses one of the languages. Other studies have found that a more relaxed attitude towards language use at home, i.e. not adhering strictly to the OPOL method but allowing translanguaging practices, actually encouraged children to use both family languages (Doyle 2013).

While the scope of this research does not allow for extensive focus on the issue of translanguaging or language mixing with regard to FLP, it is still of importance because it could be linked to a more flexible parenting in terms of bilingualism, as previously mentioned, embracing children's multilingualism and reducing negative emotions related to it. The data from the survey could give an indication on the connection between the used language management method, flexibility and overall content to the FLP in Greek-Finnish families.

2.3 FACTORS INFLUENCING FLP

Earlier sections have depicted what family language policy or FLP is, and what different ways there are for managing FLP in order to achieve a certain outcome in a multilingual family, usually with bilingual children. Already could be seen that various management methods and strategies do not exist in a vacuum, but FLP is dynamically influenced by "a wide range of linguistic and non-linguistic elements, variables, and factors" (Spolsky 2004: 41). In the following, the different forces which may shape FLP will be examined. These can include linguistic and non-linguistic forces; *internal* factors, such as identity, parental impact belief

and emotions, and *external* factors, such as language status and socioeconomic factors (Curdt-Christiansen and Huang 2020). These factors again link to Spolsky’s (2004) tripartite language model, especially to its second component: language ideology. Examining some of these components more closely will aid in the data analysis of this present research and in understanding the different factors affecting FLP in Greek-Finnish families.

The model in figure 1 depicts the dynamic relationship between FLP and language socialization (see 2.1 for more information on language socialization).

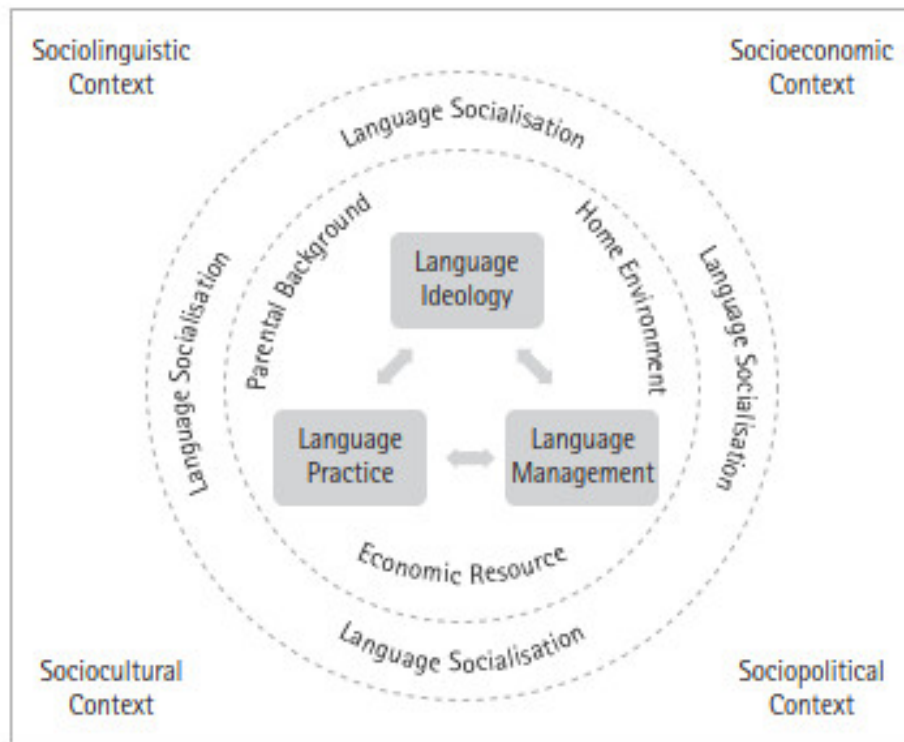


Figure 1: The interdisciplinary framework of FLP. (Curdt-Christiansen 2018: 422)

At the core of *The interdisciplinary framework of FLP* model in figure 1, all three components of Spolsky’s (2004) model are present: Language Ideology, Language Management and Language Practice. These are the three core components of FLP (Curdt-Christiansen 2018) and very relevant in the context of this research. On the second level of the figure are factors which may influence FLP decisions, such as factors related to parental background, home environment and economic resources. The dotted lines encircling the inner components and the outer factors of several social contexts (sociolinguistic, sociocultural, sociopolitical and socioeconomic contexts) act as walls, which separate families from the outside world. From this point of view, FLP is shaped by two types of forces: internal ones and external ones. Through language socialization, dotted lines depict how external forces are allowed to come through into the family domain while simultaneously the inner forces of FLP are permitted to pass in the opposite direction into the society. External environments shape FLP and are being shaped by it (Curdt-Christiansen 2018). For the purposes of this research, it is important to understand the various forces and factors behind the decisions in a family regarding language use and management.

One of the core components in figure 1, language management, was already discussed in section 2.2. In the following, another important component in the context of this research, language ideology, as well as the various internal and external factors influencing FLP will be discussed in more detail. The focus will be first on language ideology which will be defined in more general terms but also in the context of FLP. This will be followed by internal and external factors to the family which may influence a set FLP.

2.3.1 Language ideology and beliefs

Language ideology can be defined as a shared framework of social and subconscious beliefs and assumptions about the social utility of a particular language in a given society reflecting values of a society's linguistic culture (Curdt-Christiansen 2009). They are "social constructs that reflect historical roles, economic values, political power and social functions of a particular language" (Curdt-Christiansen 2016: 695). Language ideologies – or linguistic ideologies or ideologies of language – are ideologies that are in some way about language itself, as opposed to encoded in language (Woolard 2020). Language ideologies are present in all kinds of societies, regardless of its size or whether they are linguistically or culturally homogeneous or multilingual and multiethnic ones. They are representations of how language should be, not just how it is, and through them some linguistic features or varieties are given more value than others. Language ideologies are not solely about language, but they can create links between language and ethnicity-, age-, race- and location-related identities, for example (ibid.). Assumptions about language may become premises of judgment about an individual's trustworthiness or intelligence, among other traits, and one of the tasks of language ideology research is to investigate how such conclusions about the worth of people may in fact be related to their use of language. These assumptions have real consequences for linguistic structures and also for social relations, and twentieth century's linguistic anthropology is recognizing an ever more meaningful role for speaker agency (ibid.).

In the context of this research, language ideologies need to be examined in relation to family language policies. King et al. (2008) state that the study of FLP can provide insights into parental language ideologies revealing broader societal attitudes and ideologies about both language(s) and parenting. Parental language ideology can be narrowed down into "beliefs about how bilingual acquisition occurs and what constitutes bilingualism" (Wilson 2020: 13), and these beliefs may have an effect on the language management methods used at home, in the cases where there is explicit language planning at home. Within FLP, researchers have studied the role of language ideology as a driving force in the formation of a family language policy, with language beliefs and attitudes affecting these ideologies and are closely intertwined with them (Curdt-Christiansen 2016). Language ideologies can be closely linked to beliefs about parenting and childrearing, and now with an ever more positive attitude towards bilingualism, passing on the heritage language to the next generation is seen as "good" parenting (Okita 2002). Language ideology is context specific and related to different factors, such as economic, political, sociocultural and linguistic factors, as well as the educational experiences and expectations of parents (Curdt-Christiansen 2009). These factors will be examined more closely in what follows.

2.3.2 Internal factors

As mentioned above, language ideology is closely linked with parental beliefs and attitudes (Okita 2022), and in the following, these kinds of internal factors affecting FLP will be looked at, focusing on the ones which are most relevant to the context of the present research when investigating FLP in Greek-Finnish families. Internal factors can include emotional, identity and cultural factors, parental impact beliefs and child agency (Curdt-Christiansen and Huang 2020), and in the following, the focus will first be on identity, followed by the individual agency of parents and parental impact belief, and then child agency. Lastly, emotional factors influencing FLP will be examined.

2.3.2.1 Identity

Parents' language ideologies may be shaped by their personal sense of *identity* (Wilson 2020). The link between language and identity has been of academic interest for several decades already (ibid.). Identity can be defined as "how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is structured across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future" (Norton 2013: 45). Similarly to the broader concept of identity, linguistic identities can be constructed at multiple levels, such as at the individual, group, regional and national levels (Tseng 2020). Language is an especially important index of ethnocultural identity, and the transmission of a cultural and ethnic identity is one of the biggest motivations in maintaining a heritage language. A positive attitude towards the heritage language can be tied to a strong sense of ethnic identity, and this positive attitude can in turn encourage heritage speakers to use their heritage language (Wilson 2020). Some parents even believe in an inseparable relationship between language, culture and identity, as was the case with Chinese parents in Canada (Curdt-Christiansen 2009). Nandi's (2018) research on language management in Galician homes discusses how in addition to managing language use through literacy practices, for example, Galician-speaking parents also make an effort for 'prestige planning' of Galician in the family domain. Here, prestige is directly linked to identity and pride, and the goal of the language management strategy is to encourage family members to use the minority language, i.e. Galician, outside of the home environment and to enact their Galician identity without shame but with pride (ibid.).

2.3.2.2 Parental impact beliefs

De Houwer (1999: 75) raised an important sociolinguistic question: "why it is that some children, regularly exposed to two languages from a very young age, actually start to speak and continue to actively use these languages, and why other children, in what are apparently very similar circumstances, do not". In exploring some possible environmental factors, De Houwer focuses particularly on the role of parental beliefs and attitudes. One of the core concepts in her article is *parental impact belief* which refers to the parental belief about parent's having some kind of control over their children's language skills. This can also be thought of as the parent's sense of responsibility for maintaining a vibrant minority language in the family (De Houwer).

A strong impact belief means that a parent believes that his or her language use will have a direct influence on how well the child will learn a specific language and how they will use it,

all the way to specific linguistic forms (De Houwer 1999). These impact beliefs can be directly converted into actual management efforts in order to develop children's language skills and manage their academic success (Curdt-Christiansen 2009, Curdt-Christiansen and La Morgia 2018). The amount of impact belief can vary in different cultures, and in some non-Western societies parents may even believe that what they say has no impact at all to their children's language skills (De Houwer 1999). Sometimes parental beliefs can have a negative effect on children's linguistic development, even to the extent that not even monolingualism is attained, as has been the case with some deaf parents raising hearing children (ibid.).

De Houwer (1999) puts forward a hypothesis that in order to achieve early active bilingualism, parental impact belief must be high and parents must have a general positive attitude towards bilingualism. The researcher also points out that even with a very positive attitude towards bilingualism and the minority language, a lack of impact belief can result in passive bilingualism instead of an active one, where a child actually speaks both family languages. A well-known example of this is Kulick's (1993) ethnographic study in Papua New Guinea where in the village of Gapun parents have overtly positive attitudes towards both village languages but no belief that they could impact the children's language development. The parents are unhappy with the children's bilingual development but do not believe that anything they do can change the situation (ibid.).

One of the questions in the survey in the present research is related to the parents' impact belief in Greek-Finnish families in order to determine if this factor could be isolated with regard to the children's heritage language development.

2.3.2.3 *Child agency*

Agency can be seen as the capacity of an individual to affect change and as the free will of such an individual², whereas *child agency*, in the context of FLP, can be defined as "children's active role in making decisions about patterns of family language use" (Curdt-Christiansen and Huang 2020: 178). The concept of child agency is relatively new in the field of Family language policy (Smith-Christmas 2020), and Spolsky's (2004) tripartite language policy model has been criticized for not taking child agency sufficiently into account but rather placing parents as the language policy makers and children as the passive recipients of such policies (Wilson 2020). Smith-Christmas (2020) draws on a conceptualization of child agency in FLP with the following figure:

² <https://sociologydictionary.org/agency/>

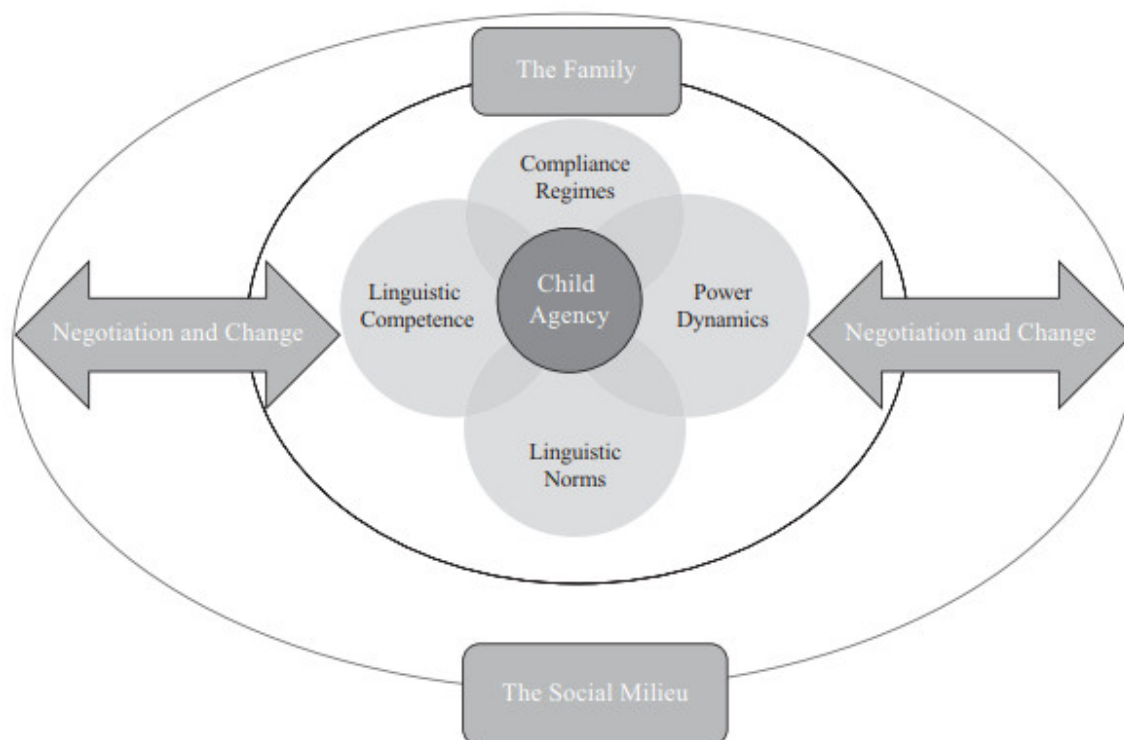


Figure 2: The intersectional, multidimensional, and multilayered nature of child agency in FLP. (Smith-Christmas 2020)

Figure 2 illustrates how the convergence of its different dimensions provides a meaningful starting point for examining the different ways through which children can enact their agency in family interactions. Smith-Christmas (2020) elaborates on this topic substantially, but for the scope of this research, it suffices to briefly discuss one of the most important dimensions (according to Smith-Christmas 2020), *compliance*. As an example of compliance, Smith-Christmas (2020) discusses the OPOL method and how a child's refusal to speak the parent's language or the child switching to the other home language can be seen as an act of child agency: the child has made their language choice based on certain environmental factors, such as them preferring one language over the other, this way initiating a change within the environment. The child is not adhering to the compliance regimes set forth by his parents, here speaking in the language of the parent (Smith-Christmas 2020). This dimension is also relevant to the present study in terms of the various management methods used in the families and the children's responses to using them.

Child agency has been discussed in several other studies as well. For example, Schwartz (2008) discovered in her study on FLP among second generation Russian-Jewish immigrants in Israel that children can be powerful promoters of switching to the majority language and that the parents' language ideology may not have a big impact on the children's command of the heritage language. Luykx (2003) when discussing the family "language ecology" emphasizes that children are agents of family language policy just as much as they are objects of it.

De Houwer (1999) also discusses child agency and illustrates the relationship between parental beliefs and attitudes and children's language development with her own model, depicted in figure 3:

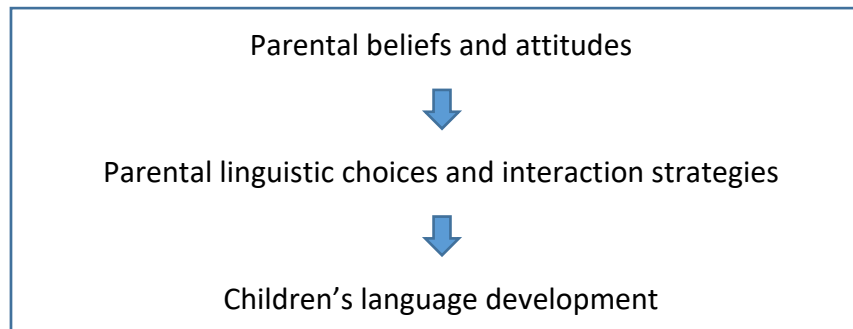


Figure 3: The relationship between parental beliefs and attitudes and children's language development

De Houwer points out that the arrows should be *bidirectional* as these processes are interactive (De Houwer 1999, King et al. 2008): while children's language behavior is influenced by the language used by parents, this behavior also influences parent's beliefs and strategies, so there is child agency involved. This bidirectional relationship could be seen in a study about bilingual families in the USA, in which it was discovered that school-aged children's attitudes and practices often influenced parents' FLP (Tuominen 1999). The children brought home the American values for cultural assimilation, and they were often the ones deciding what the family's home language will be (ibid).

2.3.2.4 Emotional factors - Harmonious bilingualism, positive and negative experiences affecting children or adults

While bilingual children's experiences with regard to FLP has not been extensively researched, their attitudes and emotions toward the heritage language has been (Wilson 2020). The same heritage language speaker may experience both positive and negative emotions toward the heritage language – they may not like speaking the language but they can still have positive attitudes towards the heritage language because they associate the language with their families and other beloved ones and with their desire to connect with the linguistic community. Negative feelings towards the heritage language, then again, may arise with children wanting to fit in with the majority culture (ibid.). These negative feelings combined with parents' strong emotional attachment to the minority language may lead to conflicts within the family and cause distress (De Houwer 2020). Sevinç (2020), for example, discusses the role of anxiety and negative emotions in the process of home language maintenance and language shift among the Turkish community in the Netherlands. One of the biggest factors contributing to anxiety was "negative evaluations of emigrants' Turkish linguistic and cultural skills by Turks in Turkey" (Sevinç 2020: 97).

When there are no negative factors influencing the subjective well-being in such families, De Houwer (2020) talks about Harmonious Bilingualism. De Houwer has developed this term as an expansion on the notion of Harmonious Bilingual Development (HBD) (De Houwer 2006) which can be used in a language contact setting with families with young children without

major issues caused by the bilingual situation. Harmonious bilingualism, on the other hand, is a broader term referring to subjectively positive or neutral experiences within a bilingual setting (De Houwer 2020). On the opposite end of a continuum with harmonious bilingualism, De Houwer (2020) places conflictive bilingualism.

While the notion of *well-being* cannot be easily defined (Wilson 2020), overall, subjective well-being, in the particular context of FLP and bilingualism, is influenced by broader internal factors, such as physical and mental health as well as personality, but also by several external factors, such as the socio-economic status of the family, the political system of the country or region and the interpersonal relationships within the family and the community (De Houwer 2020).

In her article on well-being for families in bilingual settings, De Houwer (2020) provides several examples on how harmonious bilingualism may or may not take place in bilingual families. Factors influencing it can be related to “power struggles” where children refuse to speak the heritage language despite parental efforts, or to insufficient language skills, both with regard to the minority or the majority language, if the child grows up in a single language home where the societal language is not spoken. Increased proficiency in the societal language can have a direct impact on the well-being of children for example when they start attending day care or preschool and are at first unable to communicate in the majority language (ibid.).

Lacking skills in the home language can also be a source of anxiety. Sevinç (2020) gives an example of a 14-year-old third-generation Turkish-Dutch bilingual born in the Netherlands, who feels anxious about speaking her home language, Turkish, with her grandfather. The grandfather comments on her Turkish skills in negative terms and says that her poor language skills will influence her future in the Turkish community negatively (for example not being able to find a husband). Here, the negative emotions are shaped by the family group (ibid.).

In addition to this kind of negative influence on well-being due to insufficient language skills, other factors influencing child well-being negatively in a bilingual situation could include parents speaking the home language to their children in public causing possible embarrassment to the children (De Houwer 2020). These negative attitudes towards the home language may stem from the surrounding society, and the fact that some teachers, speech therapists and pediatricians advise against using any other language than the societal language at home can be detrimental to achieving harmonious bilingualism in families (ibid.).

The present research on Greek-Finnish families does not focus directly on harmonious bilingualism or HBD in the families due to the difficulty of defining *well-being* in the first place and because its affective components can be difficult to measure. In addition to the difficulties in the definition and the measurement (Wilson 2020), Wilson critiques De Houwer for placing too much emphasis on the child’s ability to actively use the heritage language as a key factor in achieving harmony in a bilingual family setting. Foisting such responsibility on the children seems unreasonable, especially when it is more likely that

parental ideologies and expectations are the ones influencing a family's experience with regard to multilingualism. Current research has also found evidence on the importance of parental flexibility as a condition for a positive family language policy experience as well as a more positive attitude towards translanguaging practices (Wilson 2020). Kopeliovich (2013) promotes a 'happylingual approach' embracing flexible bilingual parenting where children's multilingualism is seen more as an asset rather than a problem, and proposes a more child-centered approach to bilingual parenting.

However, Wilson (2020) agrees that the recurring conflicts related to language use within a family and the negative thoughts and emotions towards the FLP can be assessed and that they could have a negative effect on the family's well-being. Even though this research will not attempt to measure the well-being of families, the positive and negative language related experiences and possible conflicts could be examined to an extent in order to get an idea of the level of satisfaction to the families' FLP and the various factors contributing to it, if not exactly of *harmonious bilingualism* or the *well-being* of families and individuals. Wilson (2020) encourages to focus on the emotional experience of the child rather than seeking some kind of balanced bilingualism within the family. In the present study, the focus of this emotional aspect will be on both children and the Finnish-speaking parent of the family.

2.3.3 External factors

In the following, the focus will be on the external factors which may influence a set language policy in a family, with Curdt-Christiansen's (2018) model presented in figure 1 as a guiding framework. As discussed earlier, at the center of this model is the inner circle with the three core components of FLP as well as internal factors influencing these components. However, families are not isolated from the larger sociocultural environment, but they reflect this environment constantly by interacting with other people in sociolinguistic, sociocultural, sociopolitical and socioeconomic contexts (Curdt-Christiansen and Huang 2020). Families are social in nature, which is why the study of FLP and therefore this study on Greek-Finns as well must take into consideration also these aspects which are external to the family and which affect FLP through language socialization, that is, language learners acquiring sociocultural knowledge through language use (Curdt-Christiansen 2018). The following section will examine what kinds of effects (public) linguistic, cultural, economic and political forces can have on family language practices and management methods.

Socioeconomic factors with regard to languages and language policies refer to the economic forces that a certain language evokes (Curdt-Christiansen and Huang 2020). The decision on passing on the heritage language within FLP is often related to the economic benefits of a certain language (ibid.). For the purposes of this study, the economic factors can be linked to *parental expectations*, which are, according to Curdt-Christiansen (2009: 356), "among the most important micro predictors for a successful FLP". These expectations refer to parental beliefs and goals about their children's bi/multilingual development and are often shaped by the parent's socio-cultural-historical backgrounds, such as their own educational or immigration experiences or perhaps feelings of missed opportunities. Parental expectations can be closely related to the *linguistic* factors and the *economic* value of a

certain language. All languages are not necessarily seen as equal but some are preferred over others for both linguistic, social and economic reasons: for example English as an international language can be seen to provide more opportunities in terms of wealth and social prestige, especially in developing countries (Curdt-Christiansen 2009). This power and status of a certain language “may invisibly shape parental decisions about the continuity of cultural and linguistic heritage” (Curdt-Christiansen and La Morgia 2018: 193).

An important aspect influencing language policy and language ideologies at the family level are the *sociocultural* factors. As external factors, these are the symbolic values that languages represent, and languages can even be seen as the manifestations of a culture providing links to beliefs and values. When languages are used as cultural tools, speakers can express their identities through them because they convey their origins, nationality, ethnicity, race and age, among other things (Curdt-Christiansen 2009). One of the biggest motivations for maintaining a heritage language in multilingual families is the transmission of a cultural and ethnic identity (Wilson 2020). Another major factor is maintaining a bond between the second-generation children and the extended family, such as the grandparents, in the homeland (ibid.). The support of the heritage language community can be important. Although parental efforts in maintaining their native language at home can be of value in passing the language to their offspring, studies have shown that even more important is the cooperation between home and the ethnic community through social events and heritage language classes, among other factors (Spolsky 2009). An example of this is a study by Kirsch (2012), who interviewed and observed Luxembourgish mothers raising their children in Great Britain, without the support of a Luxembourgish community. Despite the mothers strongly identifying with Luxembourgish, considering it their emotional language and understanding the important role that they have in ensuring exposure to the language, the monolingual setting of the environment had led to contradictory language practices at home with some of the mothers using a “one-person-two-languages” model. Input in Luxembourgish was reduced because the mothers were too accommodating to children speaking English and requesting English to be spoken (Kirch 2012). Similar results to Kirsch’s (2012) study of parents raising their children in one of the world’s lesser spoken languages may be found in the present study as well: although Greek is not as influential a language as English, Finnish is even smaller and its usefulness may be questioned in the families under study.

Political factors refer to individuals’ equal rights and opportunities to education, for example. Curdt-Christiansen (2009) talks about how the “linguistic optimism” of immigrant families may affect the family language policies – how a new language can provide access to education and to a better life. In some immigrant families, heritage language education is seen as their human right, whereas in others it can be thought of as a problem preventing these families and individuals from participating in socio-political activities. This shows how parental beliefs and ideologies can strongly influence the FLP and the acquisition of the heritage language by the second generation, as some parents in immigrant families may not even want to pass on their native language in order to assimilate better. Policies at the state level can have a strong influence on parental decisions and FLPs with regard to intergenerational transmission and resistance to language shift (Curdt-Christiansen 2016).

Adequate structures for heritage language development as well as ideological support for the heritage language are necessary in order to ensure more favorable outcomes of bilingual development (Curdt-Christiansen and La Morgia 2018).

It is important to keep in mind that while the factors influencing family language policies can be divided into internal and external ones, there is no real distinction between them (Curdt-Christiansen and Huang 2020). As previously mentioned, the model in figure 1 is fluid, and the dynamic aspect of it emerges as external forces come through into the family domain, while internal ones pass into the opposite direction into society. For example, language-related education policies influence parental decisions on home language maintenance and can also be reflected in parental impact beliefs. Similarly, child agency, while categorized as an internal factor, can be influenced by school culture and peers (ibid.).

In Greece in the education sector, there is a lack of articulated language policies in schools, for example with regard to children or varied social and ethnic groups (Dendrinos 2007). There are no stated policies for the provision of bilingual education nor support for the teaching and learning of Greek to immigrant children. Some bilingual education programs exist, but those are not state funded. These private programs are available only to privileged social groups and are linked to larger and more dominant languages, such as English, French and German. The most favored language in education is English, and in general, foreign language teaching is strongly linked to those languages which are associated with economic and political power as well as social prestige in Greece (ibid.).

While the present study does not attempt to investigate extensively the current sociolinguistic, sociocultural, sociopolitical and socioeconomic environment in Greece with regard to languages, the survey data can give an indication on the closely interrelated internal and external factors which influence a set family language policy in the Greek-Finnish community and through this can reveal information on the current situation in Greece with respect to the above-mentioned contexts.

2.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The aim of the present study is to better understand what kind of Family Language Policy is in use in Greek-Finnish families living in Greece, especially with regard to the language management methods the families may have adopted in order to achieve their goals with regard to bilingualism in the family. Additionally, the study attempts to shed light on various factors influencing the Family Language Policy in use in these families, such as parental language ideologies, including impact belief, child agency and emotional factors.

As previously mentioned, Spolsky's 2004 tripartite language policy model has often been used as a framework and a starting point for FLP research. The components of the model seem well-suited to be used in the present research as well, which is why the research questions partially reflect Spolsky's model on the different components of family language policy: language practices, language ideology and language management. The research questions are the following:

RQ1: What kind of Family Language Policy is present in Greek-Finnish multilingual families residing in Greece, especially in terms of the language management methods in use, if any?

RQ2: Which factors influence the Family Language Policy in Greek-Finnish multilingual families residing in Greece?

As for hypotheses, given that the one-person-one-language method is very commonly used in multilingual families based on the reviewed literature (Barron-Hauwaert 2004, Wilson 2020, among others), it could be assumed that the same applies to the Greek-Finnish families in this research. When it comes to the various factors influencing the Family Language Policy, a proper hypothesis is not feasible due to the multitude of possible factors, both external and internal. However, one factor does stand out in the literature, namely the parental impact belief, which according to research (De Houwer 1999, among others) can have a strong influence on FLP.

In the following, in chapter 3 the method used to gather the data will be presented as well as information on the participants (3.2) and the different survey measures used (3.3). After this, the data collected from the surveys will be compiled and analyzed in chapter 4 and then the results will be viewed in light of the research questions in chapter 5.

3 METHOD

3.1 OVERVIEW

The research was conducted via two online surveys which were sent to respondents via contacts in Finnish heritage language schools in Greece. Two separate surveys were created for the Finnish speaking parents of the Greek-Finnish families and their offspring, respectively. Since the present study does not include any ethnographic observations, actual practices and management strategies cannot be confirmed – respondents can say what they *think* they do, but whether or not they *actually* do this, i.e. use a specific language in a conversation with someone, cannot be verified.

It should be noted that *children* in this study refer to the second or third generation Greek-Finns, and not all of them are necessarily under the age of 18. At first, the intention was to create two different surveys, which will be described in detail later in the chapter: one for the Finnish speaking parent and one for the child/children of these Greek-Finnish families in order to gain a better understanding of factors influencing FLP in these families. A survey intended for the children was created in order to provide easier, more age-appropriate questions tailored for this generation. However, due to an oversight by the researcher, the instructions did not set an age limit (minimum or maximum) for this survey stating only that the children of these families should take this survey. Unexpectedly, this resulted in also adult offspring of the first generation Greek-Finns taking part in the child survey. Three out of eight respondents are over the age of 18. The data from these respondents is also included in this study because despite their age, they have still grown up in Greek-Finnish families, they are the *children* of Finnish speaking or bilingual parents, and can provide valuable information on the FLP in these families, just like the younger participants. For simplicity's sake, the term *child* will be used throughout this research to refer to the participants of the survey meant for the second or third generation, the child survey.

The parent survey was only in Finnish, whereas children were able to choose between Finnish and Greek. This distinction was made because the Finnish-speaking parents were assumed, by definition, to speak Finnish, whereas no such assumption could be made about the children's language skills. It should be thus noted that the survey questions and response options presented here in the Method chapter and in the following chapters are English translations and may not correspond exactly with the original questions. The total number of completed responses was 14 for parents and 8 for children. In the following, the respondents and their basic information will be presented in more detail, followed by a summary of the survey questions for both parents and children, as well as a short overview of the survey tool Phonic and some information about the Finnish heritage language schools.

The data for this study was gathered via an online survey. An online survey has the means for collecting large amounts of data and reaching a large number of respondents with relative ease and a low cost, and it seemed a suitable option for this study due to the long distance between the respondents (located in Greece) and the researcher (located in

Finland). Additionally, a survey is very well suited for gathering data in times of a pandemic, instead of face-to-face interviews. An online survey also enabled data-gathering in Greek without the help of an interpreter present, only some help with translations was needed. The survey entailed quantitative parts with multiple choice questions, some of which had the option for the respondent to elaborate on their answer. Some of the survey questions were more open-ended ones where the respondent was asked to provide a more descriptive answer in order to get qualitative data as well. The results will be presented and analyzed both at the group and at the individual level in order to provide a more general view of the results in addition to a deeper analysis of influencing factors to FLP.

3.2 PARTICIPANTS

The total number of participants was 22, of which 14 filled the survey for parents (aged 29 to 69 years old) and 8 the one for children (aged 4 to 33 years old). More respondents replied to the survey, but only the ones giving consent to use the data (parents gave consent on behalf of children under the age of 18) and completing the survey were included in this research. A more detailed overview of the participants will be given below. The surveys were sent to contacts in Finnish heritage language schools in Greece who then forwarded the survey link to Finnish families in their contact lists. The instructions both in the message for the contact persons and later in the parent survey contained a note about how the parent of a family should complete the survey before their children complete theirs. This instruction was meant to ensure that there are no families where only children participate in the study, as is it primarily the parents' responses that this study is interested in, in order to answer the research questions. The names of parents and children have been pseudonymized and the participants will be referred to using their pseudonyms in the study.

3.2.1 Finnish speaking parents

Only Finnish speaking parents of the Greek-Finnish families were asked to participate in the study. The Finnish speaking parents may either be first or second generation Greek-Finns living Greece, they were not asked to specify this nor was it part of the criteria for taking part in the survey. The other parent (if there was one, the study was not specifically limited to two parent households) was not asked to take the survey because the focus here was on the minority language and culture, Finnish and because this would fit in the scope of this thesis, making the scope too large. However, the majority language speaking parent can also influence the FLP with regard to the heritage language and culture, and therefore future studies could include both parents as well as grandparents in order to provide more insight into various factors that influence the FLP. Currently, the scope of this study does not permit this but some survey questions do include the point of view of the other parent as well. The contact persons were told that only the Finnish speaking parent should take the survey, and this instruction was repeated later in the survey itself. There were no further qualifications for the survey participation, such as having Finnish as a mother tongue or being bilingual. However, the survey for parents was only in Finnish, so the participant had to have a good knowledge of Finnish.

The sample consisted of 14 Finnish speaking parents, their ages ranging from 29 to 69 years, with a mean age of 48. Out of the 14 participants, 12 were female and 2 were male. Only one of the respondents was born in Greece, others were born in Finland. All respondents were currently living in Greece, as was expected. Most respondents (11) had been living there for 10 years or longer, 2 had been living there for 4-9 years and 1 for 0-3 years. When asked about how long they still intended to live in Greece, most respondents (12) said they intended to live in Greece for at least 10 years, and 2 people gave an answer of 0-3 years here. All participants except for two had completed a bachelor's or a master's degree.

3.2.2 Children

The sample consisted of 8 children, their ages ranging from 4 to 33 years, with a mean age of 16. Three participants out of eight were over the age of 18, more specifically 30, 31, and 33. The survey instructions stated that there were separate surveys for the Finnish speaking parent and for the children, but no minimum or maximum age for children were given. Out of the 8 participants, 6 were female and 2 were male. Two of the respondents were born in Finland, others were born in Greece. All participants, except for one older respondent, had been living in Greece all their lives, including the ones who stated that they were born in Finland.

3.3 PROCEDURE

The links to the two surveys were sent to contacts at the Finnish heritage language schools, who then forwarded the links to potential participants. The participants were able to complete the survey on any device, i.e. a computer, a tablet or a smartphone. The parent survey was available only in Finnish, whereas the participants for the child survey were able to choose between Finnish (Suomi) and Greek (Ελληνικά) in the first screen of the survey. Four respondents chose Greek as the language and four chose to answer in Finnish. Reading and writing skills were necessary to complete the child survey, which is why the instructions stated that parents were allowed to help younger respondents in completing the survey.

Each respondent was asked to give consent for the use of data gathered in the survey. This was done in the beginning of the survey, and without giving consent the respondents were not able to continue with filling in the survey. In the consent form, the respondents were also informed that they can opt out of their consent for using the data in the research, even after completing the survey, by contacting the researcher. Contact information for the researcher (name, email address, telephone number) was provided. The participants were also told that all data will be handled anonymously. For participants under the age of 18, parental consent was required for their participation.

3.4 SURVEY MEASURES

3.4.1 Parent survey

The questionnaire was developed specifically for this study. The biggest source of inspiration for the survey questions was the 2001 OPOL Questionnaire by Barron-Hauwaert (2004), especially with the culture-related questions 13 to 16 and the open-ended questions 25 and

26 in the parent survey. The questionnaire was entirely in Finnish, it took approximately 15 minutes to complete and included the following items categorized here into groups:

1. *Introduction, instructions and informed consent.* In these three items the purpose of the study was given and the study was introduced, detailed instructions were given, including asking the parent to respond before the child/children of the family, respondents were informed that the data will be handled anonymously and finally the respondents were asked to give consent for their answers to be used in the study. Only by selecting "I consent" were they able to advance in the survey.
2. *Demographic and background information.* Eight items (questions 1-8) requesting information about name, age, gender, place of birth, current place of residence as well as how long the respondent has lived there and still intends to live there, and finally the education level.
3. *Language skills and home language.* In questions 9-12 the parent was asked to self-evaluate how well they can speak Finnish and Greek on a 6 point scale ranging from Not at all to Mother tongue level. Additionally, they were asked about the language that was mainly spoken in their home when growing up and which language they mainly use with their spouse and children.
4. *Culture.* Five items (questions 13-17) asking the parents to define themselves and their family culturally with options, how often they meet with other Finns or Greek-Finnish families, how important it is that their children learn about the Finnish culture (on a 5 point Likert scale) and finally, they were asked to estimate how helpful various items are with regard to children's Finnish skills and knowledge of the Finnish culture. The items included Finnish heritage language school, reading books in Finnish and visits to Finland, among others.
5. *Importance of speaking Finnish and impact belief.* In these two items (questions 18 and 19) parents were asked about how important it is for them that their children learn Finnish and if they believe that they can influence their children's language choice and development.
6. *Family language policy and emotional aspect.* Five items (questions 20-24) asking about the languages used with different family members, how parents feel about language use in the family and how they react if the child does not answer in the parent's native language. These items had ready options to select from. The two last items in this group inquired how the parents feel if their child does or does not speak the parent's mother tongue to them, on a 5 point Likert scale from Sad to Happy.
7. *Pros and cons.* The last three questions (25-27) asked the parents about the advantages and disadvantages of being a bilingual family, with audio or text reply, as well as their overall satisfaction with their bilingual family life, on a 10 point Likert scale.
8. *Free audio or text.* On the final screen of the online survey, the respondents were encouraged to record or write any thoughts they might have regarding their bilingual family life. They were also able to finish the survey without giving a response here.

3.4.2 Child survey

The demographic and background information part of the child survey was partially based on the parent survey. Other parts were developed specifically for this study. The main target group was thought to be young children, so the questions were modified to be age appropriate. For example, the majority of the questions were either multiple choice questions with easy-to-understand options or the response was given with a slider in order to depict how the respondents felt about something. All questions can be found in Appendix 1 at the end of this study. The respondents had the option to answer either in Greek or in Finnish, the language selection was on the first screen of the survey. The questionnaire took approximately 9 minutes to complete and included the following items categorized here into groups:

1. *Introduction and informed consent.* Two items introducing the researcher and the study in a simplified way, giving instructions and asking for consent. Parental consent was required if the participant was under 18 years old.
2. *Demographic and background information.* Seven items (questions 1-7) requesting information about name, name of parent taking the parent survey, age, gender, place of birth, current place of residence and how long the respondent has lived there.
3. *Language skills.* Four items (questions 8-11) asking how long the child has been able to speak Greek and Finnish and how well they feel they can speak these two languages, if at all.
4. *Culture.* Question 12 asking the child to define themselves culturally as mainly Finnish, mainly Greek or both equally.
5. *Language use.* Question 13 about how often they use Finnish with different people, on a 5 point Likert scale from Never to Always.
6. *Emotional aspect.* Six items (questions 14-19) asking children how much they like speaking Finnish and Greek on a 5 point slider, how does speaking or hearing Finnish make them feel, with ready text options to select from, and whether they sometimes argue over which language should be used in the family, with four set text options. The last two questions asked children what they do and do not like about speaking two languages at home, with audio or text reply.
7. *Free audio or text.* On the final screen of the online survey, the respondents were encouraged to record or write any thoughts they might have regarding their bilingual family life. They were also able to finish the survey without giving a response here.

All questions are listed at the end of this study in Appendix 1.

3.5 RESEARCH TOOL PHONIC

The questionnaire was developed specifically for the present study using the Phonic survey tool³. Phonic is a research platform designed around voice and video, also providing tools for building online surveys. It provides simple ways for designing studies with various question types and methods for collecting responses and analyzing results.

³ <https://www.phonic.ai/>

The main reason for opting to use Phonic over other survey tools was that it provided an easy way for the respondents to record audio responses. The survey included some open-ended questions with the possibility for an audio reply instead of writing down the answer. This was meant to make it easier especially for young children to express their thoughts about family language policy related questions, but also the parents had the same option in some of the questions. It was made very easy to provide the audio reply, all the respondents needed to do was press the red button to start the recording and then press it again to save it. Clear instructions were given to do this. However, all of these questions also had the possibility to provide the answer in writing, and all respondents, both parents and children, chose this option with all the questions where there was an audio recording option. The option to write down the answer was given in case someone was not able to provide an audio reply due to different circumstances, such as a noisy ambient environment.

As far as I am aware, being able to provide a survey response with audio is not very common in survey tools, and this is the reason why I chose Phonic, because they do provide this option without having to install any additional software or widgets. Theoretically, this kind of survey method could provide a valuable tool for example in sociolinguistic research: collecting data via a survey would enable an increased scope of research, and audio replies could provide more elaborated answers than open-ended questions with a written response. This type of data collection method could also be suitable for languages that do not have a standard orthography. Additionally, this kind of method could reduce the observer bias significantly while still being able to provide almost interview-quality qualitative data. More experiments and research is needed to determine if this kind of data collection method would be suitable for future sociolinguistic and other type of research.

3.6 A SHORT OVERVIEW OF FINNISH HERITAGE LANGUAGE SCHOOLS (SUOMI-KOULU)

Finnish heritage schools (Suomi-koulu) provide students voluntary, complementary teaching of the Finnish language and culture as well as acquaintance with Finnish nature, history and society in many different cities all over the world (Korpela 2017). The school is intended for children aged 3 to 18 years old with at least one parent with a Finnish background. Some schools also offer adult education. Teaching is provided usually 2-4 times per month, for about 2 hours at a time. The majority of funding comes from the Finnish National Agency for Education, however, Suomi-koulus do not have an official status in the Finnish education system. The first schools were established already in the late 1950's in the United States and Canada. The first Suomi-koulu in Greece was established in Rhodes in 1983, and in 2017 it was the largest Suomi-koulu in Greece with some students being third generation Finns. Athens and islands such as Rhodes currently have the most Finns living in Greece, the majority of which are women (ibid.).

The survey was distributed through contacts, such as teachers, in Finnish heritage language schools (Suomi-koulu) in Greece. Some multiple choice questions in the parent and child surveys had options related to the Suomi-koulu, such as a question about the various items or places with regard to children's knowledge about the Finnish language and culture (parent survey question 17). However, the respondents did not have to be past/current

students or have children presently studying at said schools. Finnish heritage language schools in Greece are and have been an important place for Finns to meet other Finns and for children to get to know other Greek-Finnish children (Korpela 2017). In many homes, the use of Finnish increased after the children started attending Suomi-koulu (ibid.).

That said, even though a respondent is not attending a Finnish heritage language school (or have a child there), they could still be somehow involved with the Finnish community through it because Finnish heritage language schools in the world have become important gathering places for the Finnish communities where people come for holiday celebrations, sports events and flea markets (Korpela 2017). People may come even if they don't have any other ties to the school, for example if they do not have children. It is also possible that even if the children of a certain age are no longer interested in attending the heritage language school or they are too busy, they could still come to events at the school to meet their Finnish friends (ibid.). Several teachers of the Finnish heritage schools in Greece say that most students drop out after elementary school age because the school workload in the Greek schools becomes too heavy (ibid.), so these events could prove important for Greek-Finnish children when it comes to maintaining the Finnish language and cultural knowledge. There are currently about 1,600 Finns living in Greece⁴.

⁴ <https://finlandabroad.fi/web/grc/kahdenvaliset-suhteet>

4 RESULTS

In this section, the survey data will be compiled for both the parents and the children, and after this the analysis of these results with regard to the research questions will be done in the Discussion section. First the data for the parent survey will be presented in 4.1., followed by the child survey in 4.2.

4.1 PARENTS

In the Method section, the parent survey questions were divided into 8 themed groups, mainly to provide a bigger picture of different themes at a glance. The survey itself did not have such visible groupings, although at times the respondent was informed about the contents of the next section, in order to encourage them to continue filling in the survey. This was done with sentences like “Next I would like to ask you about language use in your family – you’re almost half way through the survey, keep going!”. In the Method section, the first two groups (*Introduction, instructions and informed consent* and *Demographic and background information*) were already covered, and in the next section, the results for the third group, *Language skills and home language*, will be presented in sections 4.1.1 and 4.1.2. After this, the results for sections *Culture* (4.1.3), *Importance of speaking Finnish and impact belief* (4.1.4), *Family language policy and emotional aspect* (4.1.5), *Pros and cons* (4.1.6) and *Free audio or text* (4.1.7) will be reviewed.

4.1.1 Language skills

When asked about language skills, the participants could choose from the following options both for Finnish and Greek when answering the question “How well can you speak Finnish/Greek”:

- Not at all
- Only know some words and expressions
- Confident in basic conversations
- Fairly confident in extended conversations
- Confident in extended conversations
- Mother tongue

10 respondents selected Finnish as their mother tongue, 2 selected Greek and 2 selected both Finnish and Greek. The 2 speakers that did not select Finnish as a mother tongue evaluated their Finnish skills as “Fairly confident in extended conversations”. Of the 10 speakers who do not speak Greek as a mother tongue, 1 selected the option “Only know some words and expressions”, 2 selected “Confident in basic conversations”, 3 selected “Fairly confident in extended conversations” and 4 selected “Confident in extended conversations”. No one selected “Not at all”.

“Mother tongue” level was presented here as the highest proficiency level, although it must be acknowledged that the mother tongue may not always be the most proficient language for a speaker. However, the levels were presented in the survey in order from (supposedly) the lowest proficiency level to the highest, which provided some guidance to the

respondents on which option to select. In future research “mother tongue” could be replaced with “native speaker level”, for example. When asked about the languages mainly spoken in the respondents’ home when they were growing up, 11 chose Finnish, 2 chose Greek and 1 chose both Finnish and Greek. The ones choosing Greek were the ones who did not select Finnish as their mother tongue.

Name (pseudonym)	Age	Gender	Level of Finnish	Level of Greek	Language(s) spoken in childhood home
Venla	62	F	Mother tongue	Confident in extended conversations	Finnish
Pekka	55	M	Mother tongue	Confident in extended conversations	Finnish
Helena	42	F	Mother tongue	Confident in basic conversations	Finnish
Saara	69	F	Mother tongue	Fairly confident in extended conversations	Finnish
Riina	59	F	Mother tongue	Confident in extended conversations	Finnish
Katja	54	F	Mother tongue	Fairly confident in extended conversations	Finnish
Suvi	59	F	Mother tongue	Mother tongue	Finnish
Elina	40	F	Mother tongue	Confident in extended conversations	Finnish
Laura	29	F	Mother tongue	Fairly confident in extended conversations	Finnish
Leena	49	F	Mother tongue	Confident in basic conversations	Finnish
Jussi	37	M	Mother tongue	Only know some words and expressions	Finnish
Irene	44	F	Mother tongue	Mother tongue	Finnish and Greek
Aino	32	F	Fairly confident in extended conversations	Mother tongue	Greek
Paula	39	F	Fairly confident in extended conversations	Mother tongue	Greek

Table 1: Parents’ age, gender, language skills and language background

4.1.2 Home language

In the third part regarding language skills and home language, the parents were asked to state in questions 12 which language they used with their spouse and with their offspring (options up to 4 children): the options were either Finnish (FI), Greek (GR), Finnish and Greek (FI & GR) and English (EN), or N/A if the part did not apply to them (for example if the respondent only has 2 children, they would put N/A for Child 3 and Child 4). These are the results:

Name (pseudonym)	Spouse	Child 1	Child 2	Child 3	Child 4
Venla	GR	GR	GR	N/A	N/A
Pekka	GR	GR	GR	N/A	N/A
Helena	EN	FI	N/A	N/A	N/A
Saara	EN	FI	N/A	N/A	N/A
Riina	GR	GR	FI & GR	FI & GR	FI & GR
Katja	FI & GR	FI	N/A	N/A	N/A
Suvi	GR	GR	GR	GR	N/A
Elina	GR	FI	N/A	N/A	N/A
Laura	FI & GR	FI & GR	N/A	N/A	N/A
Leena	EN	FI	N/A	N/A	N/A
Jussi	EN	FI	N/A	N/A	N/A
Irene	GR	FI	FI & GR	N/A	N/A
Aino	GR	GR	GR	N/A	N/A
Paula	GR	GR	GR	GR	GR

Table 2: Parent survey Q12 Home language

The results regarding the home language, presented in table 2, show that there is a lot of variation between the families. Most respondents (8) speak Greek with their spouses, 4 speak English and 2 speak Finnish and Greek. No one speaks only Finnish with their partner. As for the language used with children, those who speak English with their partners speak only Finnish with their child. It can be seen that these 4 respondents do not speak Greek at a high level, according to their self-evaluation shown in table 1, and therefore do not speak it with their spouse or children either. As for those who speak Greek with their spouses, half of them (4) state that Greek is their mother tongue while the other half state that it is Finnish. Of the Finnish mother tongue speakers, 2 (Venla and Pekka) speak only Greek with their children, while Riina speaks both Greek and Finnish, and interestingly only Greek with her first child and both Finnish and Greek with the others – usually the heritage language is spoken the most with the eldest child, after which the home language may start switching into the majority language due to environmental influence (see e.g. Spolsky 2009).

4.1.3 Culture

There were 4 questions (13-16) grouped under *Culture*. In the first of these questions, the respondents had to choose if they considered themselves to be mainly Finnish, Greek, Equally Finnish and Greek or Other. Most respondents (10) chose Finnish, three chose Equally Finnish and Greek and one chose Other, no one chose only Greek. The ones who chose both Finnish and Greek in Q13 had selected either only Greek or both Greek and Finnish as their mother tongue.

The second question asked the parents to define their families culturally, with four different options. All respondents chose either “A family with two cultures, with a deeper knowledge of one culture than another” or “A family with two cultures, both fairly well developed”, no parent defined their family as one with only one culture.

All respondents who considered themselves to be equally Finnish and Greek in the previous question, chose here that their family has a deeper knowledge of one culture than another.

Otherwise, there does not seem to be any real correlation with how the respondents identify themselves or their families culturally or with what their mother tongue is.

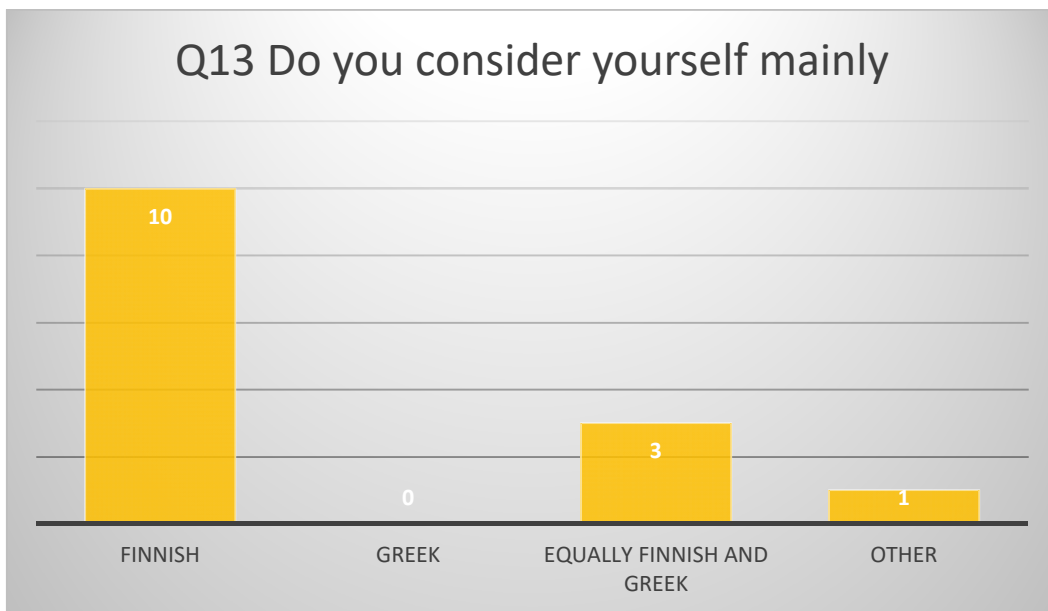


Chart 1: Parent survey Q13 Cultural definition of self

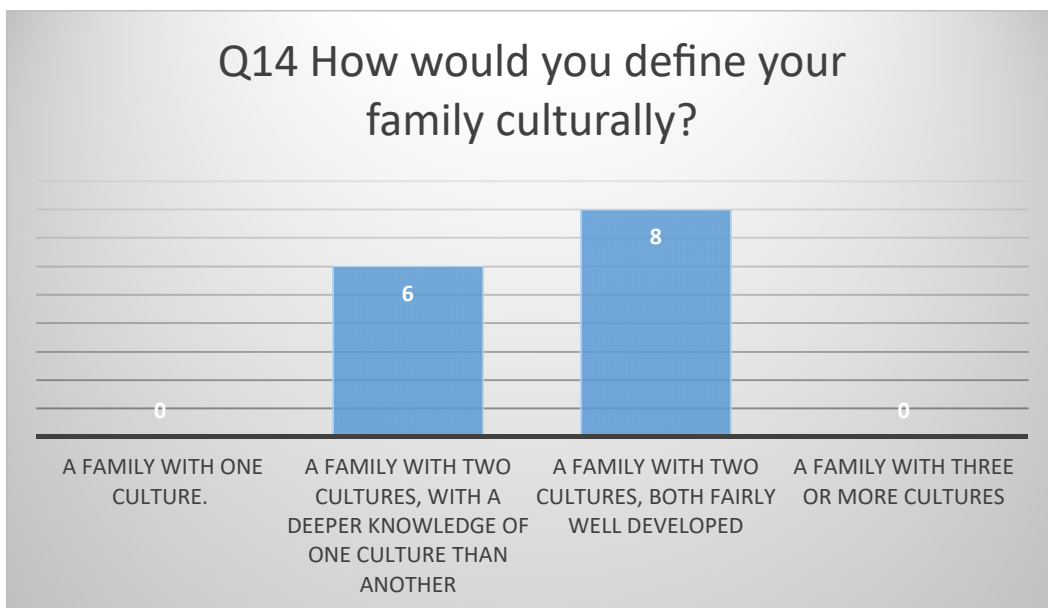


Chart 2: Parent survey Q14 Cultural definition of family

After this, the respondents were asked how often they meet with other Finns or Finnish-Greek families. Most respondents (11) said they meet with other Finns or Finnish-Greek families at least 1 to 2 times a month or more often. This result is not surprising because the Finnish heritage language school is held on average twice a month so the families would meet at least there, if they still have children attending the school.

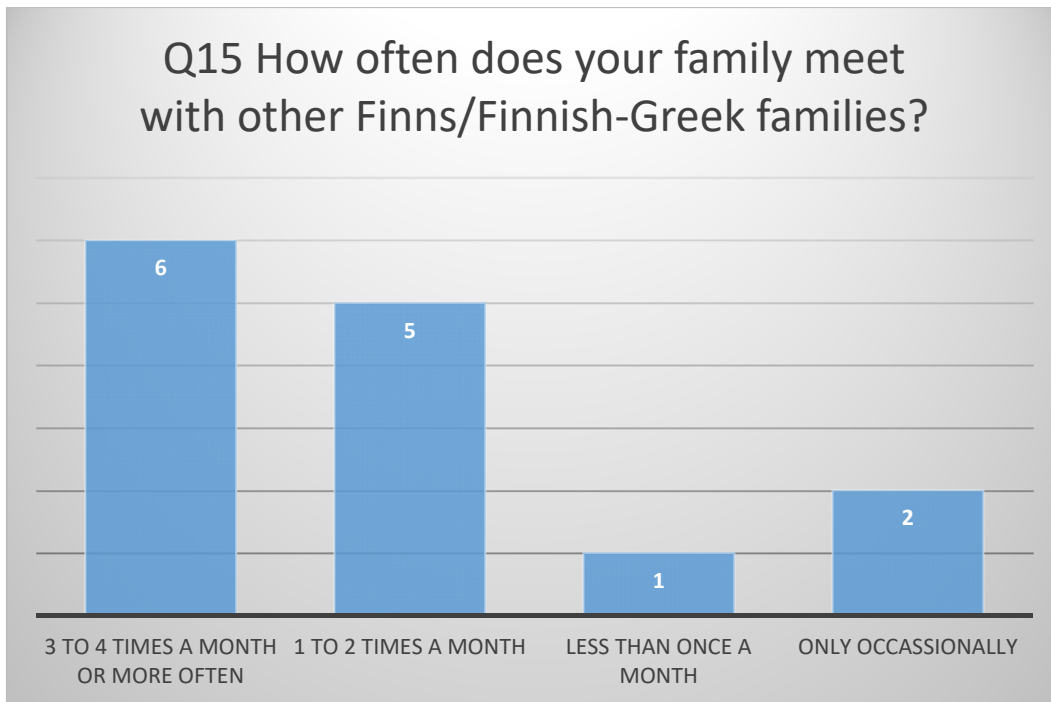


Chart 3: Parent survey Q15 Meeting with other Finns/Finnish-Greek families

The next question (Q16) inquired how important it is for the respondents that their child/children learn about the Finnish culture. They were able to select their answer using a slider, with options ranging on a scale of 1 to 5 from “Not at all important” (1) to “Very important” (5). All respondents thought that their children learning about the Finnish culture is important, because most participants (12) selected “5” and two parents selected “4”.

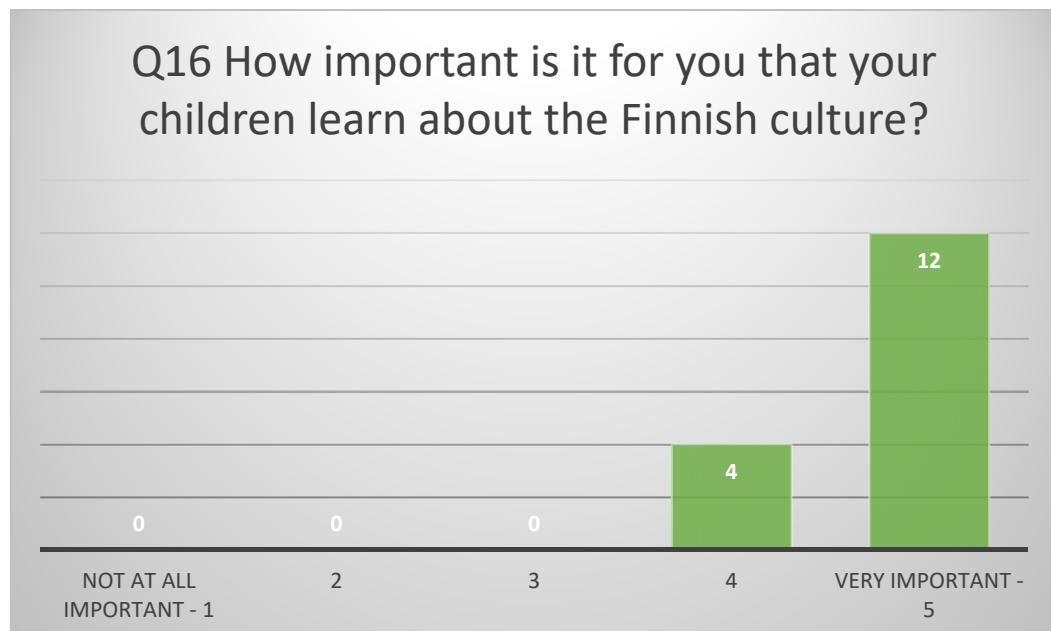


Chart 4: Parent survey Q16 Importance of learning about Finnish culture

In the final question in the culturally themed group (Q17), the parents rated various items according to how beneficial they thought those things are with regard to their children’s

knowledge about the Finnish language and culture. The rating was done on a 4-point Likert scale with options “Not at all useful”, “Somewhat useful”, “Quite useful” and “Very useful”. Almost everyone (13 out of 15 respondents) found the Finnish heritage language school and reading books in Finnish to be very useful, and visits to Finland was also highly rated. There does not seem to be a real correlation between how often the respondents meet other Finns or Greek-Finnish families and how useful they find meetings with other bilingual families to their children’s Finnish skills. For example, Aino stated that her family meets with other Finns at least 3 to 4 times a month, but still selected “Not at all useful here”. Katja’s family, then again, meets with other Finns less than once a month, but she finds meetings with other bilingual families to be very useful. One possible explanation is that because Aino’s mother tongue is Greek, she could resort to speaking Greek more easily in these meetings with bilingual families, especially when she only speaks Greek with her children. Katja speaks Finnish as her mother tongue and also speaks Finnish with her child, so for her these meetings can be a good opportunity to provide more input in Finnish for her child.

All items and results are presented in the following charts 5–13:

Parent survey Q17 How useful are the following items to your children’s Finnish skills and knowledge of the Finnish culture?

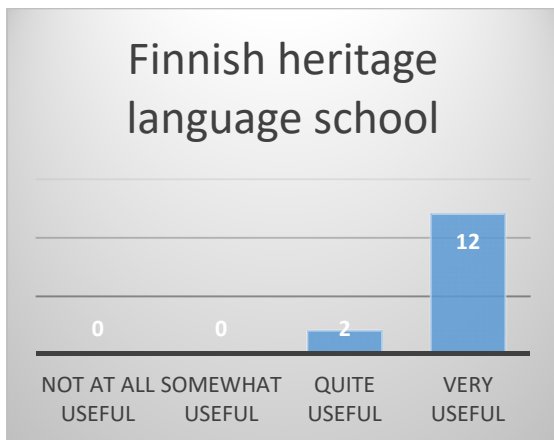


Chart 5: Parent survey Q17 Usefulness of Finnish heritage language school

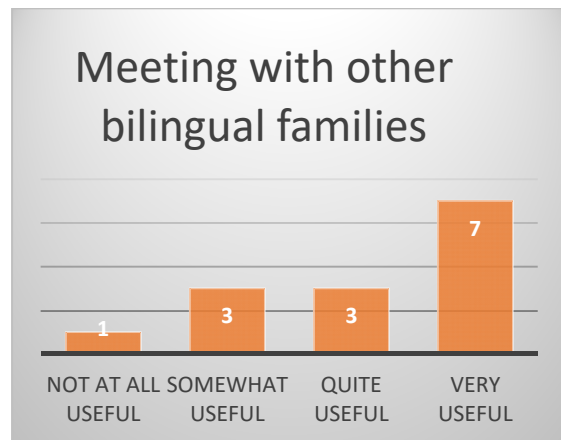


Chart 6: Parent survey Q17 Usefulness of meeting with other bilingual families



Chart 7: Parent survey Q17 Usefulness of reading books in Finnish

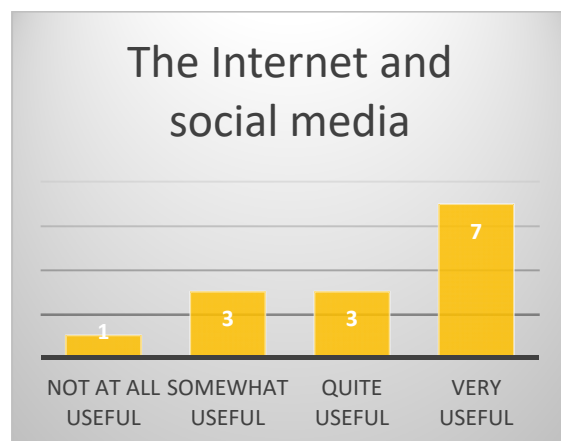


Chart 8: Parent survey Q17 Usefulness of the Internet and social media

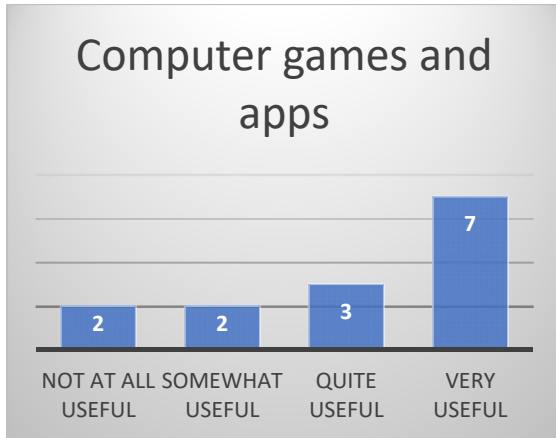


Chart 9: Parent survey Q17 Usefulness of computer games and apps

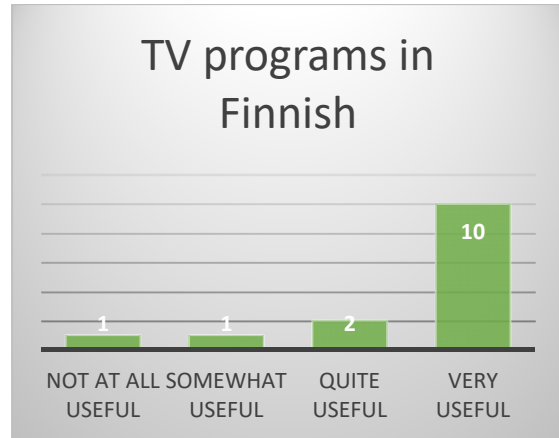


Chart 10: Parent survey Q17 Usefulness of TV programs in Finnish



Chart 11: Parent survey Q17 Usefulness of listening to Finnish music / singing songs



Chart 12: Parent survey Q17 Usefulness of visits to Finland



Chart 13: Parent survey Q17 Usefulness of calls with friends and relatives in Finland

4.1.4 Importance of speaking Finnish and impact belief

This group included two questions. In the first question, the respondents needed to drag a slider and select, how important it is for them that their child/children learn to speak Finnish. The range was from 1 to 5 with the lower bound (1) labeled “Not at all important” and the upper bound labeled “Very important”. The second question was about the parents’ *impact belief*: the respondents were asked if they believe that they can influence their child’s/children’s language choice and language development. Similar to the first question in this group, the question was answered using a slider with options from 1 (Not at all) to 5 (Yes, absolutely). In both questions, only the lower and the upper bounds were labeled. Most parents (11 for both questions) selected “5” for both questions, meaning that they feel that it is very important that their child or children learn to speak Finnish and also that they believe that they can influence their children’s language choice and language development.

The results for these two questions are presented also in table 3 with individual responses in order to compare more easily the responses with regard to the importance of learning Finnish and whether the parent believes that they can impact their child’s language choice. This comparison shows, for example, that while Aino finds it very important that her children learn to speak Finnish, she does not believe that she can influence their language development. The information about the respondents’ home language also shows that Aino speaks only Greek with all her family members. Also, one of Aino’s children, 6-year old Panagiotis, who participated in the child survey does not speak Finnish at all.

The results for both questions are presented in the following charts 14 and 15 and in table 3:



Chart 14: Parent survey Q18 Importance of speaking Finnish

Q19 Do you believe that you can influence your child's/children's language choice and language development?

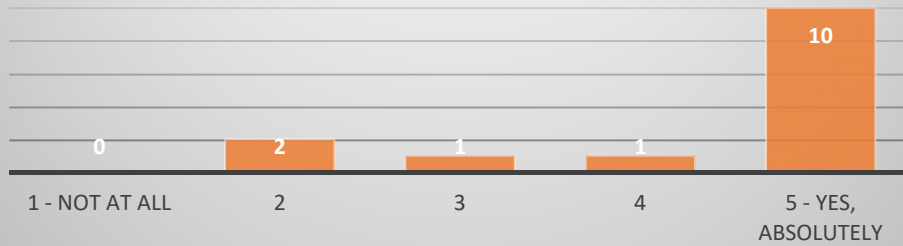


Chart 15: Parent survey Q19 Impact belief

Respondent	Importance of learning Finnish	Impact belief
Venla	3	2
Pekka	5	5
Helena	5	5
Saara	5	5
Riina	4	4
Katja	5	5
Suvi	4	5
Elina	5	5
Laura	5	5
Leena	5	5
Jussi	5	5
Irene	5	5
Aino	5	2
Paula	5	3

Table 3. Q18 and Q19 Individual responses for Importance of learning Finnish and Impact belief

4.1.5 Family language policy and emotional aspect

The next five questions were related to language practices and strategies in the family as well as emotional issues related to the language usage. With the first question in this group (Q20 *What languages do you use in your everyday family life?*), the aim was to find out which languages different family members used with each other with the intention to gain some insight into the specific patterns and practices within a family. This question was similar to the one about the home language in Group 3, only the options were a bit more elaborated. The results are shown in chart 16:

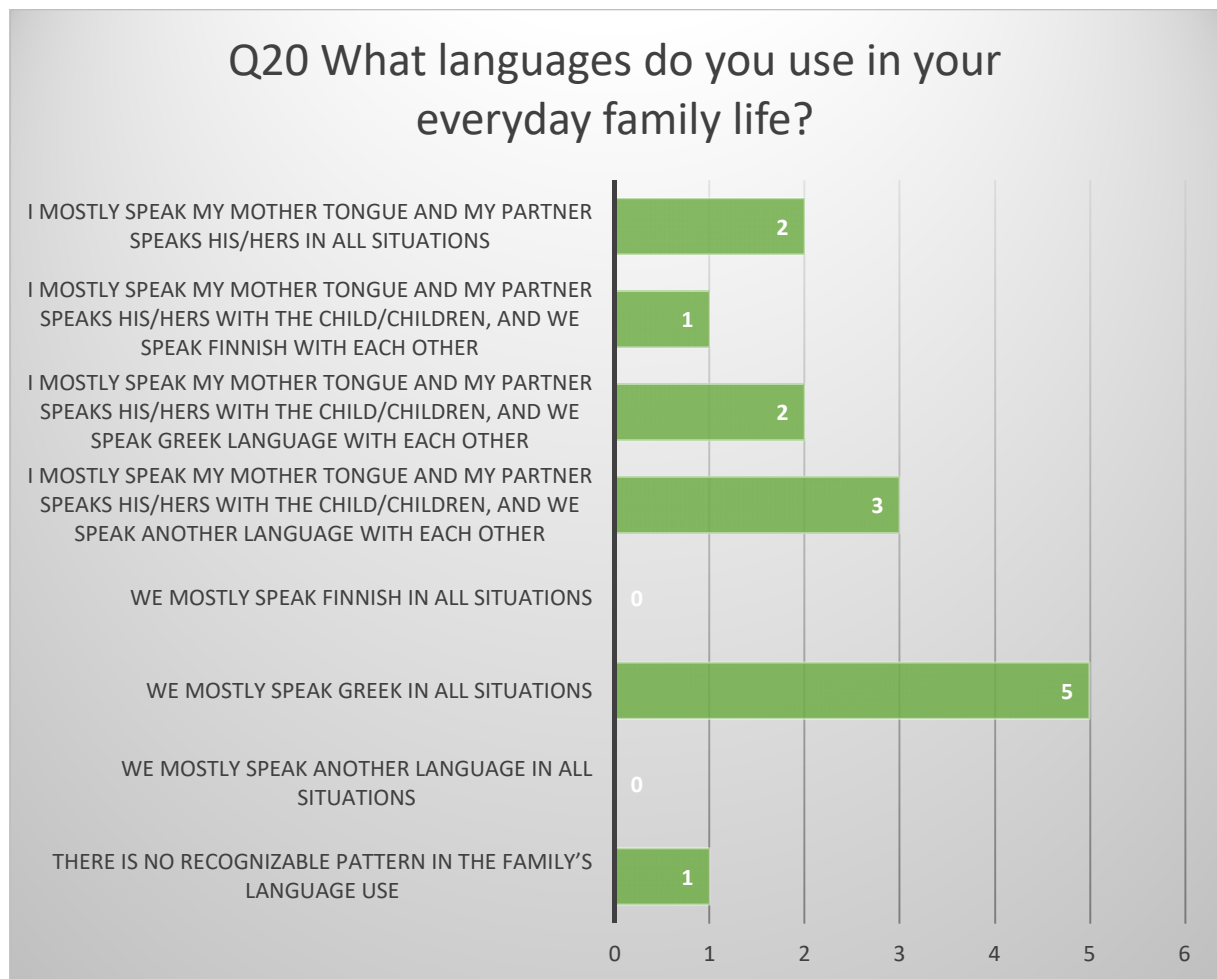


Chart 16: Parent survey Q20 Languages used in everyday family life

The answers did not deviate significantly from those depicted earlier in table 2 and therefore the answers are not broken down to individual respondents. The only one mentioned individually is Laura, she selected the option “There is no recognizable pattern in the family’s language use”. As can be seen in table 2, she stated that she speaks both Finnish and Greek with both her spouse and with her child. Laura’s child, Paraskevi, also participated in the survey.

Question 20 functioned as a kind of lead-in to the next question, Q21, about how the respondents feel about the language use in the family. Here, the respondents were able to select multiple answers from different options. They could also elaborate on their answer

with text or audio, and some did write a comment. The following chart 17 depicts all possible options and the choices made by the respondents.

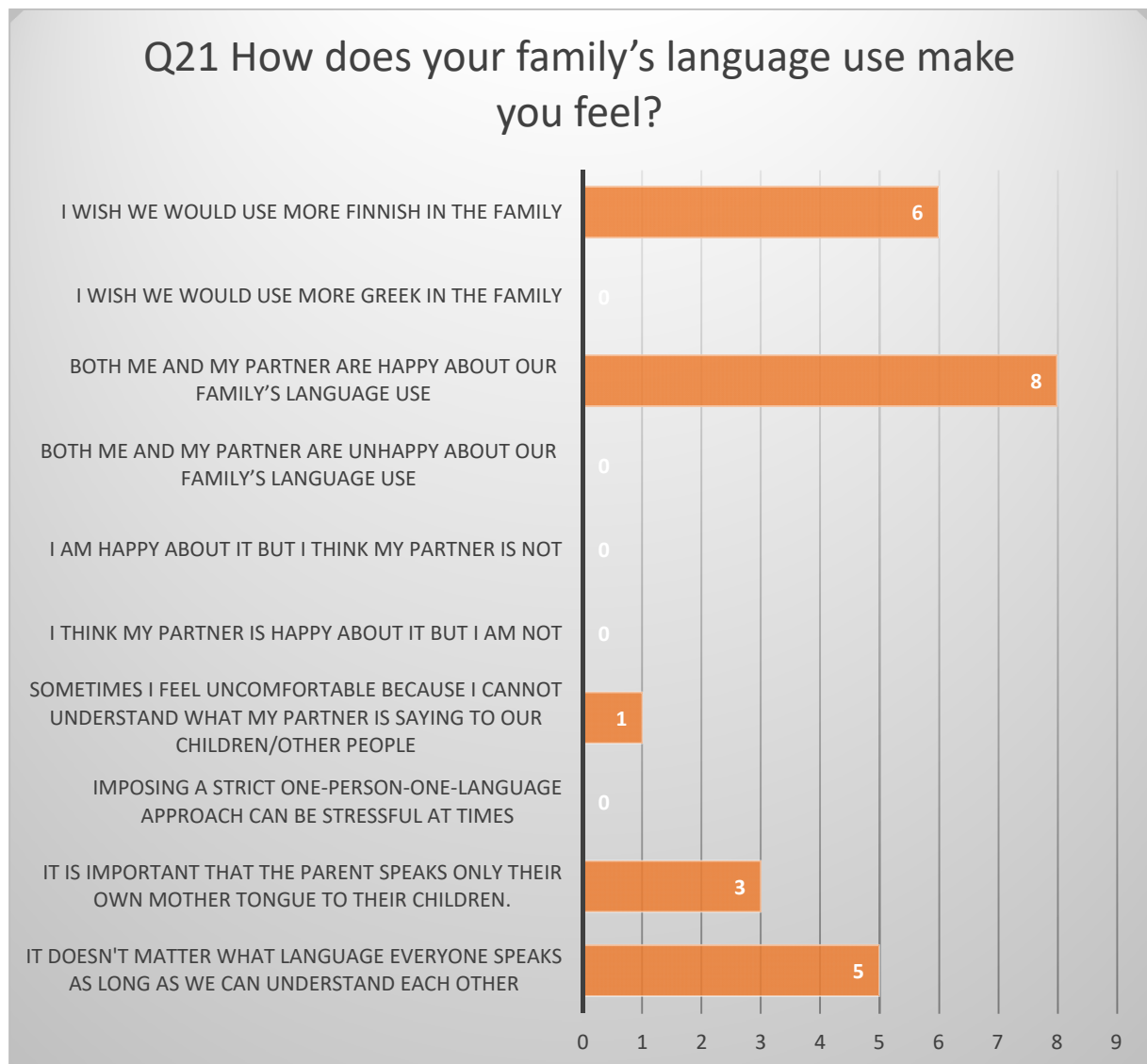


Chart 17: Parent survey Q21 Sentiment about language use in the family

At first glance, it seems that most respondents are happy with their family's language use, although some wish that more Finnish would be used in the family. No one finds the OPOL method stressful. Five respondents think that the language used in the family does not matter, as long as everyone understands each other.

Two people elaborated on their selections. Riina selected one option, "I wish we would use more Finnish in the family" and wrote the following:

Lasten (4) ollessa pieniä työssäkäyvänä äitinä ei jaksanut ylläpitää suomen kieltä, koska lapset olivat kreikankielisissä harrastuksissa ja koulussa. Suomi-koulu ja sen eri riennot antoivat toivoa perheen suomi-identiteettiin. Minua syyllistettiin siitä, etten opettanut enempää suomea perheessäni.

When the children (4) were young, as a working mother I did not have to energy to maintain Finnish, because the children had hobbies and school in Greek. The Finnish

heritage language school and its activities gave hope for the family's Finnish identity. I was made guilty for not teaching more Finnish in my family.
(*Riina*)

Irene selected two options: “I wish we would use more Finnish in the family” and “It is important that the parent speaks only their own mother tongue to their children.” She elaborates on her choices in the following way:

Kun lapset olivat pieniä puhuin ainostaan suomea heille, he vastasivat minulle kreikaksi. Nykyään puhun enemmän kreikkaa heille kun monta kertaa en ehdi tai jaksa selittää heille tuntemattomia sanoja. Kun autan vanhimman lapsen läksyjen teossa käytän aina kreikkaa.

When the children were young I only spoke Finnish to them, and they answered in Greek. Today, I speak more Greek to them because often I don't have time or the energy to can't explain words that are unfamiliar to them. When I help my oldest child do his homework, I always use Greek.
(*Irene*)

Individual responses are presented in table 4:

Respondent	I wish we would use more Finnish in the family	Both me and my partner are happy about our family's language use	Sometimes I feel uncomfortable because I cannot understand what my partner is saying to our children/other people	It is important that the parent speaks only their own mother tongue to their children.	It doesn't matter what language everyone speaks as long as we can understand each other
Venla	x				
Pekka	x				x
Helena		x			x
Saara		x		x	
Riina	x				
Katja				x	
Suvi	x	x			x
Elina		x			x
Laura		x			x
Leena		x			
Jussi		x	x		
Irene	x			x	
Aino	x				
Paula		x			

Table 4: Parent survey Q21 Sentiment about language use in the family; individual responses

The next question (Q22) regarding family language policy asked the respondents how they react when their child does not speak the respondent's mother tongue to them. These

options were a modified version of the language management strategies identified by Lanza (1997) in her landmark study. The participants were able to select only one option of the five language management strategies. Again, it is possible that the mother tongue in question refers to Greek, although the options imply that “mother tongue” here should be something else than the other family language, so most likely not Greek. The results show that all strategies are in use in the families, but the most popular ones are the ones where the parent does not react to the language used by the child: 5 respondents state that “I do not react to my child’s language choice but I reply in my mother tongue” and 4 state that “I do not react to my child’s language choice and I reply in the language that the child used”.

Helena notes in the final part of the survey where the respondents were able to leave general comments with audio or text that her 5-year old only speaks Finnish to her so this question (and some other questions, such as the next one regarding sentiments about child’s language use) does not apply to her. She continues and says that her child has so far never spoken to her in Greek. She is one of the respondents who chose “I do not react to my child’s language choice but I reply in my mother tongue” as this question was marked as mandatory.

The responses are shown in chart 18:

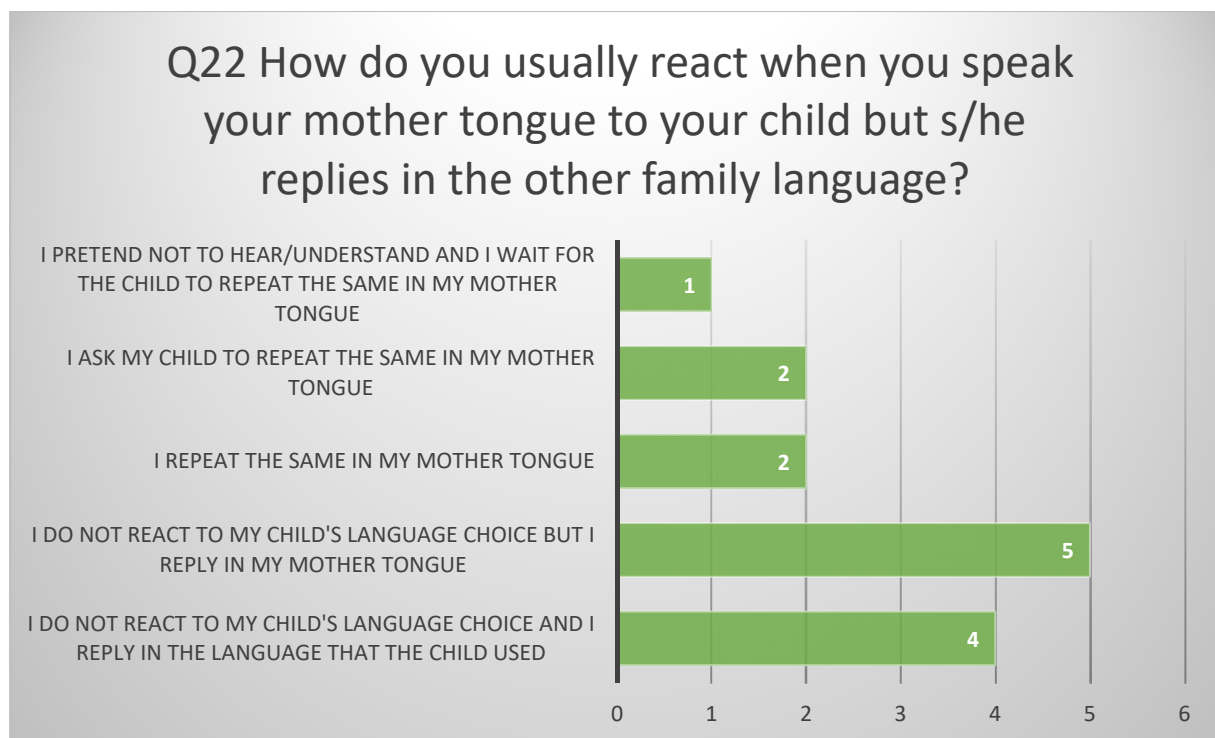


Chart 18: Parent survey Q22 Language management strategies

The two last items in this group asked the parents how they feel if their child does or does not speak the parent’s mother tongue to them, on a 5 point Likert scale with the following labels: Sad/Disappointed, Frustrated, Neutral, Content, Happy. The question did not specifically state that the mother tongue refers to Finnish, so the answer could also be in reference to Greek, because some respondents selected Greek as their mother tongue in the section about language skills. In retrospect the question should have stated Finnish

more clearly because some respondents also stated that they consider both Finnish and Greek to be their mother tongue. Because the sample size is small in this study, these results can be presented at the individual respondent's level with information about the participants' mother tongue(s) as well. First, the sentiments of the respondents are depicted in the following chart 19 at a general level, and table 5 breaks the answers down at the individual level, including information about the mother tongue. Chart 19 shows that most respondents (11) feel happy when their child speaks their mother tongue to them, and the feelings remain mainly neutral when the child does not speak their mother tongue.

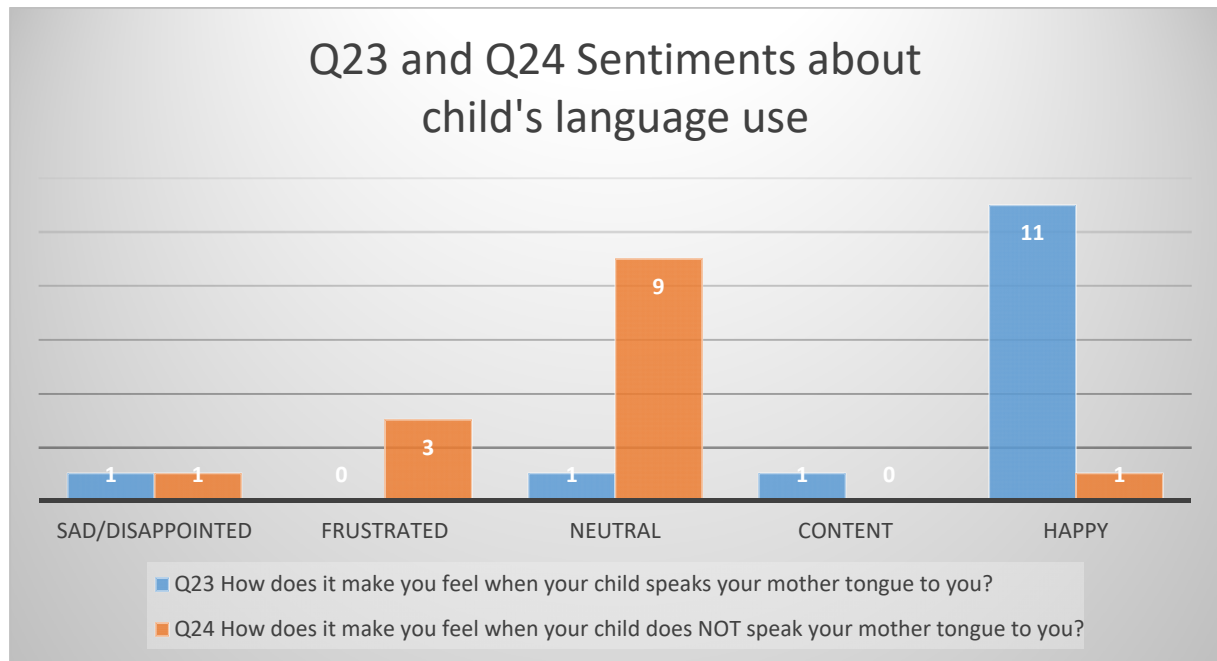


Chart 19: Parent survey Q23 and Q24 Sentiments about child's language use

Name (pseudonym)	Mother tongue	Child speaks mother tongue	Child does NOT speak mother tongue
Venla	FI	Happy	Neutral
Pekka	FI	Happy	Neutral
Helena	FI	Happy	Neutral
Saara	FI	Content	Neutral
Riina	FI	Happy	Neutral
Katja	FI	Happy	Frustrated
Suvi	FI & GR	Happy	Neutral
Elina	FI	Happy	Neutral
Laura	FI	Happy	Happy
Leena	FI	Happy	Neutral
Jussi	FI	Neutral	Neutral
Irene	FI & GR	Happy	Frustrated
Aino	GR	Happy	Sad/Disappointed
Paula	GR	Sad/Disappointed	Frustrated

Table 5: Parent survey Mother tongue and sentiments about child's language use

4.1.6 Pros and cons

In the last three questions (Q25-Q27) of the parent survey, the respondents were asked about the advantages and positive sides of bilingual family life for them and what disadvantages and negatives bilingual family life might have. The questions about possible advantages/disadvantages were open-ended, they did not have any options to select from. The respondents were able to answer with audio by recording the answer with their device or with text by typing in the answer. All respondents chose to give the answer by text, however, only 10 respondents out of 14 gave an answer for these two questions. This was possible because these questions were not marked as mandatory, i.e. the respondents were able to proceed without providing an answer, due to technical reasons.

In the following, the responses for the first two questions in this group are presented, first in Finnish and then with the English translation in italics.

Q25 What are the advantages and positive sides of bilingual family life?

Monipuolista

It is versatile

(Venla)

Suvaitsevaisuuden oppiminen samoin kuin avokatseisuus.

Learning tolerance as well as being open-minded.

(Saara)

Rikas kulttuuri, esim. erilaiset juhlat ja voimme kommunikoida suomalaisten sukulaisten ja ystävien kanssa myös etäyhteyksissä ja Suomen-matkoilla.

Rich culture, for example various celebrations, and we can also communicate with Finnish relatives and friends remotely and on trips to Finland.

(Riina)

Lapsi on oppinut helposti myös muita kieliä. Perheellä on oma "salakieli" jota muut Kreikassa eivät ymmärrä. Rikkaampi kulttuuri kun niitä tuplaten.

My child has also easily learned other languages. The family has its own "secret language" that others in Greece do not understand. Richer culture when there are two of them.

(Katja)

En osaa vastata, koska perheessäni puhutaan lähinnä yksinomaan kreikkaa.

I cannot answer because Greek is spoken almost exclusively in my family.

(Suvi)

Kaksikielisuus on rikkaus. Pystymme oppimaan, lukemaan, katsomaan videoita ja hankkimaan tietoa useammalla kielellä.

Bilingualism is a richness. We are able to learn, read, watch videos and acquire information in multiple languages.

(Elina)

Olen itse suomalainen, puhun niin Kreikkaa kuin Suomeakin. Mieheni on puoliksi Kreikkalainen ja puoliksi Suomalainen joten ymmärrämme kaikki molempia kieliä. Lapsi 4v puhuu vielä enimmäkseen Suomea, mutta syksyllä aloittaa esikoulun ja tilanne muuttuu varmasti nopeasti. Lapsi käy kerran viikossa suomikoulussa.

I am a Finn myself, I speak both Greek and Finnish. My husband is half Greek and half Finnish so we all understand both languages. Our child who is 4 years old still mostly speaks Finnish, but in the autumn she will start preschool and the situation will certainly change quickly. The child attends the Finnish heritage language school once a week.

(Laura)

Luulen että lapsesta tulee avarakatseisempi ja kiinnostuneempi koska havahtuu aika nuorena kiinnostumaan että hetkinen, maailmassa on muitakin maita kuin kreikka tai suomi.

I think that a child will become more open-minded and more interested when they take interest already at a young age, they realize that there are other countries in the world apart from Greece or Finland.

(Leena)

Meidän perheessä on käytössä kolme kieltä ja koen, että se on rikkaus. Toki oma puutteellinen kreikan kielen taito rajoittaa elämää kreikassa ja kommunikaatiota vaimon sukulaisten kanssa joka on harmillista. Onneksi englannilla pärjää suht hyvin Kreikassa.

There are three languages in use in our family and I feel that it is a richness. Of course, my own lack of knowledge of Greek limits life in Greece and communication with my wife's relatives which is unfortunate. Fortunately, one can cope quite well with English in Greece.

(Jussi)

En tunne jääväni mistään pois kun ymmärrän kreikan kieltä. Olen helposti oppinut muita vieraita kieliä ja vieraiden kielten ääntäminen onnistuu minulta hyvin.

I don't feel left out of anything because I understand Greek. I have easily learned other foreign languages and I can pronounce foreign languages well.

(Irene)

Q26 What are the disadvantages and negative sides of bilingual family life?

Meillä ei tällä hetkellä ole yhtä perheen yhteistä kieltä.

We do not currently have a common family language.

(Helena)

Joskus kulttuurierot...

Sometimes cultural differences...

(Saara)

En voi auttaa lasta kreikkalaisessa koulussa koska kreikan kielen taitoni ei ole täydellistä.

I cannot help my child with Greek school because my Greek skills are not perfect.

(Katja)

Asumme Kreikassa ja lapsi puhuu vielä enimmäkseen suomea ja se saattaa aiheuttaa närkästystä perheen ulkopuolisissa ihmisissä kun lapsi ymmärtää mitä hänelle puhutaan Kreikaksi mutta vastaa Suomeksi takaisin. Perheen kesken en näe mitään kielteistä ja positiivisena puolena mielestäni kielet ovat rikkaus.

We live in Greece and the child still speaks mostly Finnish and it can cause upset with some in people outside of the family when the child understands what is spoken to him in Greek but replies in Finnish. Within our family I don't think there is anything negative, and on the positive side, I think languages are a richness.

(Laura)

Ehkä suurin on ulkopuolta tuleva painostus ja ihmettely siitä etten puhu niin hyvää kreikkaa. Sekä joissakin asioissa kulttuurilliset erot tehdä ja tulkita asioita.

Perhaps the biggest thing is the outside pressure and people wondering why I don't speak better Greek. And in some matters cultural differences in how things are done and how they are interpreted.

(Leena)

Kuten edellä kirjoitin, on kahden ei-valtakielen kombinaatti haastava, koska aiheuttaa sopeutumisvaikeuksia vaimolle Suomessa ja minulle kreikassa. Lapsi toki tilanteesta hyötyy kun kommunikoi sujuvasti molemmilla kielillä ja englantiakin tuntuu ymmärtävän.

Like I wrote above, the combination of two non-dominant languages is challenging because it causes adjustment difficulties for my wife in Finland and for me in Greece. Of course, the child benefits from the situation when he can communicate fluently in both languages and also seems to understand English.

(Jussi)

Four respondents (Riina, Suvi, Elina and Irene) said that they cannot think of any disadvantages to their bilingual family life.

In the third question, the respondents were asked to rate their overall satisfaction to their bilingual family life on a scale of 1 to 10. This scale seemed like a natural choice because in Finland the top grade in comprehensive school is 10. The following chart 20 depicts the answers to the final question about how satisfied the respondents are with their bilingual family life. The results are overall positive: 10 out of 14 respondents give a rating of 8 or higher.

Q27 Overall, how satisfied are you with your family life in terms of bilingualism?

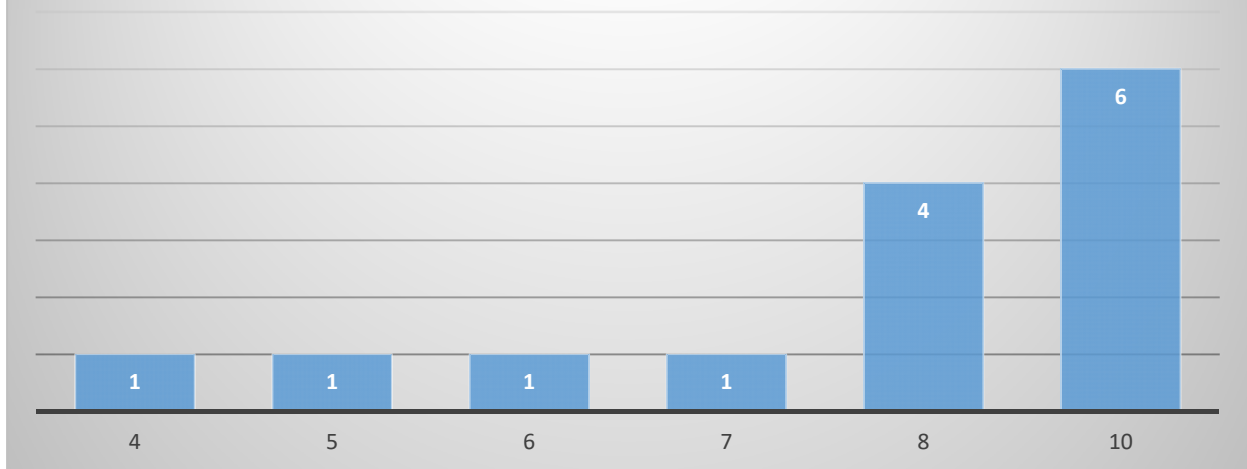


Chart 20: Parent survey Q27 Satisfaction with bilingual family life

4.1.7 Free audio or text

On the final screen of the online survey, the respondents were encouraged to record or write any thoughts they might have regarding their bilingual family life. They were also able to finish the survey without giving a response here. Five participants shared some thoughts and/or information about themselves here, and the responses are presented in the following.

Meidän 5-vuotias puhuu minulle ainoastaan suomea eli kyselyn pari kysymystä eivät koskeneet meitä. Hän ei siis vielä ole ikinä puhunut minulle kreikkaa tai vastannut kreikaksi.

Our 5-year-old speaks only Finnish to me, so a couple of the questions in the survey did not apply to us. So she has never spoken Greek to me or answered in Greek.

(Helena)

Harvinaista perheessämme on, että mieheni osaa tyydyttävästi suomea, vaikka ei ole asunut koskaan Suomessa. Muutenkin perheemme on kiinnostunut vieraista kielistä ja kulttuureista ja perheenjäsenillä on hallussaan monia kieliä (serbokroaatti, italia, korea, portugali ym.). Matkustaminen on myös lähellä kaikkien sydäntä ja ystäviä on monista kansallisuuksista. Siksi englannin kielen taito on koko perheellä kiitettävä.

It is rare in our family that my husband speaks Finnish satisfactorily, even though he has never lived in Finland. Our family is also otherwise interested in foreign languages and cultures and our family members are fluent in many languages (Serbo-Croatian, Italian, Korean, Portuguese, etc.). Traveling is also close to everyone's heart and we have friends of many nationalities. Therefore, proficiency in

English is very good in the whole family.

(Riina)

Paikallisten ohjeistus lapseen. Kuulen paljon kommentteja ei saa samaan aikaan opettaa kreikkalaisia kirjaimia kun suomi-koulussa suomalaisia. Ei lapset osaa ja ymmärrä tulee ulkopuolta ja jopa opettajilta. Ei kaikilta mutta etenkin niiltä jotka eivät ole matkustaneet Rodoksen saarta kauempana.. naurua..

Instructions from locals regarding the child. I hear a lot of comments about how you shouldn't teach Greek letters at the same time as Finnish one in the Finnish heritage language school. Children won't learn and understand, this is said by outsiders and even by teachers. Not everyone says this but especially those who have not traveled further than the island of Rhodes.. laughter..

(Leena)

Muutimme Kreikkaan vuoden alussa muutamaksi vuodeksi tyttöä "kielikylvettämään". Suomessa asuessamme huomasimme, että suomen kieli oli hänelle merkittävästi vahvempi ja vaimo koki, ettei tyttö omaksu kreikkalaista kieltä ja kulttuuria, jos viettää koko lapsuuden Suomessa. Nyt muutama kuukausi kreikassa ja merkittävä muutos huomattu tytön kreikan kielen taidoissa ja puhe tulee kreikaksi jo luontevasti.

We moved to Greece at the beginning of the year for a few years to give our daughter a "language bath". While living in Finland, we noticed that the Finnish language was significantly stronger for her and my wife felt that our daughter will not learn the Greek language and culture if she spends her entire childhood in Finland. Now a few months in Greece and we have noticed a significant change our daughter's Greek language skills and her speech flows already naturally in Greek.

(Jussi)

Olen itse suomalais-kreikkalainen (syntynyt ja kasvanut Suomessa).

I am a Finnish-Greek myself (born and raised in Finland).

(Irene)

4.2 CHILDREN

In the Method section, the child survey was divided into 7 groups, mainly to provide a bigger picture of different themes at a glance. The survey itself did not have such visible groupings. Some questions were the same or similar to the parent survey, only the wording was simplified in order to be more suitable for children. The total number of respondents in the child survey was 8, but the total number of responses was not always 8 because some questions were skipped by respondents. This was possible because not all questions were marked as mandatory due to technical reasons. In the Method section, the first two groups (*Introduction and informed consent*, and *Demographic and background information*) were already covered. In the following, the results will be presented for *Language skills* (4.2.1) and *Culture* (4.2.2), followed by *Language use* (4.2.3), *Emotional aspect* (4.2.4) and *Free audio or text* (4.2.5).

4.2.1 Language skills

When asked “Since when have you been able to speak Greek? ”, of the 8 respondents 7 said that they have been able to speak Greek since they were 2 years old or younger and 1 (Paraskevi) since she started comprehensive school. As for Finnish, 6 stated that they have been able to speak Finnish since they were 2 years old or younger, while 2 respondents said that they do not speak Finnish at all. Noteworthy is that “Paraskevi” does not have either language marked as the mother tongue. This is probably just an oversight by the parent helping her (as she is 4 years old), and there was no specific instruction to choose at least one of the languages as the mother tongue. The following table 6 contains the self-evaluated language skills of the respondents (or evaluated by a parent) as well as the name of the, age and gender. One respondent, Aggeliki, did not have a parent take part in the survey.

Name (pseudonym)	Parent	Age	Gender	Level of Greek	Level of Finnish
Dimitris	Venla	31	M	Mother tongue	I do not speak Finnish
Eleni	Helena	5	F	Mother tongue	Mother tongue
Katerina	Riina	33	F	Mother tongue	I can talk about almost anything I want
Aggeliki	-	30	F	Mother tongue	I can talk about almost anything I want
Ioanna	Katja	14	F	I can talk about almost anything I want	Mother tongue
Despina	Elina	5	F	Mother tongue	Mother tongue
Paraskevi	Laura	4	F	I only know some words and expressions	I can have a longer conversation
Panagiotis	Aino	6	M	Mother tongue	I do not speak Finnish

Table 6: Children’s age, gender and language skills

4.2.2 Culture

This group contained one item (Q12) asking the participants to define themselves culturally. 5 respondents chose that they consider themselves to be “Both Finnish and Greek equally” and one (Paraskevi) chose Finnish. Dimitris and Panagiotis did not answer this question.

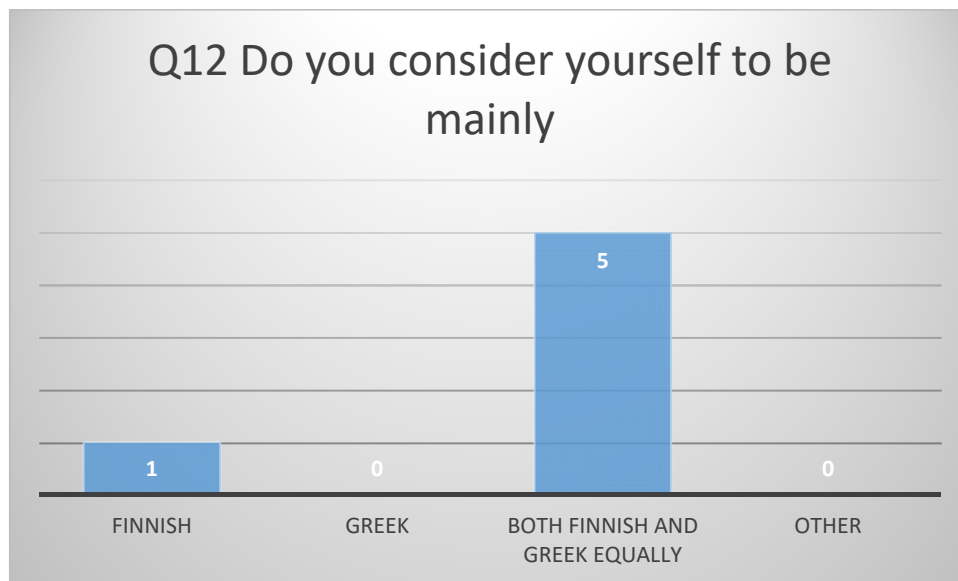


Chart 21: Child survey Q12 Cultural definition, children

4.2.3 Language use

The Language use group contained one item (Q13) in which participants were asked to state how often they use Finnish with different people and how often on a 5 point Likert scale with options “Never”, “Rarely”, “Sometimes”, “Often” and “Always”. The intention of limiting this question to only one language, Finnish, was to make this question simpler for children, instead of including other languages as well, such as Greek and English. It is also possible that all options did not apply to all respondents, for example some may not have siblings or they do not attend the Finnish heritage language school anymore. For simplicity’s sake other options were not given, because even though some of the respondents turned out to be adults, the survey was primarily designed for young children.

The results will first be presented in charts 22–31 depicting each individual item in order to provide a better overview of the data, and after this the results will be shown in table 7 with data separated for each respondent. The results show that the respondents use much more Finnish with their mothers than with their fathers, which is probably because more Finnish women migrate into Greece, as opposed to men. Finnish was most used with relatives in Finland, but not as much with other Finnish families in Greece with only half of the respondents (4) stating that they always use Finnish with Finnish families.

Child survey Q13 How often do you use Finnish with the following people?

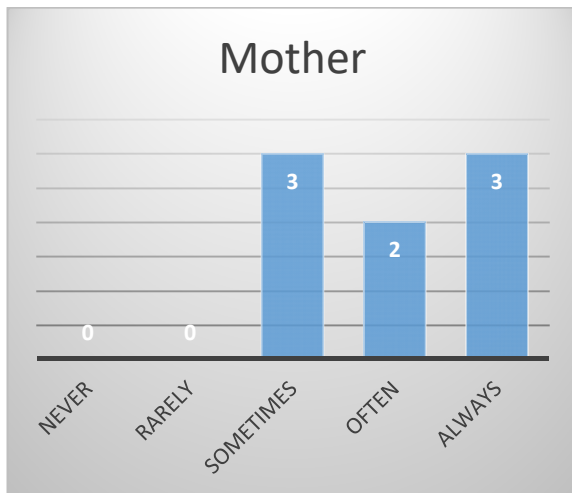


Chart 22: Child survey Q13 Usage of Finnish with mother

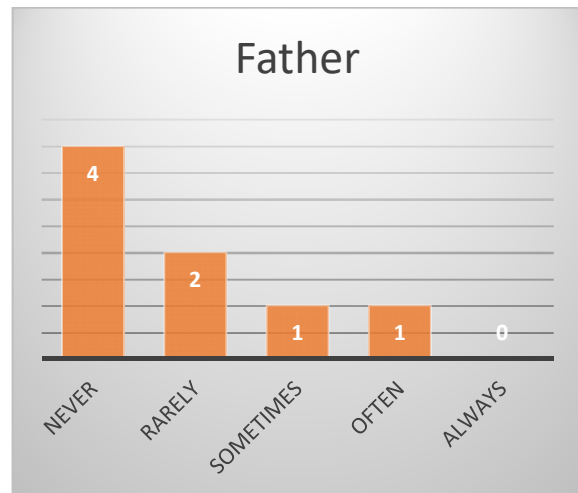


Chart 23: Child survey Q13 Usage of Finnish with father

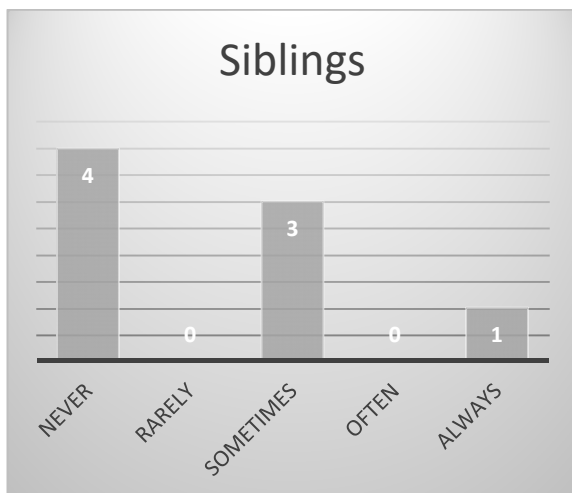


Chart 24: Child survey Q13 Usage of Finnish with siblings

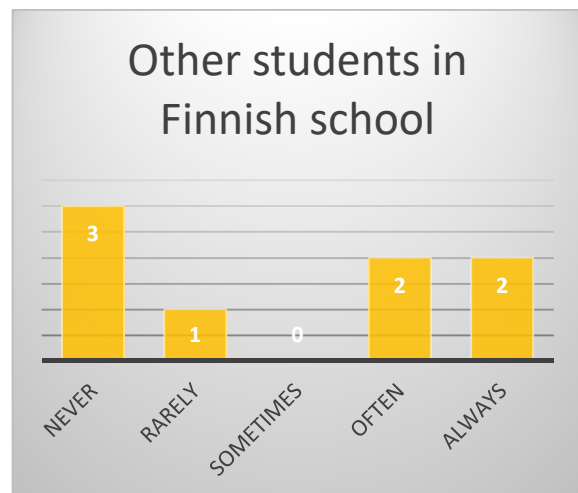


Chart 25: Child survey Q13 Usage of Finnish with other students in Finnish school

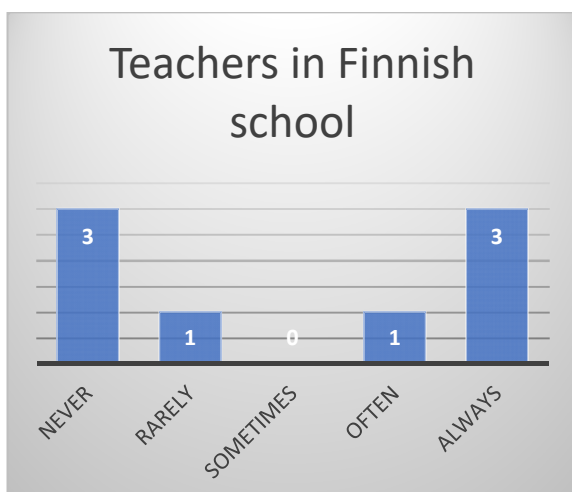


Chart 26: Child survey Q13 Usage of Finnish with teachers in Finnish school

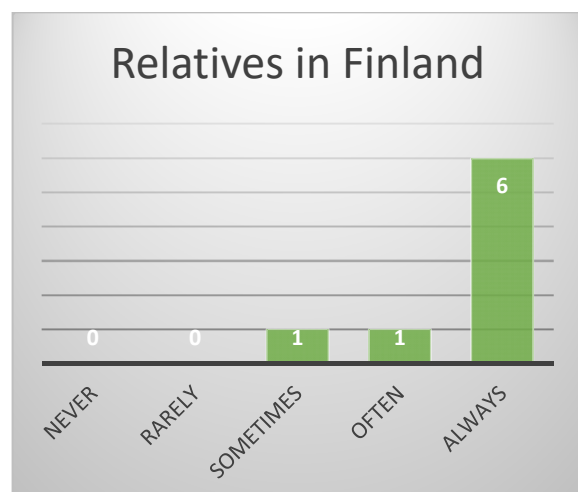


Chart 27: Child survey Q13 Usage of Finnish with relatives in Finland

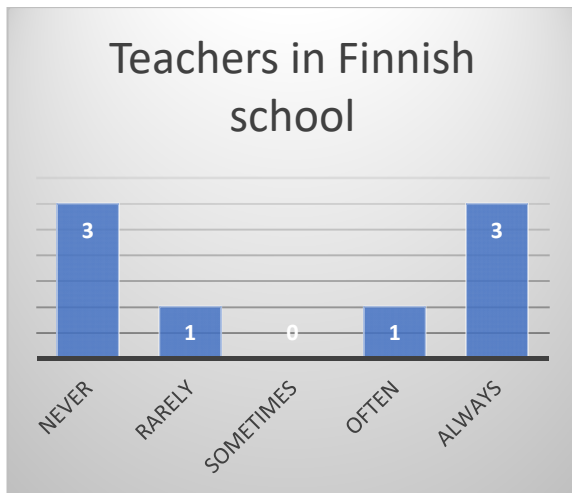


Chart 28: Child survey Q13 Usage of Finnish with teachers in Finnish school

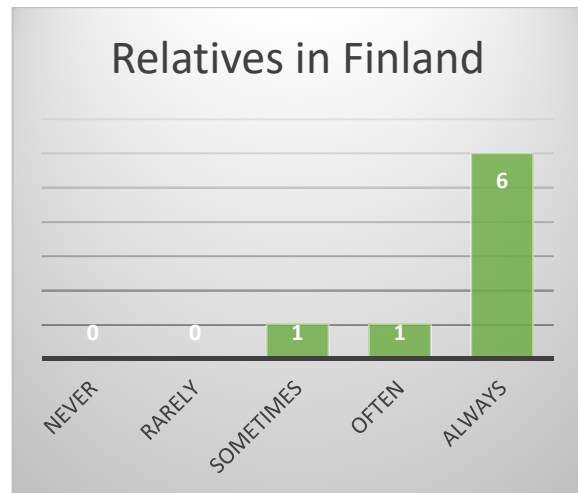


Chart 29: Child survey Q13 Usage of Finnish with relatives in Finland



Chart 30: Child survey Q13 Usage of Finnish with other Finnish families in Greece

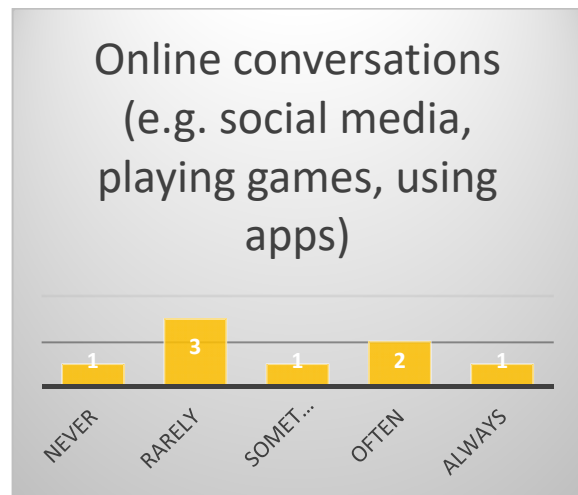


Chart 31: Child survey Q13 Usage of Finnish in online conversations

Respondent	Mother	Father	Siblings	Other students in Finnish school	Teachers in Finnish school	Relatives in Finland	Other Finnish families in Greece	Online conversations (e.g. social media, playing games, using apps)
Dimitris	Sometimes	Never	Sometimes	Never	Never	Sometimes	Rarely	Rarely
Eleni	Always	Never	Never	Always	Always	Always	Always	Often
Katerina	Sometimes	Rarely	Sometimes	Never	Never	Often	Rarely	Rarely
Aggeliki	Sometimes	Rarely	Sometimes	Never	Never	Always	Rarely	Often
Ioanna	Always	Never	Always	Rarely	Rarely	Always	Always	Rarely
Despina	Always	Sometimes	Never	Often	Always	Always	Always	Sometimes
Paraskevi	Often	Often	Never	Often	Often	Always	Always	Never
Panagiotis	Often	Never	Never	Always	Always	Always	Never	Always

Table 7: Child survey Q13 Usage of Finnish by respondent

4.2.4 Emotional aspect

In the six items in this group, children were first asked how much they like speaking Finnish and Greek on a 5 point slider. The lower bound (1) was labeled with “☹️ Not at all” and the upper bound (5) “😄 A lot!”. The purpose of the emoticons was to help children visualize the scale a bit better. 5 respondents said that they like speaking both languages “a lot”, and the results were generally positive for both Finnish and Greek. Only one respondent (Dimitris) chose “2” for Finnish, and he did not provide an answer for Greek. The results are depicted in charts 32 and 33.



Chart 32: Child survey Q14 Enjoyment of speaking Finnish



Chart 33: Child survey Q15 Enjoyment of speaking Greek

The next question (Q16) in this group inquired, how does speaking or hearing Finnish make the respondents feel. The question had ready text options to select from to help children answer this question. Multiple selections were possible. All participants selected at least one option. The responses were positive all around with respondents (6) thinking that Finnish is a cool, “secret language, and 5 participants finding it useful for communicating with Finnish relatives. No one said that speaking Finnish would make them feel anxious. The results are presented in chart 34:

Q16 How does it make you feel to speak or hear Finnish?

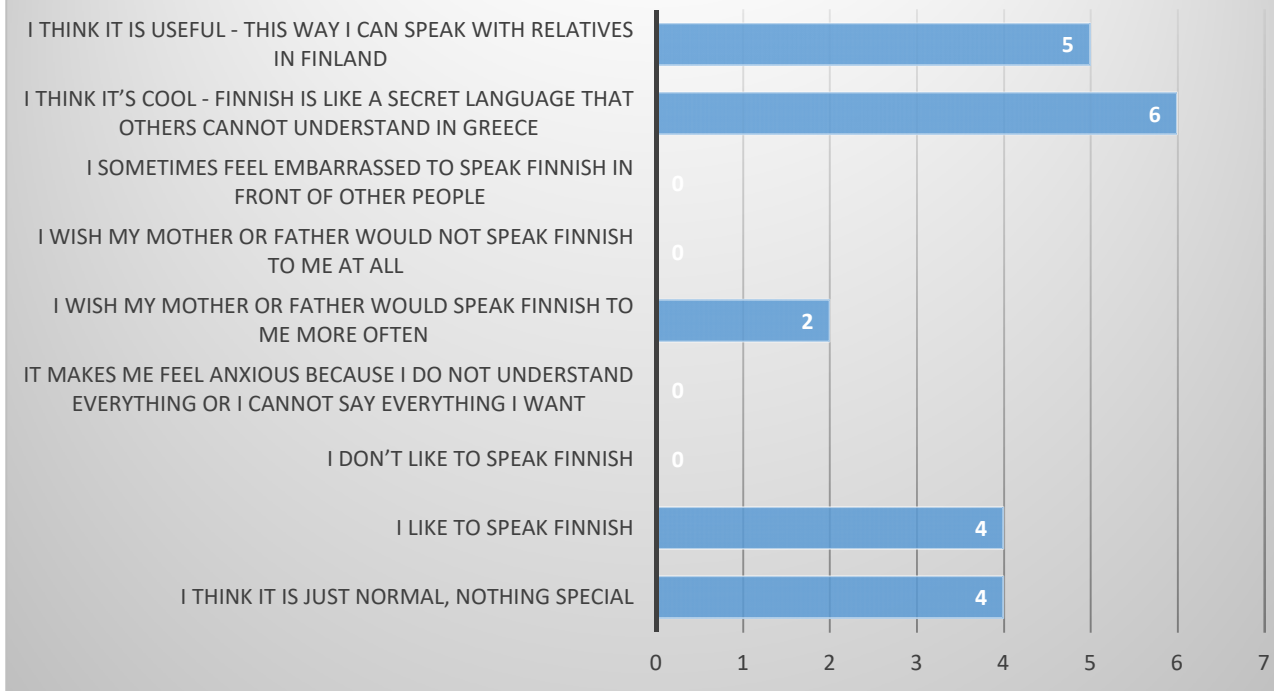


Chart 34: Child survey Q16 Children's sentiments about speaking or hearing Finnish

In the third question of this group regarding the emotional aspect, respondents were asked if they sometimes argue about which language to use at home. This question had four set text options, and only one selection was possible. Most respondents (7) stated that there are no arguments over the language used in the family. Only one respondent (Paraskevi) said that language-related arguments can occur, especially with her father.

Q17 Do you sometimes argue with your family about which language to use at home?

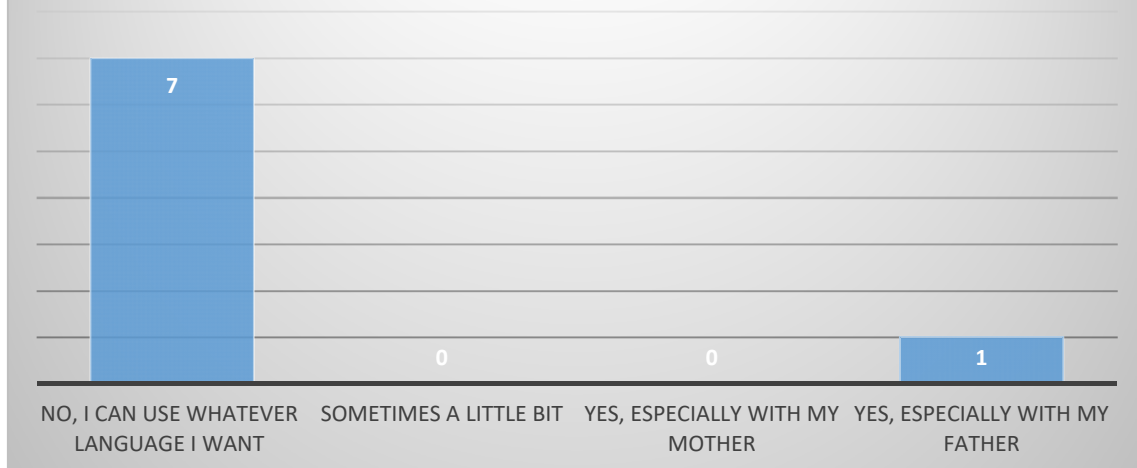


Chart 35: Child survey Q17 Arguments about used language

The last two questions asked children what they do and do not like about speaking two languages at home. The questions were similar to the two last questions in the parent survey about the advantages and disadvantages of bilingual family life, but the questions were simplified for in case there were young children taking part in the survey. The answers could be given with an audio recording or with a text reply. All respondents chose to answer with text.

It is not clear why the respondents both in the parent and the child survey did not choose the audio reply but opted for the written answer. Perhaps the environment was too noisy for that, or they simply felt more comfortable providing a text answer more anonymously. This could be influenced by demographic and/or cultural factors which cannot be determined by this study.

The questions and the answers are presented below. Following each question is an example answer meant as a guide, marked in italics. The answers are presented with the first being either in Greek or in Finnish depending on the language in which the answer was given. The answers are followed by a translation in English, marked in italics.

Q18 What things do you like about speaking two languages in your home?

For example, being able to watch movies in either language, or having a "secret language" with your family.

Μυστική γλώσσα με την μαμά & την αδελφή μου
Secret language with my mom and sister
(Dimitris)

Minusta on kivaa kun voin katsoa Pikku Kakkosta suomeksi. On kivaa kun isi opettelee suomea Duolingossa. Äiti ymmärtää kreikkaa, mutta ei puhu sitä kotona. Minä tykkään auttaa äitiä Kreikan kielen kanssa ja isiä suomen kanssa.
I find it nice to be able to Pikku Kakkonen [Finnish children's show] in Finnish. It's nice when Dad learns Finnish in Duolingo. Mom understands Greek but doesn't speak it at home. I like to help mom with her Greek and my dad with his Finnish.
(Eleni)

Suomi salakielenä on aina ollut kätevä kun harva puhuu suomea. Suomenkielinen media myös on erilaista josta on mukavaa keskustella äidin kanssa. Suomenkielisten kirjojen lukeminen ja niistä keskustelu on myös mukavaa.
Finnish as a secret language has always been convenient when few people speak Finnish. The Finnish-language media is also different, and it is nice to discuss it with my mother. It is also nice to read books in Finnish and talk about them.
(Katerina)

Μυστική γλώσσα και επικοινωνία με συγγενείς.
Secret language and communication with relatives.
(Aggeliki)

Να έχω μια μυστική γλώσσα με τους γονείς μου όταν Έλληνες βρίσκονται ανάμεσα μας οι οποίοι κανεννας τους δε ξέρει φιλανδικά (ο οποίος δε είναι Φινλανδός) και είναι κάτι μοναδικό

To have a secret language with my parents when we are with other Greeks who do not know Finnish (or who are not Finnish) and it is something unique

(Ioanna)

On kivaa, kun voin puhua iskille kreikkaa, koska iski sanoo väärin suomeksi. (Äidin huomio: isä ei osaa suomea.)

It is nice to speak Greek with my dad because he speak incorrectly in Finnish.

(Mother's note: father does not speak Finnish.)

(Despina)

Salakieli

A secret language

(Paraskevi)

Q19 What things do you NOT like about speaking two languages in your home?

For example, you feel that it causes arguing, or that visitors may not understand you, or it is sometimes confusing to have many words for the same thing.

Δεν με πειράζει

I don't mind it

(Dimitris)

Joskus pitää sanoa samat asiat kahteen kertaan

Sometimes you have to say the same things twice

(Eleni)

Joskus on kiusallista et puhutaan suomea vieraiden kuullen koska he eivät ymmärrä ja ehkä aistivat että puhutaan heistä

Sometimes it is embarrassing to speak Finnish in front of guests because they do not understand and perhaps they sense that they are being talked about

(Katerina)

Πολλές φορές μιλάμε sekakieli (και οι δύο γλώσσες στην ίδια πρόταση) το οποίο μπορεί να μπερδεύει όσους δεν είναι της οικογένειας

Many times we speak sekakieli [Finnish for "mixed language"] (both languages in the same sentence) which can confuse those who are not part of the family

(Aggeliki)

δεν μου αρέσει που βρίσκομαι στη Ελλάδα και μιλάω μόνο με τη μαμά μου φιλανδικά επειδη αρχίζω και τα ξεχνάω και μπερδεύομαι παρά πολύ με όλες τις γλώσσες που μαθαίνω τώρα

I don't like that I am in Greece and I only speak Finnish with my mom because I start

to forget it and I get very confused with all the languages I am learning now
(Ioanna)

Että iski kiusaa mua. (puhuu suomea väärin)
That dad teases me (speaks Finnish incorrectly)
(Despina)

Vastaan vielä Suomeksi vaikka joku puhuisi minulle Kreikkaa. Kreikan kielessä on hankalia sanoja jota en osaa sanoa.

I will still answer in Finnish even if someone speaks Greek to me. There are difficult words in Greek which I don't know how to say.
(Paraskevi)

4.2.5 Free audio or text

Είναι δύσκολο να διατηρήσεις την μητρική- φιλανδική γλώσσα όταν φεύγεις από το πατρικό σου και κάνεις δική σου οικογένεια με Έλληνα σύζυγό. Το παιδί μας ξέρει μόνο κάποιες λέξεις που τις μαθαίνει από εμένα και την φιλανδεζα γιαγιά. Ο μόνος τρόπος διατήρησης της γλώσσας για εμένα πλέον είναι η ανάγνωση βιβλίων στην φιλανδική γλώσσα.

It is difficult to maintain the mother tongue-Finnish when you leave your paternal home and start your own family with a Greek spouse. Our child only knows a few words that he learns from me and the Finnish grandmother. The only way to preserve the language for me now is to read books in Finnish.
(Aggeliki)

Στο σπίτι μιλάω με τον μπαμπά μου ελληνικά και με τη μαμά μου φιλανδικά δεν υπάρχει κάποιο πρόβλημα.*At home I speak Greek with my dad and Finnish with my mom and there is no problem.*
(Ioanna)

μου αρέσουν πολύ τα φινλανδικά
I really like Finnish
(Panagiotis)

5 DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to explore the family language policy used in Greek-Finnish families who live in Greece, especially with regard to the language management methods in use and factors affecting FLP in families. Language policy has traditionally focused on language use in the public context, at the governmental or community level. Curdt-Christiansen (2009: 352) defines it as follows: “A language policy is a political decision and a deliberate attempt to change/influence/affect the various aspects of language practices and the status of one or more languages in a given society.” This same deliberate attempt to affect language practices can also be applied at the family level, bringing the research of child language acquisition and childhood bilingualism to the family environment. Spolsky (2004), among many others, thought the family to be an important domain for studying language policy in explaining language shift, for example.

This research was largely guided by Spolsky’s (2004) three-tiered language policy model – language practices, language beliefs or ideology and language management – adapting it to the family level. Spolsky (2004) wanted to make a distinction between the language choices within a family in their daily interactions, the parental beliefs about language and language use, and the specific efforts to manage family language practices.

In order to better understand the FLP among Greek-Finnish families, data was collected via an online survey, and the survey results were presented in the previous chapter. In the following, the results will be viewed more closely in light of the two research questions posed at the end of the literature review. The research questions were the following:

RQ1: What kind of Family Language Policy is present in Greek-Finnish multilingual families residing in Greece, especially in terms of the language management methods in use, if any?

RQ2: Which factors influence the Family Language Policy in Greek-Finnish multilingual families residing in Greece?

First, I will look at the survey results and see what they reveal about the language choices and language management practices in the family. After this, the results will be examined in order to see what kind of factors may or may not influence a set FLP. These factors can include parental language ideologies and beliefs, emotional factors, impact belief and child agency as well as external factors to the family.

5.1 FAMILY LANGUAGE POLICY AND LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT METHODS

In what follows, the results of the parent survey will be examined in order to see if there is a specific family language policy in place in the Greek-Finnish families and what kind of language management methods are in use, if any.

Of special interest in order to answer the first research question – *What kind of Family Language Policy is present in Greek-Finnish multilingual families residing in Greece, especially in terms of the language management methods in use, if any?* – are questions

Q20 (“What languages do you use in your everyday family life?”) about language use in the family, Q17 (“How useful are the following items in your opinion with regard to your children’s knowledge about the Finnish language and culture?”) and Q22 (How do you usually react when you speak your mother tongue to your child but s/he replies in the other family language?).

The results for Q20 (with a summary of the results in Chart 16) showed that most families claim to use only one language with certain family members, with only one respondent choosing the option “There is no recognizable pattern in the family’s language use”.

These answers reveal that most families do have a certain pattern in their communication with other family members, or at least they claim to have one as actual language use cannot be confirmed with a survey. Eight respondents (out of 14) say that they speak their own mother tongue and their partner speaks theirs either in all situations or at least with the children. This type of one-person-one-language or OPOL method is very commonly used in multilingual families (Barron-Hauwaert 2004, Wilson 2020, among others) and the respondents in this study seem to follow the same method. The OPOL method is criticized for being elitist because it is mainly middle-class families with educated parents who succeed in using it. This applies to the survey participant here: except for three respondents, all have at least a bachelor’s degree, so they are educated. The one-person-one-language method has also been associated with pressure and anxiety (Okita 2002, Wilson 2020), but any indication of this in Greek-Finnish cannot be found in the survey data: in Q21 *How does your family’s language use make you feel?* no one thought that the OPOL method caused them stress.

The OPOL method in itself does not imply actual language management from parents but only says something about what parents do with the language. For example, Spolsky (200) says that language acquisition does not need to be specifically managed but it can be controlled through choice of language. Question 22 (with a summary of the results in chart 18 in the Results section) reveals more whether or not actual language management strategies are in use in these families. The options for this question were a modified version of the language management strategies identified by Lanza (1997) in her landmark study.

The results for question 22 show that all strategies are in use in the families, but the most popular ones are the ones where the parent does not react to the language used by the child: 5 respondents state that “I do not react to my child’s language choice but I reply in my mother tongue” and 4 state that “I do not react to my child’s language choice and I reply in the language that the child used”. In the last option, this would mean here for example that the parent has first said something in Finnish, the child replies in Greek, after which the parent also continues in Greek.

This type of language use is called *translanguaging*⁵, which can be defined as the alternation between two or more varieties within the same conversation (Kopeliovich 2013).

⁵ It should be noted that this kind of alternation between varieties is called code-switching by other researchers. For an overview on differences and similarities between code-switching and translanguaging, see Balam 2021.

Alternating between languages is more accepted now by parents and by people outside of the family. A lack of reaction from the parent to the child's language use could be seen as parental flexibility toward language use, and current research has found evidence that this kind of positive attitude towards translanguaging practices can further a positive family language policy experience (ibid.).

Although not all parents had their children participate in the study, Q17 "Do you sometimes argue with your family about which language to use at home?" in the child survey supports this finding about a flexible language use: 7 out of 8 participants said that they do not argue over language use but they can use whatever language they want.

Question 17 asked the respondents how useful they think various things are for their children's language development and cultural knowledge. The results (summarized in charts 5-13 in the Results section) show that the respondents found the Finnish heritage language school and reading books in Finnish to be especially useful with this regard: all 14 respondents think that the Finnish school is at least "Quite useful" and 13 find reading books in Finnish to be very useful.

Additionally, one respondent, Riina, mentions the Finnish heritage language school in one of the open text responses:

*When the children (4) were young, as a working mother I did not have to energy to maintain Finnish, because the children had hobbies and school in Greek. **The Finnish heritage language school and its activities gave hope for the family's Finnish identity.** I was made guilty for not teaching more Finnish in my family.*

(Riina)

Studies have shown that the co-operation between home and the ethnic community through heritage language classes, among other things, has an important role in heritage language learning (Spolsky 2009), and these results are in line with these findings.

Language management can include a more direct parental involvement through literacy activities, such as joint book reading, or explicit teaching (Nandi 2018), and for example Curdt-Christiansen and La Morgia's study (2018) explored how language policy is managed through literacy related activities by parents in order to enrich their children's language repertoires. Literacy activities, such as book reading here, seem to be in use in the Greek-Finnish families as well with the purpose of enhancing knowledge of the Finnish language and culture.

No other category stands out as prominently, other top categories for "Very useful" were Visits to Finland (11), Calls with friends and relatives in Finland (10) and TV programs in Finnish (10). All of these – spending time with native speakers and watching TV in the heritage language – are ways to increase the amount of input in order to enhance language skills and to manage external influence to family language policy (Spolsky 2009).

All charts (charts 5-13) for Q17 can be viewed in full in the Results section.

To summarize, the one-person-one-language strategy is a commonly used method in the families participating in this research, so the hypothesis for the research question is supported. There is not much child-directed language management present from parents – parents mostly do not react to their children’s language choices. Finnish heritage language classes and literacy activities in Finnish were thought to be especially useful in improving children’s language skills.

5.2 FACTORS INFLUENCING FAMILY LANGUAGE POLICY

The discussion moves now forward from the first research question to the second one in order to determine, which factors influence a set family language policy in Greek-Finnish families. As a reminder, the research question was the following: *Which factors influence the Family Language Policy in Greek-Finnish multilingual families residing in Greece?*

As previously discussed in the Literature review section, various management methods and strategies do not exist in a vacuum but FLP can be shaped by both linguistic and non-linguistic forces; by internal factors, such as identity, parental impact belief and emotions, and external factors, such as language status and socioeconomic factors (Curdt-Christiansen and Huang 2020). Curdt-Christiansen (2018) presents the fluidity of this process in a model in figure 1, which depicts the dynamic relationship between FLP and language socialization.

In the following, the survey results will be examined in order to see if some factors stand out in the responses as possible factors which could influence the language policy that respondents have set, or would like to incorporate, in their families.

5.2.1 Internal factors

In order to seek answers to the second research question, the results for question 12 “What language(s) do you mainly speak with your family members?” and question 21 “How does your family’s language use make you feel?” will first be examined closer. The results for Q12 show that not all Finnish speaking parents speak Finnish with their children, most of them speak mainly Greek. However, in Q21, all respondents who speak Greek with their children wish that more Finnish would be used in the family. In a way, they would like their family language policy to contain more Finnish speaking but this wish is not realized.

One of the factors that may directly influence parental management efforts in order to develop children’s language skills is *parental impact belief* (De Houwer 1999). This belief refers to the parental belief about parent’s having some kind of control over their children’s language skills. In the parent survey question 19 (the results are summarized in chart 15 in the Results section), the respondents were asked if they believe that they can influence their child’s/children’s language choice and language development.

The majority of participants in the parent survey selected “Yes, absolutely”. The majority of respondents in Q18 also said that it is “very important” that their children learn to speak Finnish. Table 3 in the results section showed a comparison of responses for questions 18 (impact belief) and 19 (importance of speaking Finnish). The comparison showed, for example, that while Aino finds it very important that her children learn to speak Finnish, she does not believe that she can influence their language development. Home language data

shows that Aino speaks only Greek with all her family members. Additionally, one of Aino's children who participated in the child survey does not speak Finnish at all.

While parental impact belief can indeed be a factor influencing FLP in the context of this study, there are still several respondents who only speak Greek at home but who selected "5" for both Q18 and Q19. Also, Chart 17: Q21 (Sentiment about language use in the family) shows that five respondents wish that more Finnish would be used in the family. When examining the survey data more closely at the individual level, it can be seen that those respondents are the ones who mainly speak Greek at home. The only exception is Riina, who has four children. She speaks mainly Greek with her spouse and her eldest child and both Finnish and Greek with the younger children. Her quote above at the end of the previous section (5.1) partially explains this: she did not have the energy to maintain Finnish when the children were young. Now perhaps with more energy, her younger children may still be able to learn Finnish but this can get increasingly difficult the older the children get.

One of the biggest motivations in maintaining a heritage language is the transmission of a *cultural and ethnic identity* (Wilson 2020). The results of this survey show that all respondents portray a very strong ethnocultural identity which can be seen for example in questions 13 and 16: most respondents consider themselves to be either Finnish or equally Finnish and Greek, and all respondents think that it is important that their children learn about the Finnish culture. Also, as mentioned above, most respondents think that it is important that their children learn to speak Finnish, so they have a positive attitude towards the language. This positive attitude can encourage heritage speakers to use the language (Wilson 2020), but it does not seem to be the case here with all participants.

The same heritage language speaker may experience both positive and negative emotions toward the heritage language. Positive attitudes may arise with a desire to connect with the linguistic community of heritage speakers, whereas negative ones may come from wanting to fit in better with the majority community, for example (Wilson 2020). When examining the various questions of the surveys that may reveal something about the *emotional factor* related to language use in the families, the responses for both parents and children are overall positive or neutral.

As an example, in Q24 parents felt mostly neutral when their child does not speak their mother tongue to them, and in Q21 about feelings towards family language use the respondents did not show discontent. In the last question (Q27), the respondents were asked to rate their overall satisfaction with their bilingual family life on a scale of 1 to 10. The results are overall positive: 10 out of 14 respondents gave a rating of 8 or higher. With children, the same can be seen: children generally liked speaking Finnish (Q14) and no one said that they felt embarrassed or anxious when speaking Finnish in question 16 but the feelings were mainly positive or neutral towards Finnish.

When reviewing the open-ended text responses for signs of positive or negative feelings towards Finnish and bilingualism, many respondents in the parent survey felt that bilingualism and living with two cultures is a richness and that it brings a certain versatility into their lives. It helps with learning other languages as well. There were far fewer negative

answers, especially with regard to emotional issues. Many respondents, both children and parents, also said that Finnish functions as a kind of a “secret language” between family members. So instead of viewing Finnish – a small non-Indo-European language – as a hindrance in learning the majority language Greek or other, possibly more valued languages such as English, Finnish is seen as a mainly positive contribution to family life. The following quotes from Katja (parent survey) and Ioanna (child survey) summarize these sentiments nicely:

Lapsi on oppinut helposti myös muita kieliä. Perheellä on oma ”salakieli” jota muut Kreikassa eivät ymmärrä. Rikkaampi kulttuuri kun niitä tuplaten.

My child has also easily learned other languages. The family has its own “secret language” that others in Greece do not understand. Richer culture when there are two of them.

(Katja)

Να έχω μια μυστική γλώσσα με τους γονείς μου όταν Έλληνες βρίσκονται ανάμεσα μας οι οποίοι κανενας τους δε ξέρει φιλιανδικά (ο οποίος δε είναι Φινλανδός) και είναι κάτι μοναδικό

To have a secret language with my parents when we are with other Greeks who do not know Finnish (or who are not Finnish) and it is something unique

(Ioanna)

Harmonious bilingualism is a broad term referring to subjectively positive or neutral experiences within a bilingual setting (De Houwer 2020), and while this study did not set out to determine specifically if there is harmonious bilingualism in Greek-Finnish families, in light of the results mentioned above it could be said that it does exist to an extent, or at least there is no *conflictive bilingualism*, which De Houwer (2020) places at the other end of the continuum.

5.2.2 External factors

Survey responses also show some *external factors* that may influence family language policy in Greek-Finnish multilingual families, especially in the open-ended questions where participants were free to write what they wanted.

Cultural factors can be related to identity and be seen as internal factors. Additionally, several external sociocultural factors can influence language policy in the family through language socialization (Curdt-Christiansen 2018). One major factor here is maintaining a bond between the second-generation children and the extended family in the homeland, which can also be seen as an emotional factor (Wilson 2020). The importance of sustaining this bond was not very visible in the answers by the parents, albeit there were no direct questions asking specifically about this. Only one respondent, Riina, mentions communication with relatives and friends and trips to Finland when asked about the advantages and positive sides of a bilingual family life:

Rikas kulttuuri, esim. erilaiset juhlat ja voimme kommunikoida suomalaisten sukulaisten ja ystävien kanssa myös etäyhteyksissä ja Suomen-matkoilla.

*Rich culture, for example various celebrations, and we can also **communicate with Finnish relatives and friends remotely and on trips to Finland.***

(Riina)

The child survey had an option directly related to this in question 16 “How does it make you feel to speak or hear Finnish?” (the results are summarized in chart 32 in the Results section). The option was *I think it is useful – this way I can speak with relatives in Finland*. The majority (five out of eight children) selected this option, and it shows that children value the ability to communicate with Finnish relatives. This sentiment by children can be reflected in the family language policy applied at home.

As seen above, the external community, such as the Finnish heritage school or relatives in Finland, can be a source of positive reinforcement for the maintenance of Finnish. However, the outside community can also influence the FLP negatively (see De Houwer 2009) as can be seen in some of the survey answers. Here, the majority Greek speakers are the outside community in question that can cause pressure to speak more Greek.

Ehkä suurin on ulkopuolta tuleva painostus ja ihmettely siitä etten puhu niin hyvää kreikkaa. Sekä joissakin asioissa kulttuurilliset erot tehdä ja tulkita asioita.

*Perhaps the biggest thing is **the outside pressure** and people wondering why I don't speak better Greek. And in some matters cultural differences in how things are done and how they are interpreted.*

(Leena)

***Instructions from locals regarding the child.** I hear a lot of comments about how you shouldn't teach Greek letters at the same time as Finnish one in the Finnish heritage language school. Children won't learn and understand, this is said by outsiders and even by teachers. Not everyone says this but especially those who have not traveled further than the island of Rhodes.. laughter..*

(Leena)

In the child survey, despite having positive feelings towards Finnish as a secret language, 14-year-old Ioanna also thinks that learning many different languages can be confusing:

δεν μου αρέσει που βρίσκομαι στη Ελλάδα και μιλάω μόνο με τη μαμά μου φιλανδικά επειδή αρχίζω και τα ξεχνάω και μπερδεύομαι παρά πολύ με όλες τις γλώσσες που μαθαίνω τώρα

*I don't like that I am in Greece and I only speak Finnish with my mom because I start to forget it and I **get very confused with all the languages I am learning now***

(Ioanna)

Here, the external pressure is most likely caused by the Greek school system, which can be very demanding in Ioanna's age group. Several teachers of the Finnish heritage schools in Greece do say that most students drop out after elementary school age because the school workload in the Greek schools becomes too heavy (Korpela 2007).

To summarize, some internal factors, such as a high impact belief and strong Finnish ethnocultural identity, can be seen as factors influencing the FLP in Greek-Finnish families in a positive way, i.e. those factors function as encouragement for continuing to speak Finnish in the family and to pass on knowledge about the Finnish culture. While the survey data did not give an indication on many external factors which could influence a set FLP, one of the most prominent factors was pressure from the Greek-speaking majority community, which could reduce the willingness to learn Finnish or to pass it on to the next generation and in

this way it influences the families negatively. No clear indication as to child agency, that is of “children’s active role in making decisions about patterns of family language use” (Curd-Christiansen and Huang 2020: 178), could be found in the survey data. More research is needed with this regard.

6 CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to gain a better understanding of multilingual Greek-Finnish families living in Greece with regard to Family Language Policy or FLP and the language management methods in use as well as to better comprehend the factors which may influence a set FLP. The data was gathered through an online survey created with the survey tool Phonic, and separate surveys were sent to the Finnish speaking parents and to the offspring of these families. This research was largely guided by Spolsky's (2004) three-tiered language policy model – language practices, language beliefs or ideology and language management – adapting it to the family level.

This study contributed to a better understanding of multilingual family life of Greek-Finnish families living in Greece, more specifically with regard to the Family Language Policy in place, the methods in use to manage this policy and the factors influencing it. These two small languages are not often studied in tandem, and this research provided a small window into FLP without a large and generally prestigious world language, such as English or Spanish.

The first research question was “What kind of Family Language Policy is present in Greek-Finnish multilingual families residing in Greece, especially in terms of the language management methods in use, if any?”. The original hypothesis was that the main method in use would be the one-person-one-language or OPOL method, and this was confirmed as this method was commonly used in the families surveyed. Actual language management was not really present – in most families parents did not react to their children's language choice but they were free to speak the language they wanted.

The second research question was “Which factors influence the Family Language Policy in Greek-Finnish bilingual families residing in Greece?”. Here, both internal and external factors were analyzed, mostly based on a dynamic model of family language policy by Curdt-Christiansen (2018). Some internal factors, such as a high impact belief and strong Finnish ethnocultural identity, could be seen to influence the family language policy in Greek-Finnish families in a positive way. Pressure from the majority community, in this case the Greek speaking majority, is then again an external factor at times influencing the FLP in these families negatively, i.e. making family members less willing to speak Finnish and pass it on to the next generation.

Overall, the families participating in the survey saw bilingualism as a richness in their lives, and the attitudes were mostly positive towards bilingualism and the Finnish language and culture. Although some parents expressed a wish for more Finnish to be spoken in the family, this general positivity towards the family language policy could be partly contributed to flexible language use in the family. Current research has found evidence on the importance of parental flexibility, and Kopeliovich (2013) for example promotes in her research a ‘happylingual approach’ where flexible bilingual parenting is embraced and where children's multilingualism is seen more as an asset rather than a problem.

One of the limitations for this study was the number of respondents: only 14 participants completed the parent survey and 8 completed the child survey. The method used for gathering data in this research was an online survey, and for the purpose of getting a clear picture and a comprehensive view of the family language policy in place in these multilingual families, the number of respondents does not seem adequate. The survey tool Phonic was chosen because it provided an integrated audio response option, however, no respondent answered or elaborated on an answer using audio, only by text. The idea behind this was that by recording audio, the respondents might speak freely and this way provide more data than by just typing in their answer. This could be tested in future research by making the audio option mandatory instead of giving the option between audio and text response. If successful, it could prove to be a valuable data collecting method and could perhaps be used in place of interviews, to an extent.

This is a first step towards understanding the relatively new concept of child agency in the field of Family Language Policy and the bidirectional relationship between parents' family language policy and children's language development. However, the data available is so far limited. Child agency should be researched more in order to get a better understanding of the different ways through which children can enact their agency in family interactions and of their role in Spolsky's tripartite language model, which has been criticized for holding children merely as passive recipients of language policies set by parents. Conducting this kind of research in different bilingual communities, also with less common language pairs such as Finnish and Greek, and in different cultural environments, could help comprehend better just how much power children have in determining the FLP and what role children play in the switch to the majority language in the family environment and ultimately in language shift.

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APPENDIX 1

Parent Survey Questions

- 1. Name**
- 2. Age**
- 3. Gender**
 - Female
 - Male
 - Other
- 4. Place of birth**
- 5. Current hometown and country**
- 6. How long have you lived in your current country of residence?**
- 7. How long do you still intend to live in your current country of residence?**
- 8. What is your highest level of education?**
 - Comprehensive school
 - Secondary school
 - Bachelor's Degree or equivalent
 - Master's Degree or equivalent
 - Doctorate
 - None of the above
- 9. How well can you speak Finnish?**
 - Not at all
 - Only know some words and expressions
 - Confident in basic conversations
 - Fairly confident in extended conversations
 - Confident in extended conversations
 - Mother tongue / native speaker level
- 10. How well can you speak Greek?**
 - Not at all
 - Only know some words and expressions
 - Confident in basic conversations
 - Fairly confident in extended conversations
 - Confident in extended conversations
 - Mother tongue / native speaker level
- 11. What language(s) were mainly spoken in your childhood home?**
 - Finnish
 - Greek
 - Finnish and Greek
 - Other (define which language)
- 12. What language(s) do you mainly speak with your family members?**
(Spouse / Child 1 / Child 2 / Child 3 / Child 4)
 - Finnish
 - Greek
 - Finnish and Greek
 - English

- N/A
- 13. Do you consider yourself mainly...**
- Finnish
 - Greek
 - Equally Finnish and Greek
 - Other
- 14. How would you define your family culturally?**
- A family with one culture.
 - A family with two cultures, with a deeper knowledge of one culture than another.
 - A family with two cultures, both fairly well developed.
 - A family with three or more cultures.
- 15. How often does your family meet with other Finns or Finnish-Greek families?**
- 3 to 4 times a month or more often
 - 1 to 2 times a month
 - Less than once a month
 - Only occasionally
- 16. How important is it for you that your children learn about the Finnish culture?**
(Not at all important (1) – Very important (5))
- 17. How useful are the following items in your opinion with regard to your children's knowledge about the Finnish language and culture?**
(Finnish heritage language school / Meeting with other bilingual families / Reading books in Finnish / The Internet and social media / Computer games and apps / TV programs in Finnish / Listening to Finnish music / singing songs / Visits to Finland / Calls with friends and relatives in Finland)
- Not at all useful
 - Somewhat useful
 - Quite useful
 - Very useful
- 18. How important is it for you that your child/children learn to speak Finnish?**
(Not at all important (1) – Very important (5))
- 19. Do you believe that you can influence your child's/children's language choice and language development?**
(Not at all (1) – Yes, absolutely (5))
- 20. What languages do you use in your everyday family life?**
- I mostly speak my mother tongue and my partner speaks his/hers in all situations.
 - I mostly speak my mother tongue and my partner speaks his/hers with the child/children, and I speak Finnish with my partner.
 - I mostly speak my mother tongue and my partner speaks his/hers with the child/children, and I speak Greek with my partner.
 - I mostly speak my mother tongue and my partner speaks his/hers with the child/children, and I speak another language with my partner.
 - We mostly speak Finnish in all situations.
 - We mostly speak Greek in all situations.
 - We mostly speak another language in all situations.
 - There is no recognizable pattern in the family language use.
- 21. How does your family's language use make you feel?**
- I wish we would use more Finnish in the family

- I wish we would use more Greek in the family
- Both me and my partner are happy about our family's language use
- Both me and my partner are unhappy about our family's language use
- I am happy about it but I think my partner is not
- I think my partner is happy about it but I am not
- Sometimes I feel uncomfortable because I cannot understand what my partner is saying to our children/other people
- Imposing a strict one-person-one-language approach can be stressful at times
- It is important that the parent speaks only their own mother tongue to their children.
- It doesn't matter what language everyone speaks as long as we can understand each other

22. How do you usually react when you speak your mother tongue to your child but s/he replies in the other family language?

- I pretend not to hear/understand and I wait for the child to repeat the same in my mother tongue
- I ask my child to repeat the same in my mother tongue
- I repeat the same in my mother tongue
- I do not react to my child's language choice but I reply in my mother tongue
- I do not react to my child's language choice and I reply in the language that the child used

23. How does it make you feel when your child speaks your mother tongue to you?

- Sad/Disappointed
- Frustrated
- Neutral
- Content
- Happy

24. How does it make you feel when your child does NOT speak your mother tongue to you?

- Sad/Disappointed
- Frustrated
- Neutral
- Content
- Happy

25. What are the advantages and positive sides of bilingual family life

26. What are the disadvantages and negative sides of bilingual family life?

27. Overall, how satisfied are you with your family life in terms of bilingualism?

(1-10)

Child Survey Questions

1. Name
2. Name of parent taking the parent survey
3. Age
4. Gender
 - Female
 - Male
 - Other
5. Place of birth

- 6. Current hometown and country**
- 7. How many years have you lived in your current country of residence?**
- 8. Since when have you been able to speak Greek?**
- Since I was 2 years old or younger
 - After the age of 2 but before I started school
 - Since I started comprehensive school
 - Since I started secondary school
 - I do not speak Greek
- 9. How well do you feel you can speak Greek?**
- I only know some words and expressions
 - I can have an easy conversation
 - I can have a longer conversation
 - I can talk about almost anything I want
 - It is my mother tongue
- 10. Since when have you been able to speak Finnish**
- Since I was 2 years old or younger
 - After the age of 2 but before I started school
 - Since I started comprehensive school
 - Since I started secondary school
 - I do not speak Greek
- 11. How well do you feel you can speak Finnish?**
- I only know some words and expressions
 - I can have an easy conversation
 - I can have a longer conversation
 - I can talk about almost anything I want
 - It is my mother tongue
- 12. Do you consider yourself to be mainly...**
- Finnish
 - Greek
 - Both Finnish and Greek equally
 - Other
- 13. How often do you use Finnish with the following people?**
 (Mother / Father / Siblings / Other students in Finnish school / Teachers in Finnish school / Relatives in Finland / Other Finnish families in Greece / Online conversations (e.g. social media, playing games, using apps))
- Never
 - Rarely
 - Sometimes
 - Often
 - Always
- 14. How much do you like speaking Finnish?**
 (Not at all (1) – A lot! (5))
- 15. How much do you like speaking Greek?**
 (Not at all (1) – A lot! (5))
- 16. How does it make you feel to speak or hear Finnish?**
- I think it is just normal, nothing special
 - I like to speak Finnish

- I don't like to speak Finnish
- It makes me feel anxious because I do not understand everything or I cannot say everything I want
- I wish my mother or father would speak Finnish to me more often
- I wish my mother or father would not speak Finnish to me at all
- I sometimes feel embarrassed to speak Finnish in front of other people
- I think it's cool - Finnish is like a secret language that others cannot understand in Greece
- I think it is useful - this way I can speak with relatives in Finland

17. Do you sometimes argue with your family about which language to use at home?

- No, I can use whatever language I want
- Sometimes a little bit
- Yes, especially with my mother
- Yes, especially with my father

18. What things do you like about speaking two languages in your home?

For example, being able to watch movies in either language, or having a "secret language" with your family.

19. What things do you NOT like about speaking two languages in your home?

For example, you feel that it causes arguing, or that visitors may not understand you, or it is sometimes confusing to have many words for the same thing.