

The Different Facets of Ukrainian for Immigrant Parents and their Children in Canada

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ABSTRACT

The global interplay of political, economic, personal, and societal factors is causing growing numbers of people to search for better and safer places to raise their families, with the result that established values and linguistic beliefs in host countries will undergo inevitable revision and reconsideration. It has been well established that the priority for newcomers should be linguistic repertoire expansion by acquiring an additional language rather than the replacement of their native languages by the language of the mainstream society. With this in mind, the objectives of this project were to document and analyze participants' experiences regarding home language use and parenting in Canada and to discover successful strategies for the encouragement and maintenance of Ukrainian. While geographic separation is fixed, recent immigrants bring with them their native language and culture, hoping to recreate a familiar lifestyle in the host country. The immigrants participating in this study were situated along a broad spectrum, ranging from those who felt happy, successful, and confident in their efforts of language maintenance to those who felt doubtful and uncertain but were, in all likelihood, more realistic in their expectations.

INTRODUCTION

The interplay of political, economic, societal, and personal factors causes people to search for better and safer places to raise their families. While governments in host countries try to accommodate newcomers, issues of heritage language loss are often overlooked. In many cases, immigrant parents are left without any support or encouragement from the hosting countries: on the one hand, they struggle to acquire a mainstream language in order to survive and function in their new linguistic environment; on the other hand, they feel a great need to ensure that their children maintain their first language. Unfortunately, many immigrant parents, confronted with this yet another challenge amongst the overwhelming number of problems they have to face in a new country, end up ignoring the problem of heritage language loss. While they are merely trying to survive and provide the necessities for their children, the gradual loss of their heritage language may negatively affect close family ties as well as their children's sense of ethnic identity.

Addressing the issues of heritage language maintenance, Nesteruk (2010) concludes that for immigrant parents from Eastern Europe, it is possible “to *transmit* heritage language to young

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children, but it is exceptionally difficult to *maintain* it during the adolescent years due to the developmental pressures of this age and a desire to preserve a strong parent-child connection” (p. 284). This conclusion—that parents switch to English and give up their home language to preserve close relationships with their children—is at odds with numerous other studies that point to the tremendous role of heritage languages in building strong and close family relationships. It is puzzling, in Nesteruk’s scenario, how immigrant parents could manage to keep close relationships with their children without the advantage of a common home language. If they really can communicate successfully with their children without a heritage language, can English replace and perform those functions traditionally assigned to heritage languages?

The purpose of the project was to explore the strategies, challenges, and motivations for heritage language maintenance among immigrant families from Ukraine; however, in this paper, I will focus only on specific strategies documented in literature and supported by the research findings.

LITERATURE REVIEW

To invest time, money, and consistent efforts in maintaining their heritage language, immigrant parents should have good reasons that motivate and sustain their desire to communicate with their children via languages other than those popular in the mainstream society.

Among the most apparent reasons for parental willingness for intergenerational language maintenance is the possibility to share with their children cultural traditions and to sustain communication with relatives who stay in the home country (Babae, 2013; Chen, 2010; Lee, 2013; Nesteruk, 2010; Park & Sarkar, 2007). Kouritzin (2000) states that one’s mother tongue is not merely a language; it is a unique means of communication between parents and children. In addition, parents who try to maintain their heritage language are aware of the potential benefits of bilingualism, the positive role of a heritage language in learning other languages, and in general, they view multilingualism as a possibility to adopt multiple perspectives and expand one’s knowledge (Guardado, 2010; Li, 1999; Nesteruk, 2010).

Participation in imagined communities Immigrant parents encourage their children to maintain a home language so that they can fully participate in the imagined communities. According to (Anderson, 1992) the heritage language is viewed as facilitating inclusion into communities of parents’ country of origin because “the most important thing about language is its capacity for

generating imagined communities, building in effect particular solidarities” (Anderson, 1992, p. 133). Heritage languages facilitate the creation of extended imagined communities beyond the geographical boundaries of countries, nations, and states. Heritage languages may be the only link connecting deterritorialized (Appadurai, 1997) generations of immigrants and their children. Appadurai (1997) illustrates the emergence of modern imagined communities as a result of a combination of globalized mass media and mass migration, which he calls “a theory of rupture.” Due to mass media, images transcend national borders and “meet deterritorialized viewers,” those people who choose to immigrate and participate in different real communities but who still want to be in touch with their home countries (Appadurai, 1997). Imagined communities of immigrant populations may be referred to as “transnational imagined communities” (Song, 2012). Unlike monolinguals, bi/multilinguals have the potential to join multiple imagined communities besides their real communities of practice (Song, 2012). Norton (2000) proposes that both past and future linguistic communities can be crucial in learners’ investment in language learning. The “liberating imagined communities” (Carroll, Motha & Price, 2008, p. 189), transnational past, present and future communities of immigrants may facilitate multilingualism and influence peoples’ decisions to maintain their first languages. In general, imagined communities may play a positive role in heritage language maintenance if immigrants are willing to keep their membership in transnational communities of practice; on the other hand, imagined and real communities may also cause language loss if new immigrants and their children seek full integration and assimilation in a host country.

In addition, parents from rapidly-developing countries also view their heritage language as providing potential future economic benefits and better prospects of employment (Lee, 2013); however, immigrants from not so well-off countries do not associate their heritage language with potential economic benefits (Nesteruk, 2010). Furthermore, parents often associate heritage languages with integration in the international community and increasing job opportunities (Babae, 2014; Chen, 2010; Cho, 2000; Hu, Torr & Whiteman, 2014; Yearwood, 2008).

Parental Strategies in Language Maintenance

Researchers are unanimous in their conclusion that heritage language maintenance must be accompanied by support from parents, community, educators, and social networks in general. In their efforts to maintain home languages, parents employ numerous strategies investing their time, energy, and money regularly.

Intentional and consistent use of a heritage language at home seems to be the most commonly cited strategy (Arriagada, 2005; Babae, 2013; Baker, 2000; DeCapua & Wintergerst, 2009; Guardado, 2010; Kouritzin, 2000; Nesteruk, 2010) as well as parental efforts to provide exposure to a heritage language via media and technology (Choi & Yi, 2012; DeCapua & Wintergerst, 2009). In mixed-marriages, a “one parent — one language” approach seems to be effective, provided there are support and mutual agreement of both parents (DeCapua & Wintergerst, 2009; Döpke, 1992). Frequent visits to parents’ home countries, communication with extended family members, contact with L1 community members and friends, singing and story-telling in a heritage language, and creating “intimate spaces” contribute to the success of home language maintenance (Babae, 2014; Guardado, 2006; Guardado & Becker, 2014; Nesteruk, 2010).

Media and technology in language maintenance. Choi and Yi (2012) found that media from a heritage culture may help in the development of literacy, reading and writing skills, and “provide a *bridge* between informal activities outside school and formal literacy practices in the classroom” (p. 120). According to Szecsi and Szilagyi (2012), media technologies, including communication via Skype, chat rooms, and interactive games, proved to be efficient in improving all four language skills but only under the condition of parental supervision and active involvement. Parents should recognize their children’s interests and try to create relevant and interesting activities involving media technologies, but still, these strategies are viewed only as additional to regular parental efforts in language maintenance. Furthermore, media technology can also help in maintaining close emotional ties with members of extended family living back in the heritage country; for example, if there is regular communication via Skype, grandparents and relatives may be involved in children’s everyday activities (Szecsi & Szilagyi, 2012).

Reading in heritage language. Many parents who are committed to their children’s heritage language development read books to their children regularly. They even practice content-based language acquisition by teaching their school age children grammar, mathematics, and other subjects from the textbook used in their home countries so that children will not only learn the language but also improve their knowledge of the material they study in mainstream classrooms (Babae, 2013; Park & Sarkar, 2007). Watching cartoons and reading books in a heritage language and involving grandparents in child care were reported as very successful strategies among immigrants from Eastern Europe (Nesteruk, 2010; Szecsi & Szilagyi, 2012).

Consequently, members of extended families may play an essential role by enlarging the domain of heritage language use (Melo-Pfeifer, 2015).

Visiting parents' country of origin. If parents can afford regular visits to their home countries, children can maintain relations with relatives and improve their language proficiency. Döpke (1992) reports that in some cases, children who are passive bilinguals may activate their receptive knowledge of a heritage language and become fluent speakers after prolonged visits to heritage countries. Analyzing reasons for strong attachment to one's heritage language and culture, Guardado and Becker (2014) concluded that frequent visits to Peru (a heritage country) and the fact that children were born and even spent some time in their childhood there could explain their close ties not only with the extended family but also with the heritage culture and country. Moreover, parents try to combine two languages and two cultures by involving their children in interesting home activities and celebrations, thus reinforcing the idea of peaceful coexistence of the dominant and heritage languages (Guardado & Becker, 2014).

Making heritage language learning an enjoyable experience. Learning and maintaining a heritage language will be more effective if children enjoy it (Guardado & Becker, 2014). Many parents report not forcing their children into heritage language learning but instead using learning opportunities when children themselves initiate discussions or ask questions related to their heritage language and culture (Hu, Torr & Whiteman, 2014). Some parents can give their children the freedom to choose the language for communication, even if it is sometimes English or code-switching (Lee, 2013). These findings contradict other studies reporting consistent parental efforts of using heritage languages only and not allowing their children to use the mainstream language at home. Consequently, the question remains which attitude is more efficient and is more facilitative of heritage language acquisition. The question may also be related to children's age and their proficiency in a heritage language. Probably younger children should be consistently reminded of using their home language, while older children with more proficient skills in a heritage language may be allowed to code-switch from time to time. In this case, code-switching should not be viewed as a deficiency, but rather as "a highly differentiated interactional tool" (Döpke, 1992), that is used to achieve communicative purposes between bilingual speakers.

Heritage language schools. If parents are not constrained financially, they may choose to

send their children to community-based heritage language programs, hire tutors (Kopeliovich, 2011), or attend language classes and activities organized through churches (Nesteruk, 2010; Park & Sarkar, 2007). Heritage language programs not only help children to find peers speaking the same language (Chen, 2010; Lee, 2013) but may also connect parents with other members of the same linguistic community (Chen, 2010; Iqbal, 2005).

Some parents, who choose to send their children to church-based language classes and activities, are somewhat sceptical about the potential progress of their children because they have doubts that church activities alone are sufficient to promote high heritage language proficiency (Park & Sarkar, 2007). Parents from Romania and Ukraine report that they do not consider sending their children to church cultural activities because they do not go to church regularly and are not close to the rest of the community (Nesteruk, 2010). This finding is partially relevant regarding parents who participated in the project. Unlike Ukrainian immigrants of previous waves, new immigrants from Ukraine usually are not affiliated with any particular church, partially because they do not feel connected with Canadians of Ukrainian heritage. Therefore, church-based language programs may not be very popular among recent immigrants from Ukraine.

In general, there seems to be a controversy in the research findings regarding the benefits of heritage language programs: while some claim they are useful, others present rather sceptical and cautious conclusions. Kanno (2003) believes that only separate schools run by a specific linguistic and ethnic community may be efficient because they encourage children to believe that their mother tongue is valued and validated. Moreover, the academic component adds significance to language maintenance, so the functions of a heritage language are not limited to basic conversational skills (Kanno, 2003).

Although Wong Fillmore (1991) finds that language shift from the first language to English happens more often in the families who send their children to English only pre-school programs than in the families whose children attend programs in their first language, “bilingual education does not appear to offer children enough protection from language shift” (Wong Fillmore, 1991, p. 333). In another study among Ukrainian-Canadian children, mothers seem to be satisfied with their children’s proficiency in Ukrainian, but simultaneously point out their dissatisfaction with the curriculum at Ukrainian programs and lack of community support in

maintenance of their first language (Chumak-Horbatsch, 1999).

Some other research projects point out the benefits of heritage language community-based programs. For example, in Israel, numerous private Russian schools are complementary to the official public schools. These additional schools successfully promote the Russian language and culture among young immigrants from the former Soviet Union (Kopeliovich, 2011; Schwartz, 2008). Similar findings are presented in a study of Japanese-American college students who attend Japanese language schools (Shibata, 2004). Other research reports that a Spanish cultural centre is effective in terms of promoting communication among Spanish-speaking families and reinforcing children's cultural and linguistic identity by valuing and validating their heritage within a community (Guardado & Becker, 2014).

However, if parents rely on heritage language schools exclusively, they are often disappointed with their children's progress (Chen, 2010; Kopeliovich, 2011). Bilingual programs and tutors may be only additional resources in maintaining the first language, but they cannot wholly compensate for lack of communication in the heritage language at home (Kopeliovich, 2011). Moreover, a successful bilingual program is impossible without "sparks of genuine interest" (Kopeliovich, 2011). In addition, Schwartz (2008) emphasizes the importance of a "community-based supplementary educational system in the survival of the minority language among second-generation immigrants" (p. 416). Even though parents have priority in deciding on a home language and enrolling their children in heritage or bilingual programs, without their children's desire and motivation for language maintenance, parental efforts will be in vain (DeCapua & Wintergerst, 2009).

Frequent visits to their home country, friends and relatives sharing the same language, a possibility to attend cultural centres, ethnic pride, and the probability of a future return to a home country may contribute to the first language maintenance in the immigrant families (Guardado & Becker, 2014; Kopeliovich, 2011; Sridhar, 1985; Szecsi & Szilagyi, 2012). Parents' language policy and children's positive attitude towards their heritage language contribute a lot to the first language maintenance among immigrant children (Schwartz, 2008).

METHODOLOGY

Social capital and symbolic power. Parents' commitment to heritage language maintenance is shaped by the ideology, norms, and values of the dominant society because "individual agency

and decision-making reflect a range of societal forces” (Phillipson, 2008, p. 34). Bourdieu’s (1991) concept of different forms of capital—economic, cultural, and symbolic—with the possibility of converting one form into another, helps explain the problems of dominant and heritage languages being ranked in a hierarchy. Previous research findings on heritage language loss indicate that the most common reason for parents to shift to a dominant language, beyond the appeal of its cultural or symbolic power, is the promise of better employment prospects in future, which corresponds to the concept of economic capital.

Different languages and their speakers who demonstrate linguistic competence in specific contexts (or “markets”) are endowed with different levels of “legitimacy” and “symbolic power” as words serve not merely to convey a message but also to operate as “signs of wealth” and “signs of authority” (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 66). Because decolonizing research challenges the legitimacy of authority, dominance, and power imposition, Bourdieu’s (1991) concept of complicity and internalized subjugation could be applicable in the context of my research regarding immigrant parents who might take for granted the inferior status of their heritage languages and the consequent imperative they feel about switching to a dominant language. Bourdieu (1991) states that “the language of authority never governs without the collaborations of those it governs, without the help of the social mechanisms capable of producing this complicity, based on misrecognition, which is the basis of all authority” (p. 113). According to Bourdieu (1991), the influence of this symbolic power is strong and insidious:

What creates the power of words and slogans, a power capable of maintaining or subverting the social order, is the belief in the legitimacy of words and of those who utter them. And words alone cannot create this belief. (p. 170)

Consequently, questions of agency, authority, and official policy regarding the status of languages are expected to permeate research on immigrant languages in host countries. Bourdieu (1991) reiterates the notion that the functions of languages go beyond mere communication and are intimately connected with the status, dominance, and legitimacy of their speakers. In the case of immigrant parents striving to transfer their mother tongue to their children, heritage languages are commonly associated with communicative functions between family members only and are deprived of further claims to legitimacy and symbolic power. Bourdieu’s (1991) concept of “dispositions” may be comparable to the main idea of language socialization theory, which views language acquisition as “part of acquiring social competence” (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986, p.

167). In the context of the research project, this concept may be applicable in exploring possible discrepancies between “dispositions”—differences between the social behaviours children learn using a heritage language in the context of their family versus the behaviours required of them in schools and mainstream society. Stagg-Peterson and Heywood (2007) assert that parents maintaining a heritage language view it as a form of social capital, which is defined as “the types of interactions and support that parents provide their children” (p. 521). Even though immigrant parents may be well-educated and fluent in a dominant language (English), they are nonetheless considered illegitimate speakers of this language; consequently, they are not well equipped with social and cultural capital, and they do not possess the “delegated power” of authoritative speakers (Bourdieu, 1991). This issue emerged in the project as I interpreted findings of parental efforts in finding the balance between two or more languages in bringing up their children.

METHODS AND PARTICIPANTS

In this paper, I present findings regarding language maintenance strategies drawing on interviews with ten parents (see Appendix A – Participants’ Profile) who participated in the research project. Scheibelhofer (2008) emphasizes the benefits of “problem-centered interviews” in qualitative research involving some autobiographical aspects because this type of interview opens with a broad introduction offering a participant to start with a narrative beginning, which is later elaborated on with the help of a semi-structured part. The data for this project were collected via individual interviews; however, with some of the participants, we also had skype chats, personal gatherings, and other forms of informal communication not intended to be recorded or documented.

FINDINGS

Strategies in Language Maintenance

Research literature on heritage language maintenance offers numerous suggestions and strategies to facilitate language transmission in immigrant families in various contexts (Baker, 2000; Cunningham-Andersson & Andersson, 2004; Pauwels, 2005). According to Baker (2000), family language planning and strategies are important to expose children to a variety of language usage in different activities and contexts.

Age-appropriate resources. Participating parents were unanimous that in order to stimulate their children’s interest and motivation in the Ukrainian language, they need to offer

exciting and age-appropriate books, movies, cartoons, games, and other activities. For younger children, the most popular strategy seems to be books with big and colourful illustrations and cartoons. Three families with younger children described how they sometimes alternate the same cartoons in Ukrainian, English, and, for those trying to maintain Russian as well, Russian. Due to the enormous amount of materials available online, this is not only the most popular but also the most financially feasible strategy, not requiring the substantial spending that travelling to Ukraine does. On the other hand, parents recognize the value of investing as much as possible in their children's linguistic development, especially before the critical teenage years, which can be a breaking point in terms of language maintenance:

Я чудово розумію, що поки дитина менша, їй треба впихнути побільше, тому що як він вже стане більшим... наприклад чому я в цьому році поїхав в Україну на п'ять тижнів і показав йому Україну? Бо я знаю, що як йому буде чотирнадцять-п'ятнадцять, йому вже те не цікаво, він вже не хоче... тому я старався йому все те максимально впихнути. [Ukr. I am well aware that while a child is little, you should invest as much as possible, because as he grows up.... For instance, why did I take him to Ukraine for five weeks to show him the country? Because I know when he is fourteen or fifteen, he may no longer be interested in this, so I am trying to instil this in him as much as possible.] (interview with Andriy, October 17th, 2016)

Another popular strategy for language maintenance is Ukrainian summer camp experiences, which school-age children enjoy and one which Andriy, Mariya, Sofiya, and Olesya provide for their children every year.

Books. Parents of younger children usually bring books back with them from Ukraine or have family members ship them out. Nadiya tries to offer her son both Ukrainian and English books:

Фактично, однакова кількість книжок: якщо це українська книжка сьогодні, то завтра буде англійська книжка, якщо це всі shapes тобто форми які він вивчив у садочку, то я все дублюю українською мовою. Тому що він зараз в такому віці, що він не знає як це називається, і йому зручніше назвати це мовою яку він просто фізично більше повторює в садочку, це англійська мова. Я хочу щоб він знав як це називається, тому я це дублюю українською. Якщо він хоче, він повторює, якщо не хоче, він не повторює, але він знає про що я говорю і він розуміє, тому що на наступний день, коли ми читаємо книжку англійською, і я прошу українською «покажи мені ромб чи овал», він показує. Так само з телевізором, у нас немає телевізора, в нас є тільки комп'ютер і так само він мультики дивиться українською і англійською. Він дивиться Свинку Пеппу українською і так само англійською... [Ukr. In fact, it is the same number of books: if we read [them] today in Ukrainian, then tomorrow we will read [them] in English; for example, if he learns different shapes in

English in his daycare, I duplicate all this in Ukrainian. He is at the age now when he does not know what it is called [in Ukrainian], and it is more convenient for him to use the language that he speaks the most at his daycare, which is English. I want him to know all this in Ukrainian, so I duplicate it. If he wants to, he repeats after me; if he does not want to, he does not repeat, but he still knows what I am talking about because the next day, when we are reading in English and I ask him in Ukrainian, “Show me a diamond or an oval”, he shows it to me. [I use] the same approach with TV; we do not have a TV, only a computer, so he watches cartoons in Ukrainian and in English. He watches Peppa Pig in Ukrainian and English.] (interview with Nadiya, February 25th, 2017)

Older children attending bilingual programs also have the option of borrowing books from their school libraries, and, in general, parents are quite satisfied with the variety of books available. In addition, two mothers are particularly pleased that teachers assign homework reading in Ukrainian, with children required to keep journals:

В библиотеке школьной много украинских книжек. Это обязательная программа, ведется журнал сколько книжек ребенок прочитал, на каком языке. Она каждые две недели идет в библиотеку и берет украинскую и английскую книжку. [Rus. There are many Ukrainian books in the school library. It is part of their curriculum, so there is a journal to record the number and languages of the books she reads. Every two weeks she borrows one English and one Ukrainian book from her school library.] (interview with Inna, June 10th, 2016)

These home assignments are often completed with parental help, which can also be viewed as additional family time that facilitates building bonds between parents and children.

Online resources. Movies and internet activities, in general, are popular with older children and teenagers. Parents observe that their children find their additional language skills helpful when they search for information online. Yuliya notes that her daughter manages to use all three languages she knows in order to find complete information and obtain answers to the questions she has; she creates and enters new word combinations while conducting her online searches. Parents of older children emphasize the importance of encouraging their children’s curiosity at this stage of their lives when they are avidly absorbing new information that interests them regardless of the language it is encountered in. Yuliya adds that when her daughter began showing interest in interpersonal relations between teenagers, she found an online movie in Ukrainian which they watched together, with Yuliya providing some commentary and explanation. Another participant, Ludmyla, intentionally invites her younger son to watch his favourite cartoons and movies in Ukrainian only:

Проще всего стимулировать через то, чем он пользуется чаще всего – интернетом. Он смотрит там мультики чаще чем сказки и песни. Я пытаюсь ему подсунуть на украинском языке мультики чтобы он слышал, чтобы украинская речь была на слуху. [Rus. Internet is the easiest way to stimulate his interest. He will watch cartoons more than songs or fairy tales online. I try to offer him cartoons in Ukrainian, so he can hear the Ukrainian language.] (interview with Ludmyla, August 9th, 2016)

The internet provides natural access to additional information in a heritage language, which may stimulate interest in the language itself (Harrison, 2000) and expose children to a rich heritage language input (Pauwels, 2005).

Ukrainian programs and heritage schools. Various after-school Ukrainian programs, summer camps, heritage schools, and church-related activities are beneficial for older children to not only improve their language skills but also find new Ukrainian-speaking friends. Isajiw (2010) claims that “together with family socialization, the school is of particular importance in generational language maintenance and the development of Ukrainian consciousness” (p. 299). Heritage schools and programs are favoured by parents because they help extend their heritage language social network, facilitating acquaintance with other immigrants from Ukraine. While many participants commented that these one day per week programs might be insufficient in terms of language development, they appreciate the fact that Canadian society provides this opportunity for their children. Younger children usually enjoy attending Ukrainian dance and drawing classes. The availability and variety of these Ukrainian programs differ in the two provinces of residence for the participants, but all the children in the study were attending some form of these Ukrainian activities or schools in Canada.

In many cases, older children are also enrolled in more than one program, in particular those whose parents regularly attend church. While none of the participants explicitly emphasized the role of religion in heritage language maintenance, church-related activities do help to maintain the language as well as culture and family traditions. I found that only parents who are originally from western Ukraine (Andriy, Olesya, Ruslana, Nadiya, and Sofiya) take their children to church on a regular basis. Other participants declared that they do not attend church in Canada or do so only once in a while. Baczynskyj (2009) notes that those who are Orthodox among the fourth wave of immigrants are not actively involved in church or religious activities in Canada. She claims they are unaware of the fact that, unlike in Ukraine, where the Orthodox church is funded and supported by the state, the Ukrainian church in Canada depends

solely on community support. Kostyuk (2007) points out that the majority of new immigrants (almost 60%) do not attend the Ukrainian church in Canada. It is worth noting, however, that while education in Ukraine is traditionally secular, the majority of Ukrainian heritage schools in Canada are aligned with churches.

Despite their criticism of the outdated nature of the Ukrainian language in Canada, parents acknowledge the important role of bilingual programs, festivals, and other Ukrainian events in maintaining not only the language but the culture as well. The interviewees expressed gratitude that Ukrainian Canadians have managed to preserve and nurture the language of their ancestors. Parents appreciate the positive influence of bilingual programs, summer camps, and holiday celebrations in provoking interest and engagement among their children and in providing validation as well as additional opportunities for language practice.

Additional benefits of attending Ukrainian after-school programs and heritage schools are the celebrations of national and religious holidays when children prepare concerts for their parents. Children have to recite poems by heart, dance, and sing Ukrainian songs, all of which frequently require involving parents. These events not only help in language maintenance and literacy skill development, but they also cultivate family bonding. For example, during the final interview with Mariya, she said her daughters were preparing for Shevchenko's Days[†] at their Ukrainian heritage school, so she was helping them rehearse poems and prepare embroidered clothes. Although both her daughters enjoy these concerts, the preparation and poem recitation is not without effort:

Українською їм важче запам'ятати інформацію ніж англійською, і це займає більше часу. Крім того моя молодша донька може запнутися після першої фрази, і вона не може згадати як далі продовжити. Хоча у віршах є ритм і рима, вона здається не завжди може цей ритм почути в українській мові. [Ukr. It is more difficult for them to memorize information in Ukrainian than in English, and it takes longer. My youngest daughter stops after the first line, and she cannot remember the next line. Although there are rhythm and rhymes, she does not always seem to get it in the Ukrainian language.] (interview with Mariya, February 26th, 2017)

However, some researchers are skeptical about the overall benefit of heritage schools and programs in maintaining a heritage language (Chumak-Horbatsch & Garg, 2006). Baczynskyj (2009) presents two reasons for recent immigrants not to enrol their children in Ukrainian heritage schools in Toronto: her participants were dissatisfied with both the religious aspect of

[†] Shevchenko was a Ukrainian poet and writer, whose birthday is commemorated on March 9th

the curriculum and its strong emphasis on nationalism. In contrast, the parents in the study did not voice those concerns; their only negative comments concerned the archaic language and out-of-date materials in some of the schools. It is challenging to draw any final conclusions because there are also significant differences between Ukrainian programs across provinces. Because the research included representatives from only two provinces, I refrain from making any particular recommendations. Baczynskyj (2009) points out that the fourth wave would like their children to integrate into Canadian society, and some of her participants view Ukrainian heritage schools as obstacles to this integration, detracting from their children's future success. On the other hand, "some informants who said that their Ukrainian identity was important to them stated that they would not consider sending their children to Ukrainian school, preferring home schooling in the Ukrainian culture and language" (Baczynskyj, 2009, p. 98). It is worth noting that many of the interviewees in Baczynskyj's (2009) cohort from the fourth wave were in their twenties and childless, often single, so they answered these questions on a hypothetical basis. Similarly downplaying the value of language schools, researchers Chumak-Horbatsch and Garg (2006) claim that only parents are responsible for heritage language maintenance:

They [parents] would do well to follow Fishman: to commit themselves to the L1 maintenance task, to adopt reasonable maintenance strategies, to work on extending their children's L1 exposure, to avoid the *X-only* claim and to acknowledge the very real presence of L2 in their homes. If they do all of this, if they take on this *hardest part* – then their children will grow in two languages and confidently navigate their two language worlds. (Chumak-Horbatsch & Garg, 2006, p. 23)

Family activities. In addition to enrolling their children in interesting and age-appropriate programs and activities, parents also like to participate in family-friendly celebrations. Olesya remarked on the high number of parent-volunteers at the Ukrainian summer camp her daughters had attended the previous July. Olesya herself helped organize several performances celebrating Ukrainian holidays at her Ukrainian church and her daughters' Sunday school. She had an active social life in Ukraine, which she is continuing in Canada. Olesya and her family enjoy doing activities together; for example, last Easter, they went together to a Ukrainian gift store, bought the necessary craft supplies to make Easter eggs, and spent an evening decorating and painting the eggs. They also arrange frequent gatherings and parties with other Ukrainian families with children in order to continue the lifestyle they were used to in Ukraine. Ruslana accompanies her son to drawing classes with a Ukrainian teacher and other children from Ukraine. Andriy drives his son to his Ukrainian school every Saturday, after which they enjoy a fun activity together, such as going for a meal. Yuliya enrolled her daughter in a Ukrainian dance studio and enjoys watching her perform. Every Sunday, Mariya takes her daughters to their Ukrainian school for a mini drama-class. Sofiya believes the family environment is vital in maintaining not only the

Ukrainian language but also the culture:

У нас в хаті українські рушники, сувеніри і ікони. Ми як справжні українці любимо гарно готувати і гарно поїсти. Я навіть маю невеличкий город де вирощую овочі. Ми беремо дітей до церкви щонеділі... То все частина нашої культури. [Ukr. We have Ukrainian embroidered towels, icons, and souvenirs in our house. Like real Ukrainians, we like to cook and to eat. I even have a small garden patch where I grow vegetables. We take our children to church on Sundays. All that is a part of our culture.] (interview with Sofiya, September 23rd, 2016)

Ukrainian-speaking participants emphasize the importance of being role models for their children in using the Ukrainian language:

Тобто мова розмовна— так, це батьки мають слідкувати правильну мову: по-перше, ми стараємося, враховуючи те що ми в Західній Україні вирости, російською я все розумію, але мені важко спілкуватися російською, хоча багато в нас русизмів є, тому що вирости в радянський час. Зрозуміло, тому я стараюсь говорити правильною українською, не такою як говорять тут ті хто приїхав сто років тому, але правильною, без русизмів, без всяких таких речей... Не можу сказати що супер літературною мовою, але чистою. І я думаю, що він буде говорити. [Ukr. Conversational Ukrainian is a parental responsibility, and they have to be careful about what they say. Firstly, taking into consideration that I am from western Ukraine, I can understand Russian, although it is very difficult for me to speak it; nonetheless, we do have Russian words in our vocabulary because we grew up in the Soviet era. That is why I try to speak correct Ukrainian—not the language of people who came here a hundred years ago—but a correct language without any Russian words or other things. I cannot say it is perfect, but it is pure Ukrainian. I think my son will speak Ukrainian.] (interview with Nadiya, September 25th, 2016)

Tetiana believes the most effective motivation for children to maintain their family language is cultivating a sense of togetherness, strong family bonds, and close relationships based on trust:

Ми намагаємось проводити як можна більше часу разом. Ми з чоловіком розповідаємо дітям історії про своє дитинство, про минуле життя в Україні, це їм цікаво. Вони часто спілкуються з нашими рідними в Україні, хоча коли ми їздили в Україну, старшій було більш цікаво, в неї там залишились друзі, а молодша донька якось відривається, їй не так цікаво. [Ukr. We try to spend as much time as possible together. My husband and I tell our daughters stories about our childhood and our past life in Ukraine, and they find it interesting. They often communicate with our relatives in Ukraine, however, when we went to Ukraine, my elder daughter enjoyed it more because she still has friends there, while my younger one is losing this connection, so it was not as interesting for her.] (interview with Tetiana, October 7th, 2016)

Travels to Ukraine. Naturally, travelling to Ukraine enhances not only language skills but also the appreciation of culture. The participants try to visit their extended families every year

or so, and they also invite their parents to Canada for prolonged visits. Andriy took his son to Ukraine for five weeks to tour cities, show him famous sights, and share the rich culture and beauty of the country. It was also a validating experience in terms of language practice. However, because this kind of travel is expensive for an entire family, some parents alternate turns. These trips abroad are probably more worthwhile for children born in Ukraine; even so, parents admit that their children tend to lose close communication with the friends left behind in Ukraine. The whole of Pauwels' (2005) claim—that visits to a home country provide not only immersion in the language but also opportunities to communicate with peers—is not borne out in the interviewees' experience. The immersion opportunity certainly holds true, but even those children who were born in Ukraine and used to have friends there lose those long-distance friendships over time. Participant Tetiana advises that while her older seventeen-year-old daughter manages to keep up connections with her friends in Ukraine, her younger ten-year-old daughter is no longer interested, saying her former friends are her friends no longer. Yuliya points out that, unlike adults who can stay in touch at a distance, young children rely on in-person contact, so long-distance friendships do not really exist for them. Parents whose children were born in Canada also note that it is unrealistic for their children to establish new friendships in Ukraine, even if they stay there for several weeks. Consequently, while travelling to Ukraine does provide opportunities for language immersion, it does not necessarily offer many opportunities for peer interaction, at least not for most of the children represented in the study.

Younger children seem to enjoy travelling to Ukraine, while teenagers may not be willing to accompany their parents. Mariya tells of her disappointment when her son refused to travel to Ukraine with the family:

Минулого літа він хотів поїхати з другом (також україномовним, його батьки іммігранти з України) подорожувати Україною, «експлор» як він сказав. Ми його відмовили беручи до уваги складну політичну ситуацію на той час. Цього літа ми їздили в Україну майже на цілий місяць, вся сім'я крім мого старшого сина. Він відмовився бо спланував провести літо з друзями тут і гарно відпочити перед початком навчання в університеті. Він вже дорослий, і я не можу його заставляти. Моя мама в Україні плакала коли дізналась що він не хоче їхати. [Ukr. Last summer my son wanted to travel and “explore” Ukraine together with his Ukrainian-speaking friend (whose parents are also immigrants from Ukraine). We talked him out of it because of a difficult political situation there at that time. This summer we spent almost a month in Ukraine—our whole family except my son. He refused because he had planned to spend the summer with his friends and relax before the beginning of his first university

term. He is an adult, and I could not force him. My mother in Ukraine cried when she found out he did not want to go to Ukraine.] (interview with Mariya, September 4th, 2016)

Online communication with extended families and others in Ukraine. Regular conversations via Skype with extended family and relatives in Ukraine not only promote family bonding but also help in language maintenance. In this context, it is important that younger children also know their grandparents personally. Nadiya recounted how, when her mother visited them in Canada, her four-year old son could not understand how his grandma happened to be in their apartment, so he kept searching for some button to “switch her off.” Despite such confusion, Nadiya is confident that her son will know about events in Ukraine because he will be communicating regularly with their relatives:

В нас на сто відсотків буде інформація, тобто він буде знати що відбувається в Україні. Зараз по-перше, мені здається важко не знати враховуючи те що є можливості, інтернет, і ти отримуєш інформацію з перших рук, і ти дізнаєшся про подію через годину, через дві. Знову ж таки при бажанні, мені здається в нього буде бажання... В мене, наприклад, є моя сім'я, моя сестра з якою ми дійсно спілкуємося, які не планують і не хочуть переїхати сюди і вони будуть в Україні. Я думаю що він буде знати як вони живуть, чим вони живуть; його двоюрідні брати майже його віку, тобто якщо він буде з ними спілкуватися, він буде знати. Наприклад, там ситуація складна, можливо не буде знати що політична ситуація складна, але зараз вони там не мають за що купити їсти наприклад. А чому немає за що купити їсти? Тому, тому, тому.....ми їм фінансово допомагаємо. А чому ми так робимо? Ну так, так склалося.... [Ukr. We will have information for sure, so he will know what is going on in Ukraine. Nowadays it seems impossible not to know, given all the opportunities and the internet, so you know about any event in an hour or two. If one has a desire—and it seems to me he will have a desire.... I have my family—my sister’s family—who does not want to move here [to Canada], so they will live in Ukraine, and we communicate a lot. My son will know how they live because his cousins are almost his age, so if he communicates with them, he will know about their life. For example, he may not know about the complicated political situation, but he knows that they do not have money to buy groceries. “Why?” “Because of this and this.... We help them financially”. “Why do we do this?”. “It happened this way....”] (interview with Nadiya, February 25th, 2017)

Ruslana’s children do not get to talk to their grandparents regularly via Skype because Ruslana works on Saturdays and Sundays; by the time they return from church, it is already late in Ukraine, so Skyped conversations are typically short, held on Monday mornings when Ruslana has a day off. Yuliya’s daughter communicates regularly with her grandmother and godmother in Ukraine; while she had once also been in touch with some of her former classmates and friends there, those conversations have virtually dwindled over time. Tetiana similarly describes how her younger daughter had become alienated from her former Ukrainian friends by

the time a year or so after the family's arrival in Canada had passed. Unlike adults, who can sustain communication and relationships at a great distance, children seem to depend upon in-person communication and interaction to support their friendships.

THE ROLE OF A HERITAGE LANGUAGE IN BUILDING CLOSE PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIPS

The participants in the study fell into two categories among immigrant families from Ukraine. In some families, both parents speak Ukrainian only, whereas, in others, one or both parents' first language is Russian. In Ukrainian-only families, parents want their children to be bilingual, while in Russian-Ukrainian families, parents ideally expect their children to become trilingual. Baker (2000) points out the benefits for children of communicating with their parents in their first languages; additionally, he acknowledges the parents' own need to speak their first language with their children:

For many mothers and fathers, it is important for them to be able to speak to the child in their first language. Many parents can only communicate with full intimacy, naturally and expressively in their first (or preferred or dominant) language. A child who speaks to one parent in one language and the other parent in another language may be enabling a maximally close relationship with the parents. At the same time, both parents are passing to that child part of their past, part of their heritage. (Baker, 2000, p. 1)

Contradictory parental feelings and behaviours are reported among immigrant parents from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. For example, a study by Buettner (2016) reports that some Korean immigrant women who are married to English-speaking husbands are concerned that their children will not know the Korean language, so they try to maintain it, at least to some extent. At the same time, other participants said that because they want to master English themselves, they switch to English when talking with their children. Another participant, fluent in English, is comfortable using the mainstream language in everyday communication with her children but does deal with a sense of guilt because her children cannot communicate with their grandparents (Buettner, 2016). Yet another participant asks that her son call her "mom" in Korean because the English word sounds unnatural to her; however, over time, she has tended to switch into English when communicating with her children (Buettner, 2016).

In the research project, all parents, no matter the term of their residency in Canada and the proficiency of their English, admit that they can best express themselves in their native language. For newer immigrants, Ukrainian is also their children's first language, the language they have been exposed to the most since their birth. Olesya characterizes the situation:

Тому що ми себе ідентифікуємо з тією мовою, якою ми найкраще розмовляємо. Щоб передати своїм дітям чи знання якість, чи досвід, чи передати свою думку в повному об'ємі, ми все-таки повинні розмовляти тією мовою, якою ми найкраще володіємо. Тому природнім чином звичайно те, що ти скажеш будь кому, і своїй дитині в тому числі, українською мовою ти навряд чи так сформулюєш англійською. Тим більше, що ми прожили довший час разом в україномовному середовищі... [Ukr. To share our knowledge or experience with our children or to express ourselves effectively, we have to speak the language we know best—because we identify ourselves with the language we know best. Naturally, whatever you say in Ukrainian to your child or indeed to anyone, you can hardly express adequately in English. We have lived together as a family longer in Ukraine than elsewhere.] (interview with Olesya, November 27th, 2016)

For parents who have been in Canada long enough to have a reasonable facility in English (Andriy, Mariya, and Sofiya), using some English at home seems to be the norm. On occasion, in an inversion of the more common scenario, Mariya's son will even ask her not to speak English:

Іноді я приходжу з роботи і автоматично продовжую говорити англійською, тоді мій старший син каже мені: «Мама, я тебе не сприймаю англійською». Тому вдома ми не розмовляємо англійською. [Ukr. Sometimes I come home from work and automatically continue using English; then, my son asks me, “Mom, it doesn't seem like you when you use English”. That is why we do not speak English at home.] (interview with Mariya, September 4th, 2016)

Although English, in one way or another, permeates the participants' relationships with their children, none of them can envision communicating with their children entirely in English. Chumak-Horbatsch and Garg (2006) report that while parents in their study followed a “Ukrainian-only” rule in their families, English was still present in their homes—so much so that four parents indicated their children spoke more English than Ukrainian at home (Chumak-Horbatsch & Garg, 2006). The participating parents did not report this phenomenon, but they did acknowledge their disappointment and concern that communication between siblings is mostly in English, a pattern that is consistent with research findings in the literature (Harris, 2006; Pauwels, 2008).

The common home language plays a significant role in building those close relationships built on trust and mutual respect. Participant Nadiya believes that despite her fluency in English, she can express her emotions and intimate feelings to her four-year-old son, Danylo, only in Ukrainian:

Більш якість інтимні речі... для мене –так, коли ми лягаємо спати, коли встає, коли я кажу «тато, мама, ми сім'я» мені комфортніше говорити українською. Мені комфортніше сказати йому: «Ти моє сонечко. Я тебе дуже люблю. Ти в мене найкращий хлопчик в світі!». [Ukr. I feel more comfortable using only Ukrainian in intimate situations: for example, when we go to bed or wake up, or when I say, “mommy, daddy, and you—we are one family.” When I say to him, “You are my sunshine. I love you so much. You are the best boy in the world!”] (interview with Nadiya, February 25th, 2017)

There are some intimate aspects of family life where English is still a stranger. It appears that no matter how fluent one becomes in a foreign language; it can hardly ever be claimed as one's own.

DISCUSSION

Primary language socialization is very important for the future formation of ethnolinguistic identity (Hamers & Blanc, 2000). In general, by *language socialization*, scholars mean “the process by which novices or newcomers in a community or culture gain communicative competence, membership, and legitimacy in the group” (Duff, 2007, p. 310). The linguistic situation within many families in Ukraine has reversed over the decades since 1991: if in the Soviet Union, many Ukrainian-speaking parents had Russian-speaking children, now those same Russian-speaking children have themselves become parents, and they have Ukrainian-speaking children. In Ukraine, the whole society now socializes children from an early age into the Ukrainian language and culture, so the parental role, while still important, is not critical. However, when families immigrate to Canada, the parents' involvement in their children's linguistic and cultural choices naturally becomes more pronounced. Furthermore, while Ukrainian-speaking immigrant parents socialize their children into a Ukrainian “community of practice” (Wenger, 2000) with relative ease in Canada, Russian-speaking immigrant parents are not always successful in this role.

Some of the key aspects of language socialization are the importance of developing communicative competence through everyday activities, the crucial roles and functions of expert members in the process of socializing, and the continuity of language learning and socialization over a lifetime (Duff, 2007). All the participating parents stated that their children have no problem functioning in Ukrainian in everyday, routine activities; at the same time, the parents realize that this level of usage is insufficient to constitute complete language proficiency and literacy. As a result, all the participants have enrolled their children in Ukrainian-English

programs, heritage schools, and church-aligned Sunday schools to involve experts with professional teaching and language qualifications in the process of socializing their children into Ukrainian language and culture. The major problem is that these programs and teachers do not always live up to the parents' expectations. Moreover, the lifelong continuation of this Ukrainian language socialization is seen as precarious by almost all the participants. Some of them expressed doubts as to whether their children would continue attending heritage schools once they reach their teenage years, a concern of particular relevance in a province where there is no official Ukrainian program for high school students. Another parental concern is the future environment of their children, potentially populated by English-speaking friends and possibly even spouses. Although parents have some control over their children's Ukrainian language socialization in childhood, beyond that, their influence is minimal.

The roles and functions of the Ukrainian language in Ukraine and Canada are also very different. In Ukraine, one cannot be successful academically, financially, and professionally without knowing the official language of the country, while in Canada, immigrants view the Ukrainian language primarily as a family language without any claims for material benefits or success (Hudyma, 2012; Makarova & Hudyma, 2015). However, for Russian-speaking immigrants from Ukraine, the Ukrainian language does not even perform the role of uniting a family in Canada because they primarily speak Russian at home. Russian-speaking parents in the study provided three main reasons for maintaining Ukrainian for their children in Canada. Firstly, many of them have extended Ukrainian-speaking family in Ukraine, so they would like their children to be able to communicate with their grandparents and other relatives during visits to Ukraine. Secondly, their children have already been socialized into and completed some formal schooling in Ukrainian, so they feel it is unacceptable to let their children simply lose that valuable knowledge and skill set. Finally, they believe the Ukrainian language helps their children identify as Ukrainians in Canada. For example, participant Ludmyla states that while her nineteen-year old daughter has no question about her Ukrainian identity, her four-year old son will be confused if he grows up in the English environment of Canada, hearing only Russian at home: he will not be able to identify as Ukrainian. As a former post-secondary educator in Ukraine, Ludmyla is fluent in Ukrainian, so she intentionally switches to Ukrainian at home on occasion to stimulate her younger son to speak Ukrainian:

Я считаю, что самоидентификация— это очень важно для человека, нужно всегда понимать кто ты больше на самом деле. Ну хорошо, когда ты уже взрослый человек и можешь анализировать, а ребенок не может анализировать, он просто чувствует, и важно направить его чувства в нужное русло, чтобы он не чувствовал себя каким-то потеряшкой в этом мире, а чтобы он знал что он украинец. [Rus. I think self-identification is very important for every person; you should always understand who you are “the most of”. When you are an adult, you can analyze, but a child cannot analyze, he can only feel, and it is important to direct his feelings in the right way, so he will not feel like a lost thing in this world, but he will know that he is Ukrainian.] (interview with Ludmyla, April 16th, 2016)

Whether or not the Ukrainian language facilitates the identity construction of the children of Ukrainian immigrants remains a matter of speculation. For instance, Harris (2006) reports that British adolescents who used to speak their home language in childhood but had switched to English as they started formal schooling continued to consider themselves part of their parents’ diasporic community. There seems to be no firm connection between heritage languages and ethnic identities.

The language of primary socialization is also important in the process of enculturation[‡] (Hamers & Blanc, 2000). In Ukraine, children are exposed to two languages—Russian and Ukrainian—but only one Ukrainian culture. Children born in Ukraine, as well as their immigrant parents, have to go through the process of acculturation[§] (Hamers & Blanc, 2000) via English when they come to Canada. For Canadian-born children, however, English is more often the primary language of enculturation, while it is Ukrainian that facilitates acculturation into the Ukrainian culture. At the same time, it is not uncommon for Ukrainian-Canadians to be bicultural but not bilingual. Jedwab (2000) concludes that Ukrainian language retention in Canada is relatively low; meanwhile, there is a significant and steadfast presence of Ukrainian culture. To what extent children of immigrants from Ukraine can be successfully bilingual and bicultural depends on many factors. For instance, participant Andriy believes that his son Stepan is different from his peers in Ukraine; even though he speaks Ukrainian, Stepan is more a Canadian child than a Ukrainian. In general, all the participants are trying to maintain not only the Ukrainian language but also as much Ukrainian culture as they can. Nadiya explains her commitment to

[‡] “A part of the socialisation process by which a child acquires the rules of behaviour and the values of his culture” (Hamers & Blanc, 2000, p.371).

[§] “The process by which an individual adjusts to a new culture; this usually includes the acquisition of the language(s) of that culture” (Hamers & Blanc, 2000, p 367).

maintaining Ukrainian culture and traditions in her family:

Так я буду всі свята, всі традиції, сімейні традиції будемо всі підтримувати, тому що я не вважаю що ми можемо настільки перейняти традиції, культуру цю, тому що ми приїхали вже в такому віці, в якому ми не можемо це зробити. По-друге, враховуючи те що ми в Канаді, яка в принципі країна емігрантів, я не кажу що в них немає своїх традиції, але це не наші традиції. Дуже багато традицій, які не є корінні канадські, і я не вважаю що моя українська сім'я має переймати традиції, які є навіть не канадськими. Вважаючи наскільки зараз легко поїхати назад в Україну, я вважаю що моя дитина має знати що там відбувається, яка ситуація. Він має про це знати, тому що він з України, він народжений в Україні. [Ukr. We will maintain all family and cultural traditions and celebrate all holidays because we came [to Canada] at the age when we cannot adopt another culture. Also, taking into account that Canada is a country of immigrants, I am not trying to say that there are no traditions here, but they are not our traditions. So many traditions [here] are not originally from Canada, and I do not think my Ukrainian family has to follow traditions that are not even Canadian. Considering how easy it is to go to Ukraine now, I believe my son should know what is going on there, what the situation is like. He must know all this because he is from Ukraine, he was born in Ukraine.] (interview with Nadiya, June 25th, 2017)

The Ukrainian language itself is also not homogeneous, either in Ukraine or Canada. As Laursen and Dahlstrup Mogensen (2016) note, the linguistic differences “are not between nations and standard languages but appear within the nation or the language itself” (2016, p. 575). There are regional varieties of and dialects in Ukraine apart from the standard Ukrainian language, so immigrants demonstrate these differences in their speech. Languages can travel across the world (Laursen & Dahlstrup Mogensen, 2016) and emerge in unexpected places (Pennycook, 2012). We can state that the Ukrainian language travels the world not only via Ukrainian-speaking immigrants but also passively via Russian-speaking Ukrainians who may not be using Ukrainian in everyday communication but who are nonetheless fluent in it. Apart from regional variants of the language in Ukraine, there is also a significant difference between the Ukrainian-Canadian in heritage schools and the language that Ukrainian-born children bring with them to Canada. While many of the participants remarked on their own and their children’s initial surprise at being exposed to archaic Ukrainian in Canada, they still value the opportunity to communicate in their first language in a foreign country. As Olesya says, her Ukrainian-born children communicate with Canadian-born children and their parents in Ukrainian summer camps and heritage schools, and this is how the community language is refreshed, by mutual learning and enrichment.

With sadness, most parents recognize that their children will be unlikely to have in-depth,

advanced knowledge of Ukrainian grammar, vocabulary, and literature. Despite being proud of their children's achievements and performances at school concerts, parents also understand that the Ukrainian culture and language will not have the same place in their children's lives as it did in their own. Trying to speculate about future scenarios that may play out regarding their children's dominant language, many parents emphasize the importance of environment, friends, and future spouses. Parents are fully aware of the limited exposure to Ukrainian in Canada and have no delusions that their children's Ukrainian is at the same level as that of their peers in Ukraine, an acknowledgement also documented in the literature: "children, and especially adolescents, seldom acquire the registers typical of their age group" (Pauwels, 2005, p. 126).

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APPENDIX A

Table 1 Participants' Profile

Participants' pseudonyms	Originally from	Length of residence in Canada	Number of children and their age	Languages spoken at home
Andriy	western Ukraine	14 years	daughter 24 son 12	Ukrainian only
Olesya	western Ukraine	3 years	twins (daughters 11)	Ukrainian only
Nadiya	western Ukraine	3 years	son 4	Ukrainian only
Sofiya	western Ukraine	11 years	son 10 daughter 6	Ukrainian only
Ruslana	western Ukraine (her husband is from central Ukraine)	4 years	son 4 son 2.5	Ukrainian and Russian
Yuliya	southern Ukraine (her husband is from eastern Ukraine), but they lived in central Ukraine)	3 years	daughter 11	mostly Russian
Ludmyla	eastern Ukraine	3 years	daughter 19 son 4	Ukrainian and Russian
Tetiana	central Ukraine	3.5 years	daughter 17 daughter 10	Ukrainian and Russian
Inna	Crimea (lived in southern and eastern Ukraine)	2 years	daughter 10	Russian
Mariya	central Ukraine	17 years	son 19 daughter 11 daughter 4	Ukrainian and Russian